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AMERICANA

January, 1930



Erastus Dow Palmer, a Great American Sculptor

BY CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, CAMBRIDGE, NEW YORK



THE fine arts, as popularly understood, are literature, music, sculpture and painting. Literature leads all the others in its unlimited range of application and in the durability of its works and influence. Music, while of a deeper potency, reaching to the mysterious depths of mind and sentiment which words alone cannot sound, is not so readily and generally distributed, though of late the radio is giving wings to its subtle charms to reach increasing multitudes. As to sculpture and painting it is not easy to decide which has the greater sovereignty; painting enjoys the advantage in respect to a wider range of topics and the assistance of color, while sculpture, though devoted for the most part to the human face and form, may exhibit its subjects in the round, or on all sides, and is hence more expressive of thought and individuality and admits of being placed in the open to be seen of thousands who do not frequent museums and art galleries. Optical impressions being the strongest and most lasting, it follows that sculpture, approximating most nearly to the real in human nature and its excellencies, exerts a more permanent influence upon the mind.

However, there should be no rivalry on the part of the devotees of these four departments of art, for they are a family of kindred souls to be rejoicing at the prosperity of the others and realizing that in their diversity of gifts they are uniting to instruct and inspire the world of men to higher ideas, a better appreciation of beauty, more worthy lives and loftier conceptions of nature and of nature's God. Such were the motives which were the mainspring of the work of Erastus Dow Palmer; he ever was obsessed with the responsibility laid upon him by his gift, and he ever labored to portray the best there was in him for the good of his kind.

ERASTUS DOW PALMER, GREAT AMERICAN SCULPTOR

He was unaffiliated with the outward Christian church, but when one views his works, so many of which teach faith, love and hope, long suffering, goodness, meekness, high sentiment and exalted character, the conviction is imperative that although he did not subscribe to the ecclesiastical faith of the church, he was possessed of a similar spirit—so deeply was he absorbed in his work that he lived in it until it became a part of his own soul, and an altar upon which he cheerfully laid his highest and most precious expressions of devotion.

In this connection I will quote a paragraph from the preface of Charles Johnston to his translation of Count Leo Tolstoi's "What is Art," as it seems to express the ideas governing Mr. Palmer in his work as a sculptor, and which inspired him to the signal success which he achieved:

The purpose of art is to break down the prison of the soul; to release us from the bondage of ourselves. When we feel that the lives of others are as dear to them as our lives are to us, we are close to the heart of the secret; and it is the mission of art to bring us that vivid sense of other lives. True art wins the wills of many into one mood, and makes them sharers in a common consciousness. And the end of art will be reached when one spirit throbs through universal man; and possessing each other, we at last possess ourselves. Then shall we enter into infinite life, endless power, and abounding joy.

The birthplace of Erastus Dow Palmer was at Pompey, Onondaga County, New York, about nine miles southeast of Syracuse. Here, on his father's farm which had been redeemed from the forest, which still skirted the settlement on every side, he was born on the 2d of April, 1817. Though an isolated community, there were natural beauties, abundant resources of corn, wheat and fruit, while pure air and water contributed their health-giving qualities to the development of the boy's physical nature and to the establishment of the bodily vigor which he enjoyed throughout his long life. The rural charms by which he was in childhood and youth here surrounded found in him an appreciative observer, and in his early delight in natural beauties were doubtless laid the foundations of his future notable career as a sculptor of works of matchless grace and distinction.

At a very early age young Palmer began to exhibit his artistic bent in the carving of wooden images of horses, which gained the admiration of his playmates, and though following the trade of a carpenter from the age of seventeen to twenty-nine, he was ever an expert wood carver, exhibiting an increasing capacity for creative art work. His early education was sadly inadequate and his experience in school was only for a

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period closing with his eleventh year, in his native village. At the age of seventeen he struck out for himself, locating at Dunkirk, New York, on Lake Erie, where he worked at his trade for six years and then moved to Amsterdam, New York. Here, in 1838, he married Matilda Alton, who died two years later, leaving no children. His next location was Utica, New York, where he showed a capacity for the higher branches of carpentering in carving artistic designs for stove patterns and in the erection and ornamentation of staircases of elegant design.

At this point in the study of Mr. Palmer's career, when he has arrived at the threshold of his fame, it is expedient to inquire as to the source of his artistic gift. Neither his father, Erastus Palmer, nor his forebears, who were generally farmers and mechanics, back to Walter Palmer, an Englishman, who settled in Connecticut about 1641, so far as known had manifested talent in any of the fine arts, and the same may be said of his mother's progenitors, whose maiden name was Harriet Ball and, likewise, of English descent; however, the biological principle of atavism, or reversion, may account for this and similar developments of unexpected genius in men and women from some remote or forgotten ancestor. On the other hand we may attribute these phenomenal gifts to a divine afflatus or inspiration; but in either case it is easier to believe in the causes submitted than to insist that such high endowments are conferred by an unreasoning and indifferent fate.

At Utica Mr. Palmer erected on Genesee Street a dwelling which he made his home and here began his career as a cameo artist. Having seen a cameo, he conceived the idea of cutting one of his wife, and setting to work with a shell, a file as his implement, in leisure hours he devoted himself to its carving. When finished he called with it on a neighbor whom he knew to be a qualified judge of art and submitted it to him. The friend thus relates the episode: "I took it from his hand, turned it to the light, and carefully examined the outline and finish; my surprise and delight were immediate. 'This,' said I, 'is beautiful; you have extraordinary talent!' Hearing no response I looked from the exquisite medallion to the artist's face, and saw the tears of gratified sympathy in his eyes."

Thus encouraged, Mr. Palmer took up this new line of work and became very soon widely known as a cameo artist, his work rivaling and even surpassing that produced by the cameo cutters of Italy. These small medallions were carved on conch shells in white, the under, dark layer of the shell serving as background. To this employment he brought his long experience as an expert handler of tools, and in turn it was to his skill achieved as a cameo artist that he acquired the exquisite mastery of the

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implements of another art that was to render him so proficient in the fine finish of his sculptures, for which they are so much admired. Having gained a wide reputation as a cameo cutter, he was invited to take up his residence in Albany, and moved to that city in 1846. But the strain upon his eyes involved in cameo making impaired his sight to such a degree as to threaten his further employment in that art. He had begun to feel, too, that this work did not afford sufficient range for the exercise of his abilities, and in his uncertainty of mind he visited his Utica friend who had encouraged him in his other venture, and he advised him to take up clay modeling and sculpturing. Thus a fortuitous disability led him to a wider, more profitable field wherein he was to achieve his greatest repute and usefulness.

When in the year 1852, at the age of thirty-five, Mr. Palmer began his career as a sculptor, that art was in its infancy in the United States, having achieved nothing notable to its credit. Painting had also been slow of development in this country and had not as yet shown much high merit, though Copley, Stuart and West had won distinction. For many years previous to 1850 portraits occupied chiefly the talents of American painters, landscapes being neglected. The reasons for the backwardness of the fine arts in this country are found in the character of the people and the conditions under which they lived. A very large proportion of the immigrants to our shores were of deep religious convictions who had come here that they might be free to hold and exercise their beliefs; they were men and women of a severe type of piety, who brooked the presence of no levities or artificial practices in dress, manners or designs. The Puritan descendants of New Englanders and the Quakers of Pennsylvania were of this inflexible religious bent; the Scotch-Irish, while not so arbitrary and unyielding, were yet of a stern and unpoetic Presbyterian faith, while the Dutch were too assiduously engaged in the practical affairs of trade to be interested in art.

For a period of two hundred years following the landing of the Pilgrims, almost the whole of the people's thought and bodily energy were employed first, in clearing and subduing the wilderness, and afterwards in building comfortable homes and providing a competency. The conditions and surroundings were positively unfavorable to the development of art. Moreover, the absence here of worthy sculptures as instructions and inspirations, the lack of suitable marble, which necessitated the procuring of it from Italy, the indifference of the people and the discouraging outlook for marketing art productions, were handicaps to the development of sculpture in America.

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Mr. Palmer was a contemporary and one of a small group of men who brought sculpture in the United States during the nineteenth century to a high eminence of merit and made it honored both at home and abroad. They were Hiram Powers (1805-73), Horatio Greenough (1805-52), Thomas Crawford (1814-57), W. W. Story (1819-95), and Thomas Ball (born 1819). All of these artists studied abroad, with the exception of Mr. Palmer, who was self-instructed and who mastered his art and won his fame before he had set foot on foreign soil. Whether with such opportunities as the others enjoyed he would have achieved greater success is questionable; while it might have helped him in his technique, it is difficult to understand how or where his sculptures admit of improvement. And it is possible that the teaching of Italian studios and the studios of European art museums might have given him conventional leanings that would have militated against that element of naturalness which is so great a charm in his works. When Powers, then living in Florence, was shown a daguerreotype of one of Mr. Palmer's sculptures with the remark, "He has never been abroad," Powers replied, "He need never to come." Mr. Palmer's ignoring of long-established criteria, and dependence upon his own inherent conceptions of propriety, grace and beauty was very influential in promoting the appreciation of the real excellencies of art, and of proving that success depends more upon the man than upon theories.

It is suitable here to give in Mr. Palmer's own words his understanding of the sculptor's art; it is copied from his "Philosophy of the Ideal," which appeared in "The Crayon" for January, 1856, and was later published as a pamphlet: "That there exists manifestly in the structure, forms, colors and motions of the works of nature, a principle which we call beauty, all enlightened minds will admit. And in none of the works of the Creator has this principle an existence so elevated as in the human form. The medium through which this marked distinction between external human nature and all other natural objects is so clearly defined, is man's innate knowledge that this wonderful structure, the soft, undulating forms, the rich and harmonious colors, and the graceful and elegant motions, are wrought upon by, and give evidence of, the existence and supreme command over them, of an immortal soul. It is admitted that beauty is of the most elevated character in the human form, because from it beams the intelligence, the power, and indeed all that belongs to the soul, yet nowhere does this great principle of beauty exist so intangibly and without measure, as in the forms and expressions of humanity. . . . The mission of the sculptor's art is not to imitate forms merely, but

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through them to reveal the purest and best of our nature. And no work in sculpture, however well wrought out physically, results in excellence unless it rests upon and is sustained by the dignity of a moral or intellectual purpose."

Mr. Palmer's advancement in the art of sculpture, like his improvement in cameo cutting, was phenomenal, and very soon he modeled a medallion head from his little daughter, calling it "The Infant Ceres," a beautiful and finished work which elicited much praise. He was kept busy filling the demands for his work, which up to 1855 consisted principally of portrait busts and heads in relief such as "Morning," "Evening," and "Resignation." Previously, however, he had, in 1852, produced "Faith," a relief, full-length draped female figure, which in St. Peter's Church, Albany, is much admired. In 1855 he brought out "The Indian Girl," his first sculpture of a full length figure in the round, a charming work which stands in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. She is depicted gazing thoughtfully and reverently at the crucifix in her hand. He produced many portrait busts not only of notable men, but of those in the less conspicuous walks of life; they are all marked with individual character and are distinguished, like his cameos, for their rare workmanship.

Although Mr. Palmer had been engaged as a sculptor but a few years, his reputation had been spread abroad and he had been invited to exhibit his work in New York City. About this time he received another similar request to bring his sculptures to Boston, the communication having been signed by fifteen of the most eminent men of Boston and Cambridge. The letter with names follows:

BOSTON, Nov. 25, 1856.

DEAR SIR:

Learning that you propose shortly to place some of your work on exhibition in New York, we take the liberty of addressing you in order to express our strong desire that you may find it convenient to exhibit the same for a while in Boston also, and to assure you of the gratification which this step would afford us.

We are, dear sir, with great respect,

Your obt. servants,

EDWARD EVERETT,
HENRY W. LONGFELLOW,
JOSIAH QUINCY, JR.,
ROBT. WINTHROP,
WM. H. PRESCOTT,
THOS. B. EUSTIS,
JACOB BIGELOW,

JARED SPARKS,
G. S. HILLARD,
B. A. GOULD,
BENJAMIN PEIRCE,
C. C. FELTON,
J. R. LOWELL,
LOUIS AGASSIZ,
B. A. GOULD, JR.



FAITH VIEWING THE CROSS



ERASTUS DOW PALMER, GREAT AMERICAN SCULPTOR

To have received a letter like this with such a shining galaxy of names appended—scholars, authors, scientists of great distinction—was an honor which few have obtained. The works exhibited were "The Sleeping Peri," "Spring," "Resignation," "Sappho" and "The Indian Girl."

The confidence that Mr. Palmer reposed in himself and his courage were shown in 1857 by his offering a modeled historic group called "The Landing of the Pilgrims," for consideration for the adornment of the pediment, or gable, of the south wing of the capitol, at Washington. Though he had had but limited experience at that time in shaping the full figure, he presented this elaborate creation consisting of fifteen images in various attitudes. The work received commendation, but it failed to be accepted.

"The White Captive," which Mr. Palmer produced in 1858, was a triumph of art and placed him in the forefront of sculptors, and won the work a place in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It represents a girl, life size and entirely nude, with the right wrist bound to the trunk of a tree; the features are beautiful and touching in their expression of sad reproof, and it is in all respects a remarkable exhibition of grace and beauty. Concerning this sculpture, Goodyear in his "Renaissance and Modern Art" says: "The interest in Powers' 'Greek Slave' is at present purely historical, and Palmer's 'White Captive,' in the Metropolitan Museum of New York is now known to be a far superior work, whether considered as a conception, or as a work of modeling." His "Peace in Bondage" appeared in 1863, while the country was in the throes of the Civil War. A winged female figure in relief is leaning languidly against a tree, to which she is evidently bound, and having upon her face an expression of weariness and sorrow—this is a wonderfully impressive and moving sculpture.

Mr. Palmer's studio for several years after his taking up of sculpture was not far from the capitol, at No. 3 Columbia Place, a somewhat retired part of the city at the junction of Eagle and Spruce streets. About the year 1868 he moved his family and studio to No. 5 Lafayette Street, a short distance from his previous location and a large mansion which he had built from the proceeds of his art labors. This residence was not long ago removed, its site being now occupied by the park adjacent to the New York State Education Building. Concerning his studio and his work, I quote from Tuckerman's "Book of the Artists": "Several years since, I strolled forth of a summer afternoon at Albany, and under the

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wing of the capitol discovered the studio of a sculptor, whose achievements and history are equally remarkable. Indeed, the mere fact that by devotion to his art in his own State, without the least attempt to conciliate public favor, or the usual eagerness to study abroad, struck me as no common evidence of self-reliance. The commodious atelier and dwelling house—fruits of his professional labors, plainly indicated that they have been successful; but still more impressive is the fact that brief as his career has been, and unaided by foreign and conventional appliances as has been his culture, a high ideal, a progressive taste, the most individual conceptions, and an execution scrupulous in its refinements, are Palmer's normal characteristics." The writer describing his studio says that it resembled those of Rome more than any he had seen in America. From unhewn marble blocks to the finished statue, all processes of the development were observed under the skill of different workmen, while the master in his cap and blouse was seen modeling in clay the forms that were to appear finally in stone.

Here was modeled, in 1868, "The Angel of the Sepulcher," the design having been taken from Matthew 28:2-3. "And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow." It is of heroic size and in a sitting position with the drapery naturally and effectively arranged. Nothing can rival the beauty, dignity, authority and power expressed in every line of the figure and in every lineament of the features. It is one of the world's greatest victories of mortuary art, and from far and near lovers of the great in sculpture visit the Albany Rural Cemetery and seek out the lot of General Robert L. Banks, near the entrance of this beautiful city of the dead, where it stands. "The London Art Journal" (1871), having seen a steel engraving of this statue, was moved to say: "The figure is a production of great artistic power. Exception may, perhaps, be taken to the face as too stern, and not angelic, and yet it is grand in expression and very beautiful. He is seated on the stone in an attitude of dignified repose, his flowing locks reaching down over the upper portion of the wings, and his entire form covered by a garment disposed in its folds and setting with remarkable grace. There is no conventional treatment here; it is the outcome of an earnest and original mind, a statue which the greatest living sculptor might acknowledge with pride as his own."

Modeling in clay was the chief studio work of Mr. Palmer, the repro-



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duction in marble being assigned to the artisans he employed for that purpose, and the only stone cutting that he did was to put the finishing touches on the marble. For the convenience of his workmen he invented an instrument to facilitate the taking of measurements in the work of reproduction. He did not secure a patent on his contrivance but liberally left it free for the benefit of other art workers. Among his helpers was Charles Calverley, a native of Albany, who was a student of Mr. Palmer for a period of fourteen years and who developed under his instructions marked ability as a sculptor. He modeled the noble bronze statue of Robert Burns, which stands near the entrance to Washington Park, Albany, at Hudson Avenue and Willett streets. It is of heroic size, in a sitting position and is called the peer of any sculptured representation of the great Scottish poet in the world. It stands on a massive base of granite, imported from Scotland, upon the four sides of which are panels illustrating well-known episodes from the poet's works. To its dedication in 1888 came many eminent Scotchmen from widely separated parts of the country. The genius of Mr. Palmer is reflected in this splendid art creation, in its truth to nature and its sympathetic appeal.

In 1873 Mr. Palmer visited Europe and enjoyed the opportunity of viewing the art treasures of the world, but though we may easily imagine the deep interest and the unalloyed delight he took in beholding the sculptures of which he had heard and read so much, his own fame was already secure, arrived at independently of all other influences except the rare appreciation of beauty and artistic propriety which had been born into his own soul, and the manual dexterity which he had earned by many years of practical manipulation of tools. He had hoped to meet Powers, who a farm boy like himself, had struggled up to distinction as a sculptor, but he died at Florence while Mr. Palmer was journeying to him. He was absent in Europe two years, the latter months of his stay having been occupied in the modeling in Paris of a statue of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont, New York, which was cast in bronze by Barbedienne of Paris. This statue stands in Statuary Hall, the National Capitol, and a bronze replica may be seen in the Court of Appeals Chamber, in the Capitol at Albany. At the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 it received a medal of the first class for artistic excellence. Lorado Taft, in his "Introduction to the History of American Sculpture," says concerning it: "In the matter of interpretation, of charm of artistic integrity, nothing finer had been done up to this time (1874) by an American sculptor."

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The writer recently spent an enjoyable two hours in the Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society's Building viewing in the room set apart for them a large collection of the sculptures of Mr. Palmer, comprising about one-half of his works. As one stands in the main entrance the first object that meets his gaze is "The Angel of the Sepulcher," which sits majestically across the room directly opposite. The veriest tyro in art must immediately be impressed with the compelling beauty of this work of genius. It is the most prominent and arresting sculpture in the apartment, and were there nothing besides, this one grand figure would be worthy of being its only occupant. On the four sides are arranged the works of Mr. Palmer's conceptions and handicraft, the portrait busts on pedestals and with the life-size figures standing a few feet from the walls, the relief sculptures being attached to the sides of the room. All except one or two pieces of marble are original casts. It is an aggregation of rare sculptures from the hands of one man which is perhaps unrivaled in the world, and the visitor has a feeling of awe when he considers the hours of concentrated thought involved in the conception of these works of art and the days of the patient exercise of superior handicraft which modeled them.

The portrait busts include those of Alexander Hamilton, Washington Irving, the marble copy of which stands in the vestibule of the building of the New York Historical Society, Commodore Perry, Governor Morgan and others. A prominent and interesting feature is the "Landing of the Pilgrims," which group in a pediment about five feet in width occupies a place over the main entrance of the room. The fifteen figures which compose it depict the dangers from wild beasts and savages which they encountered, and the employments and hardships which they experienced, the central and most conspicuous member being a long-robed man with upstretched hands, evidently imploring the divine blessing on the perilous enterprise they were undertaking.

In the collection is the first full figure modeled by Mr. Palmer, a relief, "The Mariner's Wife," showing a woman sitting on the rocks with her right hand shading her eyes and gazing out to sea. It was made in Utica in 1849, and while it is the production of an amateur, the average observer will not discover any inferiority to the later works around it. It was not until he had resided a considerable time in Albany that he took up sculpture as a profession. A uniform and prevailing standard of merit characterizes all the works exhibited, and it would probably be difficult for



VIRGINIA
A Cameo

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even an art critic to schedule them according to the dates at which they were respectively modeled, early or late.

One of the most suggestive of the ideal busts is "Immortality" (1859), a relief. A beautiful girl with the left arm flexed and elevated is gazing intently on a butterfly just emerging from its chrysalis at the elbow, a poetic representation of the well-known illustration of the resurrection of the body into a larger and more abundant life by the lowly, creeping caterpillar's transformation into the lovely hues and the expanded realm of the winged creature of the air. "The Sleeping Peri" will strike the visitor as being a most admirable sculpture. It represents a fair young female reclining with folded wings, with arms and bust undraped, and a remarkable expression of unconsciousness on the face, and an indescribable attitude of lassitude in the body and arms; it is startling in its conformity to nature and one might almost believe that she were of flesh and blood, were it not for the cold marble of which she is composed. The face is not excelled in life-like, spiritual beauty by any of the captivating heads which adorn the room.

One is surprised that Mr. Palmer should have devoted himself considerably to allegorical, mythological and classical works, presumably not having been deeply read in these departments of literature, and not having enjoyed first-hand familiarity with sculptures of this kind. However, his productions have specimens of such, in the creation of which he did himself credit. His relief, "Sappho" in a concave setting is an instance of his ability to intelligently conceive a representation of the famed ancient Greek poetess. The classic moulding of the features of this distinguished face and the arrangement of the drapery are highly to be commended.

Here have been collected in one frame the casts of forty of Mr. Palmer's cameo portraits. They are each about an inch and one-half in size, vertically, and were cut in Utica and Albany during the years 1846-51. Before me is a photograph of one of his cameos, entitled "Virginia," an ideal head representing the heroine of the story, "Paul and Virginia," by Saint-Pierre, a beautiful profile which well exhibits the exquisite technical skill manifested in the production of all these small medallions.

In viewing this collection one may spend hours without tiring, but the mere descriptions must become wearisome if too long protracted. There are, however, a few relevant general observations concerning it which I will venture to offer. The leading characteristic of the collection is the attractive representation of nature in men, women and children.

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The child faces are, indeed, singularly winsome, especially worthy of note being the bust of "Kitty Prun" and the full figure "Little Peasant," whose faces are most lovable. The sculptures of women's faces, even while depicting the emotions portrayed in "Faith," "Hope," "Grief," "Resignation," "Mercy," "Sorrow," "Supplication" and "Memory," yet remain attractive, for the reason that the sculptor has practiced restraint in their delineation, so that the features disclose these respective states of mind in a subdued manner. The ideal relief female heads "Morning" and "Evening" are examples of Mr. Palmer's phenomenal genius for depicting mental moods; "Morning" with flowing hair and eager, hopeful expression; "Evening" with relaxed countenance, eyes with drooping lids, as if falling asleep. All are high-bred ladies which had their birth in the mind of a man who was a devotee of truth, goodness and beauty.

Naturally, Mr. Palmer had no sympathy with schools of art and in his "Philosophy of the Ideal" he has this to say of them: "Schools of art have arisen, by which I mean a manner of art production, belonging to and pervading the works of congregated minds, and the peculiarities and differences which distinguish these several schools, furnish evidence that nature—the unerring teacher, ever varying—is not the exclusive guide, but that other causes produce the results, and the similarity of the works of these congregated men, gives evidence of the undue reliance which they place upon each other. That these schools have their origin in a want of true feeling for the beautiful, or the true ideal, I have little doubt. The constant mingling of the students of art is sure to result in what is called manner, or academic conventionalism, and a morbid condition of art feeling, leading to extremes and exaggerations, as is apparent at the present day in the German, English and French schools, each of these being peculiar in its manner, which peculiarity would not exist, if the teachings of nature instead of the work of man had been the guide."

It has no doubt been the experience of most people that the sculptures and paintings of men, women and children are for the most part uninteresting, and for the reason that while, perhaps, conforming strictly to the conventionalities of art, they lack that subtle something which can better be experienced than described. Mr. Palmer had the gift of nature portrayal and besides a deep spiritual understanding which clothed his figures with natural grace and breathed into the dead and inert marble an inner light and vitality which must have dwelt primarily in his own mind and heart. These gifts were exercised in every part and detail of his work—

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nothing was neglected. The drapery played a large rôle in the production of the general effect, as that of the "Indian Girl," her skirt of fringed deer skin held by a girdle, undulating with inimitable grace to her feet. The hair, also, of all his female sculptures is wrought out with fondest care, arranged with matchless grace, and generally gathered informally behind.

In his "Philosophy of the Ideal" Mr. Palmer devotes considerable space to the management of the hair in sculpture. He says: "Of all the parts of the head (of course, including the face and neck), no one is susceptible of so much change in arrangement as the hair, which seems a most happy provision for the means of art, aiding as it may, by its various modifications, in attaining the ideal, developing and enhancing the natural beauty of the head, and concealing, also, the defects that may exist." Here he introduces two female profile cuts, one with the hair brushed low over the ear and gathered in a knot high on the back of the head; the other with the hair dressed so as to show the lower portion of the ear and arranged in the hollow of the neck, so that the observer may see at once the better effect of the latter method. Naturalness, he says, may be best secured, not by endeavoring to imitate hair by cutting minute grooves, but by depending upon contour. These principles are illustrated in the female heads of Mr. Palmer's sculptures, the advantages of which contribute much to their grace and beauty.

The character of his sculptures affords an indication of Mr. Palmer's personality; he was just such a man as one would imagine him to have been from an intimate and sympathetic study of his works. He was an intelligent, broad-minded and kindly disposed gentleman, ever industrious, esteeming the exercise of his gifts a sacred obligation to humanity. He was beloved by the men who wrought under him and was popular with all his acquaintances in Albany and at his summer home near the village of Cedar Hill, seven miles south of the city and on the west shore of the Hudson. Here midst his rural acres with the lake which adorned them, he was wont to pass the heated season, resting in his declining years from the labors and anxieties of his early experiences. Honors and fortune had been earned by him, and he was reaping the rewards of a diligent and well-spent life.

He was attractive as well in his physique—six feet in height, erect, and with regular and handsome features, his was a notable presence. I quote from his son, Mr. Walter L. Palmer, of Albany: "My father had

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gray hair in his early forties; in his later years his hair was amazingly silky and white, and his beard, also. His eyes were very keen and clear blue-gray. He was an exceedingly well-built man, carrying himself up to his death with the straight back of a much younger man. He was never overweight." Unlike so many geniuses who acquire dissipated habits, he was ever simple, orderly and abstemious in his manner of life, of domestic tastes and deeply attached to his home and family. In the mind and heart and soul of such a man art finds a fertile soil for development into forms of beauty, in which is no suspicion of anything opposed to faith, purity, hope and all high and worthy sentiments and aspirations. Mr. Palmer was, indeed, through his works which depict an ennobled humanity, a preacher, not with words, but with the subtle though intelligible lineaments of marble and bronze.

It is a source of wonder, when viewing his works, how a man of limited advantages of education and culture could have produced such art treasures, but it should be considered that he was really an educated man, not through schools, but by diligence in a long course of judicious reading which he pursued in leisure hours, his wife lending her aid by reading to him in the evenings. His apprehension was quick and his daily observations of humanity around him were a not limited source of instruction, for his mind being sensitive to the most delicate shades of facial expression, and to the minutest significance of gesture or attitude, what would be unobserved by the average person made an indelible impression and furnished him with an abundance of suggestions for his art. His literary preference was for strong books of established reputation, endorsed by time and characterized by fundamental thought; in fiction he preferred Thackeray and Dickens, because of their emphasis upon human sentiment and character, which play so great a part in his sculptures.

For many years and up to the time of his death Mr. Palmer enjoyed the intimate friendship of Mr. Asa W. Twitchell, whose home was near Albany, and who was a portrait and landscape painter of very wide repute. There was a bond of union between these eminent artists, due to a mutual appreciation and admiration of their gifts. Both had acquired their skill through their own efforts and without the aid of instructors; they were nearly of the same age, each had earned his success in Albany, and their deaths were separated by but a few weeks. Mr. Twitchell painted the portraits of many eminent men in different parts of the country, and in the capitol at Albany are his portraits of numerous governors



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and judges of the State of New York; he also excelled as a landscape artist and was acknowledged in foreign lands as a master of his art.

Mr. Palmer was an amiable man, cherishing no animosities and looking out with charitable eyes upon humanity and making but two reservations, which, he whimsically said, were a dishonest man and a poor mechanic, whom he hated. As the years accumulated upon him he devoted less time to his work and made repeated trips to London and Minneapolis to visit his daughters. Few artists have experienced such calm and happy days after a career crowned with success, protracted to old age and with affluence and worthy fame. In 1843 Mr. Palmer married Mary Seaman, from which union were born five children, named in the order of their births: Isabelle (Mrs. W. H. Fassette), aged eighty-four, of London, England; Fannie (Mrs. Joseph Gavit), New York City, who died in 1929; Rebecca (Mrs. Frank Burton), New York City; Walter L. Palmer, Albany, New York, who, inheriting the art nature of his father, is a painter, specializing in winter scenes in which he stands preëminent. He has been awarded many medals and prizes. Madeleine (Mrs. Clive Jaffray), Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. Palmer died at No. 5 Lafayette Street, Albany, on March 9, 1904, and was buried in the Albany Rural Cemetery, of which he was a trustee and in which he took a deep interest. Having reached the advanced age of nearly eighty-seven years, his passing was without disease, a failure of the vital powers having been the cause of his demise. It was like the falling of ripened fruit, ready to be garnered. In life he had been a lover, champion and delineator of nature, and in fullness of years and honors she took her devoted servant tenderly away.

Acknowledgments—Information has been principally derived from the following works: Tuckerman's "Book of the Artists"; Taft's "Introduction to History of American Sculpture"; Goodyear's "Renaissance and Modern Art"; Reynolds' "Albany Chronicles"; Hill's "New York State Men," and Phelps' "Albany Rural Cemetery."

I am indebted to Mr. Walter L. Palmer for much first-hand information concerning his father's personality, life and works, and for the loan of the photographs with which this paper is illustrated. Also, my thanks are due Miss Edna L. Jacobsen, of the New York State Library, for her intelligent coöperation in furnishing book references and other data.

The Story of Old Fort Johnson

BY JOHN J. BIRCH, SCHENECTADY, NEW YORK



IN the autumn of 1737, William Johnson, a young Irish gentleman of the County of Meath, Ireland, strode along the highway leading to the port town of the Bay of Droghenda. Sir Peter Warren, his uncle, had offered him the superintendency of his 14,000 acres of land on the Mohawk River in America and he was on his way to bid the last farewell to his Irish sweetheart. History has forgotten the name of the maiden as well as the motives of Sir Peter Warren in offering the care of his land to his nephew.

Johnson arrived at New York in December and spent the remainder of the winter as the guest of his aunt, Sir Peter Warren's wife. Lady Warren was a daughter of Stephen de Lancey, one of the richest merchants in New York, whose family held leadership of the most select and aristocratic society of the Province. Amid these surroundings he remained until June of the following year, at which time he journeyed to his charge in the wilderness of the Mohawk Valley.

He was ambitious, and within a year after his arrival he had constructed a rude storehouse and dwelling across from what is now the city of Amsterdam, New York. While living there he worked diligently to improve and develop the estate which had been entrusted to his care. Lewis Phillips, one of his neighbors, secured for him a young Dutch girl by the name of Catherine Weisenburg, as his housekeeper. He afterwards married her and she became the mother of his son John and his two daughters, Ann and Mary. It was not long before he discovered that across the river there was a stream sufficiently large to operate a water-wheel, and he proceeded to erect a mill at that place. It proved successful, and in 1742 he erected a substantial stone house nearby and called it "Mount Johnson," although it was situated on comparatively level land only several thousand feet from the river. In those days it may well have been termed magnificent, and even to this day bears the impress of a skilled and experienced builder. It is still standing, known as "Fort Johnson." But his wife, Catherine, found little happiness there, for she died shortly after its completion.

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Johnson and the Indians—Johnson, because of his power of adaptation and strict integrity, soon made close friends with the Indians. He was at ease, whether entertaining the scion of nobility in his baronial mansion or seated on the floor of a bark wigwam in conversation with painted warriors. Because of his influence over the Indians he was made Indian Commissioner in 1746 and due to his kindness and tact obtained almost complete control over the warlike Iroquois. Several times, because of the jealousy of Governor Shirley, he was forced to resign this office, but each time the Indians were so aroused and vociferous in their demand for his reinstatement that he was reappointed and given additional powers.

His Indian Wives—Shortly after the death of his wife Catherine, he took to his home the daughter of Chief Abraham, who was also a relative to King Hendrick, the most powerful chief of the Mohawks. She became his wife by the usages and laws of the Indians. This was done at the time when his influence over the Iroquois was being made manifest and was undoubtedly one of policy so as to secure a very close bond between the Mohawks, who had made him a chief, and their neighbors, the Iroquois. She gave birth to a son, who was named William after his father, and two daughters, Charlotte and Catherine. She died in 1753, which also marks the birth of Catherine.

At the death of his wife, Molly Brant, a niece of his first wife, Catherine, was installed as housekeeper and later became the wife of Sir William. She adopted the two girls, Charlotte and Catherine, who lived with her at Fort Johnson; while the son, William, was brought up by his grandfather Abraham. William was killed in the battle of Oriskany, thus leaving John (the son by Catherine Weisenburg) as the only male heir. Molly Brant lived with Sir William until his death, a period of about twenty years, during which time eight children were born.

The French and Indian War—During the French and Indian War, William Johnson was knighted as Sir William Johnson and was made commandant of the militia of the Mohawk Valley. "Mount Johnson" became the stronghold of the neighborhood. The building was fortified by a palisade of high pointed timbers and the name changed to Fort Johnson. The house is two stories high with a large attic in which are four dormer windows with sash opening outward. In the heavy sills of each of these windows there still can be seen a round hole about an inch and a half in diameter and several inches deep which were undoubtedly

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used as pivots for small cannon. The stone walls are intact and show no evidences of holes having been made in them for the purpose of firing either guns or cannon. History tells us of the many meetings of the tribe on the flats to the east and west of the house. In June, 1755, more than eleven hundred Indians were encamped, of which number three hundred were warriors awaiting the command of Sir William.

Sir William Builds Johnson Hall—At the close of the last French War, Sir William Johnson secured twenty-six thousand acres in the vicinity of the present city of Johnstown, New York, about ten miles north of Fort Johnson, and turned his attention to the improvement and development of this more valuable estate. Here, in 1763, he built a commodious mansion, and gave it the name of Johnson Hall, leaving Fort Johnson and the lands adjoining, in possession of his son John, who was then twenty-one years old.

Sir William Johnson died at Johnson Hall, July 11, 1774. As all had loved him, so all mourned for him, for he was a perfect gentleman who practiced truth, honor, and mercy. He was the only living white man implicitly trusted by the savages of this continent, because he never broke his word to them. He was a great constructive genius; the greatest landowner in America, "a wise magistrate," a victorious soldier, a builder of cities in a wilderness, but greatest of all—a redeemer of men.

Sir John Johnson, Son of Sir William Johnson—Of the early life of Sir John Johnson little is known except that he had a son and daughter by Miss Clara Putnam, whom he had not married. She was his housekeeper at Fort Johnson before his marriage to Mary Watts. However, before he returned with his bride he carried Miss Putnam and her children across the river. Later in life he gave her a house and lot in Schenectady, at which place she died in 1840.

The Marriage of Sir John Johnson—Sir John Johnson was married to Mary Watts, at New York City, June 20, 1773. "Polly," as she was commonly called, was a woman noted for her great beauty and accomplishments, being the scion of a family of old New Yorkers whose ancestors were among the makers of that lordly city. On the morning after the ceremony the young couple embarked on a schooner for Albany. The boat was selected with care and a great deal of attention was bestowed upon the arrangement of the cabin and the necessary stocking of the larder with choice wines and delicacies.

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The voyage of the bridal party up the Hudson was in those days equivalent in point of duration to a voyage to Europe at the present time; occupying as it did, six or eight days. The party consisted of Sir John, Lady Johnson, her brother, Stephen Watts, and probably several servants. Sir William Johnson, John's father, did not attend the wedding, due to ill health and insufficient strength to undertake such a long journey from Johnson Hall. From Albany to Schenectady the journey very evidently was made by stage coach and from the latter place to Fort Johnson on a rude Mohawk River flatboat propelled by a half score of half naked polemen.

The wilderness into which Lady Johnson journeyed was a direct contrast to the glitter of wealth and fashion of New York. The stone baronial mansion, rising grim from amongst a grove of locusts and surrounded by a great lawn which extended to the river's edge, was imposing in size and appearance. The interior of the house was finished in Colonial fashion with panelled walls and wide, heavy mouldings. Each of its eight rooms were of generous size and contained large fireplaces. A wide hall on the main floor, with its wide stairway guarded by a narrow mahogany rail and slim baluster, was repeated above, while the stairs continued to a large attic with huge beams and dormer windows. It is assumed that with wealth at his command, Sir John's retinue of servants must have been large and his stables adequate; but there was little to relieve the monotony of rural existence except occasional trips to Albany or Schenectady.

Sir John Johnson and the Revolution—Sir John Johnson was a different character from his father. He was arrogant and assumed a superiority on account of his British education. Thus he looked down upon the humble friends of his father as being below him and little better than human chattels and not worthy to associate with him—a knight and baronet of the realm of Great Britain.

Some historians claim that if Sir William had lived, he would have sided with the Colonies in the Revolution. But his son, Sir John Johnson, sided decidedly with the King; and in consequence there were many clashes between the Tories and the Patriots. Matters became so bad that General Philip Schuyler, with four thousand troops, marched against Sir John, disarmed him and his followers and took him prisoner. He was sent to Fishkill, where he was liberated on parole. In May, 1776, he broke parole and fled through the Adirondacks to Montreal.

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Shortly after his arrival he was commissioned a colonel in the British service and raised a command of two battalions. In the month of January, 1777, he was sent to New York, then in the hands of the British forces. From that time he became one of the bitterest enemies of his countrymen.

Lady Johnson Taken Prisoner—After Sir John's capture, Lady Johnson was removed to Albany, where she was retained as a hostage for the peaceful conduct of her husband. She was very irritable and petulant, and imbued with the exalted idea that she was the wife of a baronet of Great Britain. Because it was discovered that she was communicating with her husband in Canada and giving him valuable information, detrimental to the cause of the Patriots, she was placed under closer surveillance, but escaped with her three children in January, 1777, and made her way to New York City. Shortly after her arrival, one of the children died as the result of the cold and exposure.

The Raid of Sir John Johnson—The family returned to Canada and Sir John conducted many raids into Northern New York, the most important one being in 1780, for the sordid purpose of regaining his buried treasures and papers which he had left behind in his flight through the Adirondacks in 1776. These treasures consisted of a large quantity of silver plate and other valuables, together with documents whose intrinsic value is not known. The papers and documents were destroyed by dampness and the silver and other articles retrieved at a great cost of life and suffering. The plate was undoubtedly of tremendous value, requiring the knapsacks of forty soldiers for its transportation. What had been recovered amid fire and sword, death and devastation, was placed on shipboard for conveyance to England. But by the irony of fate the vessel sank in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and its precious, though blood-stained, cargo sank into the depths of the sea. Until the end of the war, Sir John Johnson continued to be a dreaded character along the northern frontier and led many Tories who had fled from the Colonies to regain, if possible, the lands and homesteads that they had abandoned.

The Later Years of His Life—After the Revolution, Sir John Johnson received from the British Government \$221,000 for his losses by confiscation and sequestration. Together with his family he resided at Montreal, although the summer months were frequently spent on his seigniory at Argenteuil on the Ottawa River.

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Lady Johnson died in Montreal, August 7, 1815. Her husband survived her and died at the same place, January 4, 1830. Both are buried at "Mount Johnson," near Chambly, Province of Quebec, Canada.

"Fort Johnson" at Present—"Fort Johnson" is in an excellent state of preservation. Through the kindness of Major-General John Watts de Peyster, of Rose Hill, Tivoli, New York, the grand-nephew of Lady Johnson, the property was purchased and presented to the Montgomery County Historical Society. The people of Amsterdam have placed a memorial tablet in the hall of the house in memory of the donor. Many of our historical buildings are passing into decay, but Amsterdam is fortunate in having such a public-spirited citizen as Hon. Stephen A. Sanford, who has endowed this historic building with a sufficient sum to care for it and perpetuate it as long as it continues to exist. The building is open to the public and daily scores of tourists interested in American history pass through its historic rooms.



The Expansion of Massachusetts --- Chronological --- Based on the Official Records

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.

HE English founded their claim to North American territory on its discovery by the Cabots, sailing in the employ of English masters in 1497, but the Spanish considerably preceded them in settlement in Mexico, 1519 on, and along the Gulf of Mexico; and the French in Canada, 1534 on. The territory between the Spanish settlements on the south and the French settlements in Canada, when explored by the expedition under Amidas and Barlow, sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1581, was given the name Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen of England; but the history proper begins with the grant by James I, April 10, 1605, of territory extending fifty miles inland to two companies, called from the residence of the chief proprietors, the London Company, granted from thirty-four degrees to forty-one degrees north latitude, and the Plymouth Company, granted from thirty-eight degrees to forty-five degrees north, providing that their colonies be one hundred miles apart; the government being vested in the Royal Council of Virginia, in London.

(New "International Encyclopedia," Vol. XXIII, p. 183.)

Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of Ashton Phillips in Somersetshire, obtained from James I the incorporation of the Plymouth (or North Virginia) Company, and sent out under George Popham, brother of the Chief Justice, and Raleigh Gilbert, nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, three ships and one hundred settlers, who arrived at the mouth of the Kennebec River May 31, 1607, and landed at a point, probably Cape Small Point, now in Phippsburg, Maine, August 8. This was nearly contemporaneous with the arrival of Christopher Newport, sent by the London Company, with three ships and one hundred and twenty emigrants, who arrived at Cape Henry April 25, 1607, sailed across Chesapeake Bay and up James River forty miles and founded Jamestown May 11, 1607; but Sir John Popham having died, the Maine settlers became discouraged at the prospect of wintering on that inclement shore, and more than half returned with the

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ships to England; and the Maine leader, George Popham, also dying, the rest returned on a ship which brought supplies. Captain John Smith sailed with ships of the London Company from the Downs March 31, 1614, and on April 30 landed at Monhegan Island, twenty miles southwest from the mouth of the Penobscot River; and passed along the coast of what he named New England; one point at which he touched, he named Cape Ann. On his return, he joined the Plymouth Company, and published widely a map of New England; he says 2,000 to 3,000 copies, especially in southwestern England. Sir Ferdinando Gorges sent out Richard Vines, who spent the winter of 1616-17 on Saco River, and brought back news of the pestilence which depopulated the Indians of New England from Penobscot River to Narragansett Bay, at that time. These voyages and Smith's map aroused interest, especially in the southwestern counties of England, and enlisted a promoter of great energy and determination, the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, who organized a company which sent out a group of fourteen men in the fall of 1623 to Cape Ann, now in Gloucester, Massachusetts, under Thomas Gardner. Though they broke up in 1626, White used a remnant remaining at Cape Ann as the nucleus of a new company; these were Roger Conant, John Woodbury, John Balch, and Peter Palfrey. The leaders of the new company were Sir Henry Roswell and Sir John Young, of Devonshire; Thomas Southcote, probably of Devonshire; John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Newcomb. A new patent was obtained March 19, 1628, for territory southward from a line drawn three miles north of the Merrimac River, to three miles south of the Charles River, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. John Endicott was sent with some fifty persons to Naumkeag, now Salem, June 20, 1628, and the new (or Dorchester) company was enlarged and chartered March 4, 1629, as "The Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay in New England"; Matthew Cradock being chosen the first governor and John Endicott the deputy governor representing the company in Massachusetts. Six vessels with three hundred men, eighty women and twenty-six children were collected by April 16, 1629; and three ships, one the "George Bonaventure," bearing the Rev. Samuel Skelton, sailed May 4-11, 1629; the other three, with about two hundred persons arriving in June, 1629, at Naumkeag. Mr. Graves, one of the counsellors of the company, laid out Mishawum in the same month; the two settlements appearing on the record of the first court as Salem and

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Charlton (now Charlestown) August 23, 1630. Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor, and Rev. Francis Higginson, who came on the ship "Talbot," one of the second three, was chosen teacher. He was a graduate of Cambridge University. Another of the second three was the "Lion's Whelp," with Mr. Francis Bright and planters from Dorsetshire and Somersetshire.

These first permanent settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were Puritans, and to be clearly distinguished from the Separatists who founded Plymouth Colony, in that they remained largely within the pale of the Church of England. To the dramatists of the reign of Elizabeth (such as Shakespeare and Jonson), Puritans meant persons strict and serious in holy living in the Church of England; accepting the Act of Supremacy, which required the renunciation of the authority of any foreign priest or prelate, as maintained by Queen Elizabeth. The name was transferred to those who demurred at the Act of Uniformity, passed in May, 1559, forbidding all ministers to perform public worship except strictly according to the rubric of the Church of England; which act leaned toward the Catholic extreme of ceremony; the demurrers were stigmatized by the High Church advocates as "Non-Conformists." The Separatists, rising in 1567, deemed the Church of England practically Catholic. Cotton Mather brings out the distinction in representing Higginson, when taking his last look at his native shore, as saying: "We will not say, as the Separatists are wont to say, Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome! but we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it. But we go to practice the positive part of church reformation and to propagate the gospel in America."

(Palfrey, "History of New England," Vol. I, p. 297.)

Yet, in 1628, a large proportion of the Non-Conformists had come to despair of church reformation under James I and his son, Charles I, whose stand was High Church and Absolutist Government. James sternly repulsed the Millenary petition for reforms, signed by more than eight hundred clergymen, and presented to him in March, 1603, on his way to coronation; and the conference with the King, bishops and deans, at Hampton Court, January, 1604, brought from James the pronouncements, "No bishop, no King"; and "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land." (Palfrey, Vol. II, pp. 71-75.) The harry-

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ing process was the main cause of the emigration of some 20,000 Puritans to New England, 1629-42.

The old officers of the company resigned August 29, 1629, and John Winthrop, of Groton in Suffolk, was chosen governor; who with the company collected seventeen ships and about one thousand colonists. A party with Rossiter and Ludlow, assistants to the governor, and the Revs. Warham and Maverick, and passengers from Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Somersetshire, arrived at Nantasket May 30, 1630. Winthrop, in the ship "Arbella," sailed from Yarmouth in Norfolk April 7, 1630, and with the main body of the fleet arrived at Salem June 12, 1630. Rossiter's party meanwhile had proceeded up the Charles River, *via* Watertown, and settled Mattapan, which they named Dorchester, first appearing on record September 7, 1630; at the same date "the town on Charles River" appears as Watertown; and Trimountain, settled from Charlton, appears as Boston; September 28, 1630, appears Rocsbury, settled by William Pyncheon and his party; and Medford, and also Wessagusset, which appears on record September 2, 1635, as Weymouth. Agawam is mentioned September 7, but was common land; yet in the record of August 5, 1634, was a settlement called Ipswich.

The authoritative legal definition of a town in England is given in Coke's "Commentaries Upon Littleton," published in 1628: "It cannot be a town in law, unless it hath, or in past time hath had, a church, and celebration of Divine services, sacraments and burials." This legal requirement was met, in the early emigrations to New England, in many instances, by the transfer of the pastor and his congregation or church organization bodily from England; where they proceed to exercise the secular powers which we regard as those of a town. Hence, being remote from the government of England, and granted by charter the privilege of self-government, provided it be not contrary to the laws of England, it was natural that they should think to unify and to stabilize that local self-government, by requiring that those who exercised the franchise and administered the government, should be members of the church organization; especially in view of the multitude of new immigrants, strangers, arriving in the great immigration period up to 1642; but when the communities became settled, and characters known, the law was replaced by the test of fruitage of character in upright conduct and righteous life, by Act of May 26, 1647. ("Records of Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 197.)

But to record the expansion of the mother towns already enumerated: Salem, 1631, sent out an offshoot to Saugus, which appears on record

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November 20, 1637, as Lynn; from which Reading, established May 29, 1644; and Lynnfield as a district July 3, 1782, a town February 28, 1814; and the south parish of Reading as South Reading, February 25, 1812; the name being changed to Wakefield, February 25, 1868; the north part of Reading being set off as North Reading, March 22, 1853; Swampscott, May 21, 1852; Nahant, March 29, 1853; Saugus, February 17, 1815. That part of Salem called Enon was set off as Wenham September 7, 1643; and the Bass River part as Beverly November 7, 1668; "Jeffries Creek" as Manchester May 14, 1645; the village and middle parishes of Salem became Danvers District January 28, 1752; town, August 23, 1775. South Danvers from Danvers, May 18, 1855; named Peabody, April 30, 1868; Marble Harbor called Marblehead July 2, 1633, settled May 6, 1635; town, May 2, 1649.

From Charlestown, Charlestown village was set off September 27, 1642, as the town of Woburn; whence Burlington, February 28, 1799; Malden was set off from Charlestown May 2, 1649; Melrose from Malden, May 3, 1850; and Everett, March 9, 1870; Stoneham was set off from Charlestown, December 17, 1725; and Somerville March 3, 1842. What remained of Charlestown was annexed to Boston January 5, 1874. Wilmington from Reading and Woburn, September 25, 1730. From Dorchester was set off Milton, May 7, 1662; Stoughton, December 22, 1726; whence Stoughtonham, June 21, 1765, named Sharon February 25, 1783; Canton from Dorchester, February 23, 1797; Avon, February 21, 1888. Dorchester was annexed to Boston January 3, 1870.

From Watertown the west precinct was set off as the town of Weston, January 1, 1713; Waltham was set off January 4, 1738; Belmont was made from parts of Waltham, Watertown, and West Cambridge, March 18, 1859.

From Boston, named from Boston in Lincolnshire, the Mt. Wollaston plantation was set off as Braintree, May 13, 1640; whence Quincy, February 22, 1792; Randolph, March 9, 1793; whence Holbrook, February 29, 1872. The Muddy River plantation of Boston became Brookline November 13, 1705; and Rumney Marsh became Chelsea January 10, 1739; whence North Chelsea March 19, 1846, named Revere April 3, 1871, after Winthrop was set off March 27, 1852.

From Roxbury, West Roxbury was set off May 24, 1851, but Roxbury annexed to Boston January 5, 1868. Agawam, planted by Winthrop and others in 1633, was named Ipswich August 5, 1634, whence the part called New Meadows became Topsfield October 18, 1648, and the parish

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of Ipswich Hamlet became Hamilton June 21, 1793; Essex was set off as a town February 15, 1819.

From Cambridge, called "the newe towne" July 26, 1631, "Newe Towne" September 8, 1636, and Cambridge May 2, 1638, was set off Lexington March 20, 1713; Brighton, February 24, 1807, which was annexed to Boston January 5, 1874. West Cambridge was set off February 27, 1807, named Arlington April 30, 1867. Cambridge village became Newton December 15, 1691. Medford is on record September 28, 1630, named from the seat of Governor Cradock in England. Winchester was formed from parts of Medford, West Cambridge, and Woburn, April 30, 1850. Wessaguscus, on record September 28, 1630, was named Weymouth September 2, 1635.

The majority of the Winthrop colonists were from the southeastern counties; Norfolk, commemorated in Lynn from Lynn Regis and Hingham; Suffolk, commemorated in Ipswich and Stoneham; and Essex, which gave name to Essex County, Massachusetts, organized May 10, 1643; and the towns Braintree, Malden, and Waltham. They had leanings toward Presbyterian church government; sixty Presbyterian ministers being found in Southeastern England as early as 1582, and their number increasing rapidly from that time, until they became the most numerous supporters of the Parliamentary party in its conflict with the absolutism of King Charles I; and at the Westminster Assembly, in 1643, adopted the Scotch Presbyterian "Solemn League and Covenant." Advanced leaders, even in 1630, not only rejected Episcopacy, but also the principle of a State church of any kind, holding that each local congregation had the right of self-government, and hence were called Independents, who in England became the dominant party under the Commonwealth; and in Massachusetts, persuaded by the example of Plymouth, and the adaptability of independency to their partially isolated settlements, adopted it, in varying degree in various settlements—Salem directly from the Pilgrims. Winthrop's company built rude dwellings before winter, but soon became reduced to shellfish as their only meat, and groundnuts and acorns as their only bread; breadstuffs being scarce in England at the time of sailing. Many died from privation and inadequate shelter, before Dr. Samuel Fuller came to their aid, and 100 bushels of Indian corn were brought from Cape Cod. Also they had to keep their sheep on Noddle's Island, because of numerous wolves on the mainland. Not many new immigrants ventured to come until about 1635.

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Musketaquid plantation appears on record September 3, 1635, as Concord; whence Sudbury September 4, 1639; whence East Sudbury April 10, 1780, named Wayland March 11, 1835; Acton from Concord July 3, 1735; Lincoln from parts of Concord, Lexington, and Weston April 19, 1754; Maynard, April 19, 1871, from parts of Sudbury and Stow.

Wessacucon plantation is on record May 6, 1635, as Newbury, named from Newbury in Berkshire, whence its first minister, Thomas Parker; whence Parsons, February 18, 1819, named West Newbury June 14, 1820. Newburyport from Newbury, January 28, 1764. Rowley, settled by Rev. Ezekiel Rogers and his congregation, of Rowley, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, named September 4, 1639; whence Georgetown, April 21, 1838; Rowley village was named Boxford, September 14, 1694; Bradford, October 13, 1675; whence Groveland, March 8, 1850, and the rest annexed to Haverhill January 4, 1897.

Contentment plantation is on record September 8, 1636, as Dedham, named from Dedham Parish in County Essex, England; whence Medfield, May 22, 1650; whence Medway, October 24, 1713; whence Millis, February 24, 1885. Needham from Dedham, November 6, 1711; Dover District, July 7, 1784; a town March 31, 1836. Walpole from Dedham, December 10, 1724. Wellesley from Needham, April 6, 1881. Westwood from Dedham, April 2, 1897. Norwood from Dedham and Walpole, February 23, 1872. Hyde Park, April 22, 1868, from parts of Dedham, Dorchester, and Milton, annexed to Boston November 7, 1911.

Colchester common lands are on record October 7, 1640, as Salisbury, named by Chris. Batte, of Salisbury, in Wiltshire. A part called Salisbury-new-town, made a town May 23, 1666, and named Amesbury May 27, 1668; whence Merrimac, April 11, 1876. Agawam, begun by William Pynchon in 1636, was named by him from his native Springfield in County Essex, on record of June 2, 1641; whence Westfield (Woronoake), May 19, 1669; whence Southwick, November 7, 1770. Wilbraham from Springfield, June 15, 1763; whence Hampden, March 28, 1878. West Springfield from Springfield, February 23, 1774; whence Holyoke, March 14, 1850, and Agawam, May 17, 1855; Longmeadow, from Springfield, October 13, 1783; whence East Longmeadow, May 19, 1894. Ludlow from Springfield, August 23, 1775; Chicopee, April 29, 1848.

Pantucket on record as Haverhill, June 2, 1641, named by Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill, County Essex, its first minister; whence Methuen, December 8, 1725.

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"Cape Anne," named Gloucester May 18, 1642, by its minister, Rev. Richard Blinman, of Gloucester, England; whence Rockport, February 27, 1840. Cochichawick on record as Andover, May 6, 1646; whence North Andover, April 7, 1855. Lawrence from Andover and Methuen, April 17, 1847. Middleton from parts of Andover, Boxford, Salem, and Topsfield, June 20, 1728.

Nashaway lands settled from Sudbury and named Lancaster from Lancaster in Lancashire, on record May 18, 1653; whence Bolton, June 24, 1738; Leominster, June 23, 1740. Berlin District from parts of Bolton and Marlborough, March 16, 1784, made a town February 6, 1812. Clinton from Lancaster, March 14, 1850. Sterling, April 25, 1781. Groton, Petapowag plantation, named by Deane Winthrop from Groton in County Suffolk, where he had estate; on record May 23, 1655; its second precinct named Pepperell District, April 12, 1753; made a town August 23, 1775. Shirley made a district of Groton, January 5, 1753; a town August 23, 1775. Ayer from parts of Groton and Shirley, February 14, 1871.

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Billerica, on record May 29, 1655, named from Billericay in County Essex, England; whence Tewksbury, December 17, 1734. Bedford from Billerica and Concord, September 23, 1729. Chelmsford, on record May 29, 1655, named from Chelmsford in County Essex; whence Westford, September 23, 1729, and Lowell, March 1, 1826. Carlisle, April 28, 1780, from parts of Acton, Billerica, Chelmsford, and Concord.

Nonotuck common land on record as Northampton, May 14, 1656; whence Southampton, January 5, 1753; Easthampton District, June 17, 1785, from parts of Northampton and Southampton; was made a town June 16, 1809. Westhampton from Northampton, September 29, 1778.

Marlborough, begun as "Whipsufferage," was soon on record, May 31, 1660, named from Marlborough in Wiltshire, whence some of its settlers. Thence Westborough, November 18, 1717; whence Northborough, August 23, 1775; Southborough, July 6, 1727. Hadley, settled chiefly from Hartford, Connecticut, appears on record May 22, 1661; whence Hatfield, May 31, 1670; whence Whateley, April 24, 1771, and the district of Williamsburg, the latter made a town August 23, 1775. South Hadley from Hadley, April 12, 1753; Amherst from Hadley, February 13, 1759; whence Granby, June 11, 1768. Quinsigamond on record as Mendon, May 15, 1667; named from Mendham Parish in County Suffolk. Thence Uxbridge, June 27, 1727; Upton, June 14,

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1735; Milford, April 11, 1780; whence Hopedale, April 7, 1886. Blackstone, March 25, 1845; whence Millville, May 1, 1916. Northbridge from Uxbridge, July 14, 1772. Quobauge made the town of Brookfield, October 15, 1673; whence North Brookfield, February 28, 1812; West Brookfield, March 3, 1848.

Wrentham, named from Wrentham in County Suffolk, October 15, 1673. Bellingham from parts of Dedham, Mendon, and Wrentham, November 27, 1719. Franklin, from Wrentham, March 2, 1778. Plainville, April 4, 1905. Norfolk, from parts of Franklin, Medway, Walpole, and Wrentham, February 23, 1870. Foxborough from parts of Stoughton, Stoughtonham, Walpole and Wrentham, June 10, 1778.

Dunstable, on record October 13, 1680, named from Dunstable in Bedfordshire, by Rev. Symmes, who had estate there; whence Tynngsborough District, June 22, 1789, made a town February 23, 1809.

Sherborn ("Boggestowe"), named from Sherborne in Dorsetshire, October 7, 1674; whence Holliston, December 3, 1724.

Deerfield, on record October 22, 1677; whence Greenfield District, June 9, 1753, made a town August 23, 1775; also Conway District, June 17, 1767, made a town August 23, 1775. Gill from Greenfield, September 28, 1793. Shelburne District from Deerfield, June 21, 1768, town August 23, 1775. Pompositticut plantation, between Concord and Lancaster, is on record May 16, 1683, as Stow; Hudson, from parts of Marlborough and Stow, March 19, 1866. Harvard, June 29, 1732, from parts of Groton, Lancaster, and Stow. Boxborough, February 25, 1783, from parts of Harvard, Littleton, and Stow, a district, made a town November 4, 1835. Maynard from parts of Sudbury and Stow, April 19, 1871.

Quansigamond plantation is on record October 15, 1684, as Worcester, named from Worcester, England, and made a town June 14, 1722; the north part as Holden, January 9, 1741.

The Huguenot plantation, granted 1686, is on record as Oxford, May 31, 1693; whence Charlton District, January 10, 1755; made a town August 23, 1775; and part of Oxford, with common lands added, became the town of Dudley, February 2, 1732. Webster, from parts of Dudley and Oxford, March 6, 1832.

Framingham plantation, on record October 13, 1675, became a town June 25, 1700; named from Framlingham, in County Suffolk, England. Dracut appears on record February 26, 1702; named from Dracut, Wiltshire. Leicester, the Indian Towtaid, is on record February 15, 1713;

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made a town June 14, 1722; whence Spencer District, April 12, 1753; made a town August 23, 1775. Paxton, from Leicester and Rutland, February 12, 1765.

Squakeag plantation is on record as Northfield, February 22, 1714; a town June 15, 1723.

Naquag lands are on record February 23, 1714, as Rutland, named from Rutland, England, and made a town June 18, 1722; whence Rutland District, April 12, 1753; a town, Hutchinson, June 17, 1774; changed to Barre, November 7, 1776. Princeton set off October 20, 1759; town, 1771. Hubbardston District, June 13, 1767; town, August 23, 1775. Oakham, June 7, 1762. Sutton on record October 28, 1714; whence Millbury, June 11, 1813. Ward Parish set off from Leicester, Oxford, Sutton, and Worcester, April 10, 1778; name changed to Auburn, February 17, 1837.

Littleton, on record December 3, 1715; earlier, Nashoba.

Hopkinton, for Moguncoy plantation, is on record December 13, 1715; bought by the bequest of Edward Hopkins to Harvard College. Ashland, March 16, 1846, from parts of Framingham, Holliston, and Hopkinton.

Sunderland on record November 12, 1718; whence Montague, 1754, Leverett, 1774. Shrewsbury on record December 6, 1720; a town December 19, 1727; whence Boylston, March 1, 1786. West Boylston, from Boylston, Holden, and Sterling, January 30, 1808.

Lunenburg, a town August 1, 1728; whence Fitchburg, February 3, 1764. Brimfield on record June 10, 1714, a town December 24, 1731; named from Brimpsfield in Gloucestershire; whence Monson, April 28, 1760; South Brimfield, September 18, 1762; east parish named Holland, July 5, 1783; the rest named Wales. Townsend, a town June 29, 1732.

Sheffield, a town June 22, 1738, taken from the Housatannic plantation; whence Great Barrington, June 30, 1761; whence Alford, 1773. Hassanamisco plantation made the town of Grafton, April 18, 1735.

New Medfield land made the town of Sturbridge, June 24, 1738; Southbridge from parts of Charlton, Dudley, and Sturbridge, February 15, 1816.

"Lambstown" made the town of Hardwick, January 10, 1739. Indian plantation made the town of Stockbridge, June 22, 1739; whence West Stockbridge, March 9, 1774. Western, made from parts of Brimfield, Brookfield, and Kingsfield (now Palmer), January 16, 1742; name changed to Warren March 13, 1834. "Glasgow" settlement (Scotch-Irish) made

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the town of Blandford, April 10, 1741. "New Lisburne," Scotch-Irish settlement, made the town of Pelham, January 15, 1743. New Sherburn plantation on record as Douglas, June 5, 1746; named from Dr. William Douglas, a proprietor, and made a town August 23, 1775. New Braintree on record January 31, 1751; made a district April 17, 1751; a town August 23, 1775. A grant, 6,000 acres, to Braintree owners. "Elbows" plantation made the district of Palmer, January 30, 1752; a town August 23, 1775; named from Thomas Palmer, of Massachusetts Council. New Salem, settled from Salem; made a district June 15, 1753; a town August 23, 1775. Prescott, from parts of Pelham and New Salem, January 28, 1822.

Bedford plantation made the district of Granville, January 25, 1754; a town August 23, 1775; whence Tolland, June 14, 1810. Nichewoag plantation made the town of Petersham, April 20, 1754. Quabin plantation made the town of Greenwich April 20, 1754. New Marlborough made a district June 15, 1759; town August 23, 1775. Egremont made a district, February 13, 1760; a town August 23, 1775. Pontoo-suck plantation made the town of Pittsfield April 21, 1761. Colrain made a town June 30, 1761. Cold Spring plantation made the town of Belchertown, June 30, 1761; named from Jonathan Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts. Enfield, February 15, 1816, from Belchertown and Greenwich. Roadtown plantation made the town of Shutesbury, June 30, 1761; named from Samuel Shute, Governor of Massachusetts; whence Wendell, May 8, 1781. Ware River Parish, from parts of Brookfield, Palmer, and Western, made the district of Ware, November 25, 1761; a town August 23, 1775. Number Three plantation made the town of Sandisfield, March 6, 1762, and Southfield District (the south 11,000 acres) annexed February 10, 1819.

Number One plantation made the town of Tyringham, March 6, 1762; whence Monterey, April 12, 1847. Falltown plantation made the town of Bernardston, March 6, 1762, and named from Francis Barnard, Governor of Massachusetts, 1760-69; Leyden District from Bernardston, March 12, 1784; a town February 22, 1809. Payquage plantation made the town of Athol, March 6, 1762. Narragansett Number Six plantation made the town of Templeton, March 6, 1762; named from Earl Temple (Richard Grenville). Gerry from Athol and Templeton, October 20, 1786; named Phillipston, February 5, 1814. New Hingham plantation made the town of Chesterfield, June 11, 1762; whence, with Chesterfield

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Gore, the town of Goshen, May 14, 1781. Natick, originally an Indian parish, mentioned October 14, 1651, was made a district February 23, 1762; a town February 19, 1781. Roxbury-Canada plantation was made the town of Warwick, February 17, 1763; named from the Earl of Warwick, Fulke Greville.

Winchendon, Ipswich-Canada, granted the soldiers of Ipswich in the French and Indian War, was made a town June 14, 1764. Royalshire, named from Isaac Royal, a proprietor, made a town February 19, 1765, Royalston. Dorchester-Canada plantation made the town of Ashburnham, February 22, 1765, named from John Ashburnham, second Earl of Ashburnham; Gardner, June 27, 1785, from Ashburnham, Templeton, Westminster, Winchendon. Plantation Number Four made the town of Becket June 21, 1765. New Framingham plantation made the town of Lanesborough, June 21, 1765; named from Viscount Lanesborough.

Yokum Town plantation made the town of Richmond, June 21, 1765; Richmond, March 3, 1785; named from C. Lennox, Duke of Richmond; whence Lenox, set off February 26, 1767. West Hoosuck plantation made the town of Williamstown, June 21, 1765, named from Col. Ephraim Williams, Jr., founder of Williams College. Huntstown, on record January 19, 1736, as township granted Ephraim Hunt's company; name changed to Ashfield, June 21, 1765. Charlemont plantation made a town June 21, 1765; named from third Viscount Charlemont, James Caulfield; whence Heath, February 14, 1785; Buckland, April 14, 1779. Murrayfield made a town October 31, 1765; named Chester, February 21, 1783, after the transfer of the earlier Chester to New Hampshire. Thence Norwich District, June 29, 1773, town August 23, 1775; name changed to Huntington, March 9, 1855. Ashby made from parts of Ashburnham, Fitchburg, and Townsend, March 6, 1767; named from Francis, Baron Ashby.

Plantation Number Three made the town of Worthington, June 30, 1768; named from Col. John Worthington, a proprietor, benefactor. Narragansett Number Two plantation was made the district of Westminster, October 20, 1759, a town April 26, 1770. Plantation Number Four made the town of Gageborough, July 4, 1771; named Windsor, October 16, 1778. Plantation Number Two made the town of Partridgefield, named from O. Partridge; name changed to Peru, June 19, 1806. Tyringham Equivalent made the town of Loudon, February 27, 1773; name changed to Otis, June 13, 1810; from H. G. Otis, of Boston. Jerico plantation made the town of Hancock, July 2, 1776. Hartwood

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plantation made the town of Washington, April 12, 1777; Lee from Great Barrington and Washington, October 21, 1777. East Hoosuck plantation made the town of Adams, October 15, 1778; whence North Adams, April 16, 1878. Tauconnock Mountain plantation, town of Mt. Washington, June, 1779. Number Five plantation, town of Cummington, June 23, 1779; whence Plainfield District, March 16, 1785; town June 15, 1807. Middlefield, from parts of Becket, Chester, Partridgefield, Washington, and Worthington, March 12, 1783. Montgomery, from Norwich, Southampton, and Westfield, November 28, 1780; Russell from Westfield and Montgomery, February 25, 1792. New Ashford District, February 26, 1781; town November 4, 1835. Some settlers from Ashford, Connecticut. Orange District from parts of Athol, Royalston, and Warwick, October 15, 1783. Ashuelot Equivalent made the town of Dalton, March 20, 1784; and Hinsdale from Dalton and Partridgefield, June 21, 1804. Myrifielands became the town of Rowe, February 9, 1785; whence Monroe, February 21, 1822. Hawley, from Number Seven plantation, February 6, 1792. Cheshire, March 14, 1793, from parts of Adams, Lanesborough, Windsor, and the district of New Ashford. Savoy was made a town in Berkshire County, February 20, 1797. Clarksburg made a town in Berkshire County, March 2, 1798. Dana, from parts of Greenwich, Hardwick, and Petersham, February 18, 1801. Florida made a town in Berkshire County, June 15, 1805. Erving's grant made a town in Franklin County, April 17, 1838.

Duke's County—The islands Nantucket, Martin's (Martha's) Vineyard, Elizabeth Island, and No Man's Land, settled by Massachusetts and Plymouth, 1642 on, were included in the grant March 12, 1664, by Charles II, to his brother James, Duke of York, and appear among the twelve counties of New York Province, made in 1683, as "Duke's County." They were annexed to Massachusetts in 1695 by William III under the charter of 1691. "Great Harbour" appears as the town of Edgartown, July 8, 1671; whence Cottage City, February 17, 1880; named Oak Bluffs, January 25, 1907. "Middletown" is Tisbury, July 8, 1671; whence West Tisbury, April 28, 1892. Chilmark, or Manor of Tisbury, appears September 14, 1694, a town October 30, 1714; whence the Elizabeth Island as Gosnold, March 17, 1864. Gay Head Indian lands, a district May 28, 1856; a town April 30, 1870. A district had all the rights of a town, "that of sending a representative only excepted"; which was withheld by the royal governors, 1728 on, to restrict the power of the House of Representatives.

Vermont's Early Industries and Inventors

BY ARTHUR F. STONE, ST. JOHNSBURY, VERMONT

You ask what manufactures would thrive best in Vermont. I am persuaded the difficulty would be to point out the manufacturing that would not flourish in it.—*A reply made in 1796 to the Duke of Portland by Ira Allen.*

Windsor, Vermont (small and secluded as it is), has contributed signally to tool building throughout this country and Europe.—*Prof. Joseph W. Roe, in "English and American Tool Builders."*



THE great trek of settlers to Vermont came after Massachusetts was a hundred years old with a population of more than 300,000 souls. There had been a few pioneers in the north land before 1760, but this year, marking the cessation of hostilities with the French of Canada, made safe a region which had been the highways of war parties. Within three decades, beginning with 1760, Vermont had a population of 85,425 and another ten years added nearly 70,000; the following decade brought an increase of more than 63,000, so that after but half a century of development, the State had a population (1810), of 217,895, a large number for that day. These settlers came, primarily, because they were interested in the possibilities of agriculture in the region, although the products of the forest and trade with Canada and the sections from which they came, interested many. It can be said without boasting, that the pioneers were a choice people. They were of English and Scotch descent, enterprising, adventuresome and bold, else they would not have left the older settled regions to test fortune in new and distant land—when the hardships and lack of transportation facilities are considered. They were children of folk far separated from the mother country, who by their ingenuity, industry and courage had been able, not only to maintain themselves, but had done so in the face of opposition and eventual attempts at repression by their former countrymen.

The ancient "mercantile system," of England, under which the American colonies were exploited, was a policy whereby the growth of a colony was fostered only as a source of supply of raw materials and farm products for the mother nation. A restraint was placed upon all attempts at the manufacture of anything abroad. The colony must purchase foreign-made goods and thereby build up the wealth and power of the

VERMONT'S EARLY INDUSTRIES AND INVENTORS

founding nation. It was this repressive policy which held in check the industrial development of the American colonies and became one of the causes of the Revolution. It was this attempted restraint upon the manufacturing instincts and former training of our forefathers which engendered the ingenuity and inventive genius of the New Englanders from whom came the pioneers of Vermont. The double disadvantage of being unable to get tools, machinery and industrial secrets from overseas, and the difficulty of transporting any but the simplest of instruments from their home towns forced the early settlers of the State to work out ways and means of making what they needed. The very difficulties under which they labored brought out the best that was within them, and was one of the reasons why Vermont became a reservoir of inventions, of progressive methods of manufacture, of ideas and ways of doing things which have been adopted far beyond the bounds of the State.

Grist and Sawmills—The first settlers were intent upon cultivating the land, and they came with their meagre but treasured possessions by river and by former Indian trails. Trees were felled, a shelter constructed, and between the tree stumps of the cleared land corn was planted, for this was the chief article of food. One of the first mechanical devices made by a pioneer was apt to be a plumping mill. A hardwood stump was hollowed out and a stone attached to a living sapling was hung over the shallow depression. Corn placed in the stump was pounded into the material for Johnny-cake. This was both a slow and wasteful method of handling grain, and was displaced by a community gristmill as soon as was possible. These gristmills, located where there were water-power sites, were the bases of the first industry; the sawmill was a close second. Thus the two greatest natural resources of Vermont, its water-powers and forests, laid the foundations of its first manufacturing industries. To encourage the building of mills, a bounty of forty dollars or more frequently was offered to a miller, or woodsawyer. Sites were given, or areas of land presented, to insure the construction of a mill. The proprietors of Arlington "Voted to give fifty acres to anyone who would set up a grist mill. . . . Remember Baker built a grist and sawmill, accepting this offer." (Hemenway.) Similar quotations could be taken from the early history of a hundred towns. There is nothing novel about the gift, under the auspices of a present-day chamber of commerce or other business organizations, of a site or bounty to lure the wary manufacturer to locate.



MT. MANSFIELD (ELEVATION 4,389 FEET, THE HIGHEST IN STATE) FROM UNDERHILL



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The sawmills required rather more power than was needed to drive a cornmill, and were, therefore, fewer in the early days. It was both difficult and expensive to get and transport equipment, especially the great crank which was required. A sawmill, built in Newbury, in 1764, had its one hundred and seventy-five pound crank hauled all the way from Concord, New Hampshire. The work was done in the winter by the settlers, who nearly perished from exposure. The crank did service for more than twenty years in the first sawmill and lasted until 1871, when the last survivor of the ancient "up and down" sawmill passed out. Some idea of the number of the early water-driven mills in the State may be realized from the fact that upon the not so large Black River there were at one time forty-three dams and mills. The lumber produced was for local consumption, at first, it being well on into the last century before a heavy export trade was developed. A forest bi-product, potash-pearl or potash, valuable for the making of soap, glass, and other things, used much of the standing timber. The potash was derived from wood ashes, made while clearing land, or often areas of the hard-wood forest would be chopped down and burned for the ashes. The pearl and potashes were often the first and only "money crop" of the farm upon which they were made. More often, after the first few years, the potash was made by a local "ashery" instead of the farmer, so that a third manufacturing industry was created in pioneer days. The wooden implements, dishes, furniture, tubs, etc., were originally of home manufacture, but soon went into factory production. Pails and tubs were in great demand in connection with the maple sap harvest, as were the great kettles in which the sugar and syrup were made.

It is somewhat surprising to read that Matthew Lyon, in 1796, "operated . . . a paper mill . . . and a printing office, printing on paper which he made from basswood bark." This was long before making paper from wood pulp was a commercial success.

Iron Industries—To make stave pails and tubs, iron bands were needed. The wooden plow, still in use, was bettered by an iron facing. Potash and sap kettles had to be sought for at far places, some being brought from the ancient forges near Three Rivers, Canada. There were a thousand demands for iron, and the pioneers searched carefully for bodies of bog-iron in the regions they settled. Iron was found in several places and a number of early Vermont towns smelted and forged this metal. Matthew Lyon built a dam at the Falls of Fair Haven and

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set up a large iron plant in 1785, and asked the General Assembly "to lay a duty of two pence per pound on nails to enable him to build his works and supply the State." Before the end of the century (1796) Lyon was running a furnace; two forges, a slitting mill for making iron rods, besides grist, paper and sawmills. Matthew Lyon was a most remarkable man and notable for many things wholly unconnected with industry.

Ira Allen, after the Revolution, constructed a dam, built two sawmills, a gristmill, a furnace and two forges in the Winooski region. There was an experimental furnace at Tinmouth before 1783, and others at Middletown and Vergennes not much later. The "Vermont Gazette" in 1789 stated that a forge was being erected at Bennington, two forges in Wallingford, a forge and slitting mill at Fair Haven where nails were being manufactured, and a furnace in the process of erection. The same paper reported in June, 1790, certain Quebec restrictions on the importation of pig iron from across the border requiring that each pig must bear in legible letters the word Vermont. One of the earliest blast furnaces was built at Sheldon in 1799; another was set up that same year at Swanton. Of the Sheldon furnace it is recorded: "More than a hundred men were employed in getting out ore. On account of the good business done, iron was long called 'Sheldon currency.'"

Much of the first iron made was turned out in the pig, or cast to form the great kettle of the pioneer and the small, hollow ware and stoves in small numbers, trip hammers and anvils which were often used on the spot. But bar iron was soon a product, and nails and some of the simpler tools and implements. The axe and hoe and the scythe were in great demand, made by a blacksmith who was one of the most desirable citizens and the manipulator of the raw metal. The iron business did not last long although it continued to the middle of the nineteenth century, when coal was substituted for charcoal and large deposits of ore had been opened in other states. Vermont had twenty-six furnaces and fourteen forges, in 1840, which turned out 6,743 tons of cast iron and 655 tons of wrought iron, while in 1810 there were ten furnaces which had produced 1,346 tons of iron, and twenty-six forges whose production was 921 tons of refined iron. Besides this, in the latter mentioned year, there were sixty-seven nail factories and sixty-five trip hammers, the value of the iron industries of the State totaling \$348,744.

Pioneer Quarries—Although the presence of valuable geological formations became known early there were but few uses made of the

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granites, the marbles and the stone of the hills until well after Vermont had become a State. A stone quarry was opened on Isle La Motte soon after the end of the Revolution and there are records of native granite millstones being used in the Grand Isle section before 1796. Isaac Underhill opened the Dorset quarry in 1785; it is said "that people came one hundred miles to Dorset to secure hearths, chimney stones and lintels for their fireplaces. The manufacture of marble headstones began here in 1808." A marble quarry of Middlebury, opened in 1803, claims to have been the first to do extensive marble manufacturing, and to have had the first machine for sawing marble in the State. The first marble mill is usually credited to Swanton, erected in 1812. The marble industry on a large scale has come to the fore only within the last sixty years.

Limestone was utilized by the early settlers particularly in the northern part of Vermont. Slate was often used as back stones of chimneys and fireplaces, and for hearths as well. Brick making was another of the early industries. "In 1811 a charter was granted by the Legislature of the State for the manufacture of glass—on the western shore of Lake Dunmore. About forty operators were employed in this factory for several years."

Textiles—So far only those industries have been considered which drew their material from the raw resources of the hills, but there were others of the farm and the home, utilizing the crops of the soil and the products of farm animals. The pioneers must make their own clothes and footgear and hats. Sheep were imported, cattle came with the first comers. The women prided themselves on their homespuns; there was a spinning wheel in every home. The flax was grown on the farm; wool was derived from the flocks. Later, cotton was brought from the South. Cloth was dyed with decoctions of barks and roots, indigo was used for coloring "linsey woolsey" when it could be afforded. All the work was done by hand. The hides of wild and tame animals were made into shoes. The shoemaker was as valued a citizen of the town as the blacksmith or wheelwright. He worked at his home, or traveled from hamlet to hamlet. When he began to gather one or two helpers and set up a shop, the term "shoe factory" came into use, but boots and shoes were still handmade. Hemlock was plentiful all over the State so that the tannery came into prominence early and the numbers of them increased rapidly.

Out of these hand industries came machine manufacturing—carding

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mills for putting the wool in shape for weaving, fulling mills to improve the quality of the woven cloth. Looms were invented rather early. Bennington had a "woolen mill" prior to the Revolution, a fulling mill sometime previous in 1781, an underwear factory in 1802, and a cotton mill by 1811. One of the original settlers of Bennington claimed that in 1788 the people of the town "by actual return, made twenty-six thousand yards of cloth from their own raising." Other towns, although not so early, developed textile industries, for carding, fulling and cloth mills became numerous before the beginning of the nineteenth century and increased rapidly with the beginning of a new century. The introduction of cotton mills spelled the end of the use and growing of linen fibre, and 1810 may be taken as the date of the beginning of the rise of cotton manufacturing, and the wane of linen cloth. A cotton mill, built at Montpelier in 1810, was one of the first fifty to be erected in the United States. The War of 1812, revealing as it did the dependence of this country on foreign lands for so many things that it needed, greatly stimulated the manufacturing industries.

The two tables which follow indicate what progress had been made during the first half century of the larger settlements of Vermont. It is well to remember how completely manual labor entered into the so-called manufacturing prior to 1810, particularly when noting the very considerable amounts of textiles reported in the first table, which may be labeled:

I. A Report Made to the Vermont Assembly in 1809 by Committees from Every County.

| COUNTIES. | Cotton & Linen No. Yards. | Woolen No. Yards. | Clothiers Works. | Carding Machines. | Fur- naces. | Forges. |
|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------|---------|
| Bennington | 84,100 | 62,900 | 11 | 9 | 1 | 3 |
| Windham | 120,000 | 100,000 | 24 | 16 | | |
| Rutland | 170,200 | 143,040 | 26 | 18 | 3 | 6 |
| Windsor | 269,090 | 134,045 | 34 | 25 | | |
| Addison | 127,600 | 107,200 | 15 | 13 | 2 | 15 |
| Orange | 177,000 | 177,000 | 19 | 19 | | |
| Chittenden | 128,000 | 110,000 | 8 | 8 | | |
| Caledonia | 135,000 | 110,000 | 12 | 10 | | |
| Franklin | 32,600 | 40,000 | 7 | 10 | 2 | 2 |
| Orleans | 33,000 | 30,000 | 4 | 4 | | |
| Essex & G. Isle | 28,960 | 27,860 | 3 | 3 | | |
| Amount | 1,315,550 | 1,042,945 | 163 | 135 | 8 | 26 |

II. An Abstract of Manufactures in Vermont According to Returns in 1840:

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| | | |
|------|---|---|
| 26 | Furnaces, making 6743 tons cast iron. | |
| 14 | Forges, making 655 tons wrought iron. | |
| | Other Metals, valued at \$70,500. | |
| | Granite, Marble, etc., \$33,880. | |
| 17 | Paper Mills, making \$214,720 value. | |
| 96 | Woolen Factories, | } \$1,331,953 value. |
| 239 | Fulling Mills, | |
| | Silk, 39 pounds, \$99 value. | |
| 7 | Cotton Factories, 7254 spindles, manufacturing \$113,000 value. | |
| | Mixed Manufactures, \$155,276 value. | |
| | Hats, valued \$62,432. | |
| 261 | Tanneries | } 122,763 sides sole leather. 102,737 sides upper leather. |
| | Maple Sugar, 4,647,934 pounds. | |
| 1 | Brewery, making 12,800 gallons. | |
| 2 | Distilleries, making 3,500 gallons. | |
| 2 | Glass Houses, \$55,000 value. | |
| 8 | Potteries, \$23,000 value. | |
| | Potash, 718½ tons. | |
| | Soap, \$50,300 value. | |
| | Candles, \$28,687 value. | |
| | Carriages, \$162,097 value. | |
| 7 | Flouring Mills—barrels of flour 4,495. | |
| 312 | Grist Mills, | } \$1,083,124 value manufactured. |
| 1081 | Saw Mills, | |
| 20 | Oil Mills, | |
| 29 | Printing Offices—Binderies, 14. | |
| 2 | Rope Walks, \$4,000 value man'd. | |
| | Music instruments, \$2,290 value man'd. | |
| | Homemade Goods, | \$674,548 |
| | Machinery Made, | 101,354 |
| | Hardware, | 16,650 |
| | Small Arms, | 1,156 |
| | Precious Metals, | 3,000 |
| | Granite and Marble, | 62,515 |
| | Bricks and Lime, | 402,218 |
| | Value of Vessels Built, | 72,000 |
| | Furniture Manufactured, | 83,275 |
| | Houses, 72 Brick, 468 Wood, cost, | 344,896 |
| | Medicines, Drugs and Dyes, | 38,475 |
| | Other Manufactures, | 488,796 |

For the purpose of comparison, we introduce the following Abstract of Manufactures in Vermont, copied from the Returns in 1810:

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| | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| 8 | Blast Furnaces, 986 tons iron @ \$100, | \$97,600 |
| 2 | Air Furnaces, 260 tons pig @ \$90 | 23,400 |
| 26 | Forges, } 817 tons crude @ \$120, | 98,040 |
| | { 104 tons refined @ \$150, | 15,600 |
| 67 | Cut Nail Factories, 144 tons nails @ \$240, | 34,560 |
| 65 | Trip Hammers—value of the work done, | 78,574 |
| 11 | Paper Mills—23,350 r'ms, @ \$3 per r'm, | 70,050 |
| 26 | Oil Mills—50,637 gallons, @ \$1 pr. gal., | 50,637 |
| 125 | Distilleries, 173,285 do, @ 75 cts., | 129,964 |
| 205 | Tanneries—773 tons leather, @ \$500, | 386,500 |
| 166 | Fulling-mills dressed 942,960 yds. @ 25 cts., | 235,740 |
| 139 | Carding Machn's, 798,500 lbs. wool, @ \$.06, | 47,910 |
| | Woolen Cloth—1,207,976 yds. @ 75 cents, | 905,982 |
| | Cotton Cloth—131,326 yards, @ 30 cents, | 39,397 |
| | Linen Cloth—1,859,931 yards, @ 35 cents, | 605,976 |
| | Mixed Cloth—191,426 yards, @ 38 cents, | 72,471 |
| | 14,801 Looms, weave 240 yards each, | 8,276,179 |
| | 67,756 Spinning Wheels, spin 75 skeins each, | 189,716 |
| 23 | Jennies, equal 844 spindles, each @ \$2, | 1,688 |
| | 96,760 Hats at \$2, | 193,520 |
| | 65,580 Pairs Boots, at \$3, | 196,740 |
| | 138,700 Pair Shoes, at 75 cents, | 179,025 |
| | Saddles and Harnesses, amount of value, | 127,840 |
| | Cabinet Work, amount of value, | 118,450 |
| | Maple Sugar, 1,200,000 lbs. at 10 cts. lb., | 120,000 |
| | Potashes, 1,500 tons at \$100 per ton, | 150,000 |

The year 1810 can fairly be considered as one in which the early manufactures reached their zenith from which they fell to lower marks over nearly thirty years.

From 1810 to 1840—The total value of products reported in 1810 totaled \$5,053,414; in 1820 there were credited only as \$890,353, and in 1830 amounted to \$1,507,779. Why the volume of business was so reduced—who can explain? Too much war, perhaps, too great a centering of attention on agriculture; the development of “factory towns” in other of the New England states which drew heavily upon the potential mill-hand population of Vermont. It was not the machine age, which came later; inventions were many and Vermonters were notable for the number they patented, but these had yet to enter factory production of a wide scale. Transportation was very bad, although the building of the Champlain Canal helped greatly. Railroading occupied the minds of capitalists and others, but a railroad had yet to be constructed. What-

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ever the reasons, the industries of Vermont flagged for more than a quarter century. It is all very well to read in "Niles' Register" of 1825 that "the manufacture of iron and of wool, together with the raising of sheep, are doing great things for Vermont. . . . This mountain region is one of the most prosperous in the United States"; and again in this same publication of August, 1826, that "The manufactures of the Green Mountains have risen almost to the level of those of Europe." Actually there were only about one hundred manufacturing concerns in the State, and the most of these were small.

By 1840 the slump was over and Vermont manufactures had reached a value of \$6,923,982. To quote W. H. Crockett's summary of the statistics of that year, as given in his "Vermont":

There were 334 factories engaged in the manufacture of woolen goods, of which 239 were fulling mills, the others being woolen factories, and the value of their product was \$1,331,953. The capital invested was \$1,406,950, and the average number of wage-earners was 1,450. The seven cotton mills reported 7,254 spindles, employed 241 workmen, and manufactured goods valued at \$113,000. The capital invested was \$202,500. There were in the State 261 tanneries; 17 paper mills, the product being valued at \$214,720; 321 gristmills, 1,081 sawmills and 20 oil mills, the combined value of their output being \$1,083,124; 26 furnaces and 14 forges, producing pig iron valued at \$42,575, and iron castings worth \$24,900; 8 potteries, producing goods valued at \$23,000; 2 glass factories with an output amounting to \$55,000; furniture valued at \$83,275; 1 brewery making 12,800 gallons; 2 distilleries, making 3,500 gallons; carriages worth \$162,097; granite and marble products valued at \$62,515; machinery, worth \$101,354; bricks and lime valued at \$402,218.

Since 1840 there has been a steady increase in the value produced by the factory industries of the State with the exception of 1880; but the story of the later history of the industries of Vermont may be relegated to other chapters.

Windsor's Mechanical Leadership—It would be easy to relate the tale of the "middle ages" of Vermont's industries in terms that are general and statistics which are accessible and numerous. It may be more enlightening, and possibly more interesting, to leave the general and turn to the particular by telling something about the rise and growth of a village whose contributions to industrial life have reached far beyond the borders of the State, and whose history is somewhat illustrative of

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the industrial development of many other Vermont villages during the first half of the last century, a period remarkable for the number of outstanding Vermont mechanics, inventors and manufacturers. Windsor, now a village of not more than 3,700 people, was so remarkable in the influence which it, and some of its sons and residents, had upon the early mechanic arts that some tribute should be paid to this place. Joseph Wickham Roe, one of the leading industrial historians and mechanical engineer, said . . . "but few plants have had so great an influence upon American manufacturing," and in his history of "English and American Tool Builders" devotes one-eighth of that work to the mechanical developments issuing from Windsor. No originality is claimed for the paragraphs which follow; they are but a résumé of a paper read before the Vermont Historical Society at Windsor, September 4, 1922, by Guy Hubbard, himself a notable engineer. It is to be regretted that so brilliant and important a paper never has received a wider circulation.

Windsor's First Industries—It would be rather difficult to find other than a single natural reason for Windsor's early prominence in the mechanical world. It was isolated, lacking transportation, tucked away in one of the pleasant vales of the Connecticut River. It played an important rôle in the political development of the State, but industrially it was no more suited for industrial purposes than a hundred other sites. It is true that it had several streams with water-powers, but so had many other places. Mill Creek, plainly visible from the Connecticut, had a fall of sixty feet within a third of a mile, and it may have been for this reason that Steele Smith—was the name symbolic or prophetic?—the first settler determined to make his home. Steele came in August, 1764, but the town had been incorporated on July 6, 1761, and in 1763 Israel Curtis had been granted fifty acres adjoining Mill Brook, and one hundred English pounds under the agreement that he should "build a sawmill in said town of Windsor by the first day of August, 1764, and to build a gristmill as soon as there were twenty inhabitants that shall raise an acre of grain apiece in said town." Israel Curtis was a little late with the log dam and sawmill which he put up at the upper part of the falls. Before 1769, however, he had a gristmill at the lower fall. Around these before many years clustered a blacksmith shop, a wheelwright's shop no doubt, a cardingmill and a distillery, forming a typical hamlet of that day. It was about the two small falls that mechanical history was to be made during the next century and a half.

VERMONT'S EARLY INDUSTRIES AND INVENTORS

It was wool that started Windsor off on its industrial career. England's restraining policies as regards commerce and manufacturing in her colonies aroused the American colonies to rebellion, for the Revolution might well be termed a war for industrial freedom. Then the War of 1812 made it clear that America must be self-dependent if it hoped to survive. This war gave a great impetus to manufacturing and inspired the expansion of the textile industries in New England which made her the marvel of the world for a time. Merino sheep had been introduced into Vermont in 1810 by William Jarvis, Esq., of Weathersfield, who was American Consul at Lisbon at this time. The sheep thrived, but the long fibers of their wool required improvement in the carding machinery to handle them. The little carding mill by Mill Brook, in Windsor, was converted into an improved and large textile mill with specially designed machinery. The end of the War of 1812 and the prompt swamping of the American market with imported goods, wrought havoc with the home industries. In 1818 the Windsor textile mill went out of business with the failure of the Essex Merino Association which had financed it.

Lemuel Hedge—As the textile industry was taking its place among the forgotten, one of the first of Windsor's native-born eminent mechanics and inventors had patented a process for ruling blank books, the "Spring Pen Ruler," June 21, 1815, and on March 3, 1817, a "Revolving Ruling Machine." This was Lemuel Hedge, son of Solomon Hedge, one of the first of Windsor's remarkable blacksmiths. Lemuel served his time at the smithy, but was more interested in cabinet work and the making of machinery which, at that time, meant working in wood rather than in metal. He also hung about the printery of one Thomas Pomroy and observed how tedious was the manner of ruling paper by hand. His endeavors to find a better method resulted in the patents mentioned on the two machines which were capable of ruling a ream of ledger paper on both sides in twelve minutes. The inventor and the printer went into partnership as Pomroy and Hedge, and fitted up Pomroy's place in the wooden "Tontine Block" to turn out the ruling machines in quantity. This plant was burned soon after, and Hedge traveled through the South and West trying to recoup his fallen fortunes by selling State rights to manufacture his machines. These two devices, probably the first inventions patented by Windsorites, are the basis of all modern ruling machines, and Hedge's sales of the rights all over the country spread the use of the machines widely but with little advantage to the inventor.

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In 1827, Hedge patented an "Engine for Dividing Scales" which Bishop says is one of the most notable inventions of that year. It was an instrument for the speedy and accurate automatic numbering and marking mechanic's scales and "was of national importance in the development of the machine industry, for by quantity production of cheap and accurate scales it unified the linear measurement system of the country, which made possible the Interchangeable or American System of manufacture as we know it today." Hedge built these machines in Windsor for a time, but was compelled by a lack of means to go to Brattleboro, where he spent ten years with Stearns & Company perfecting his devices and making them on a large scale. After some years, and changes of ownership, this Stearns' concern became the progenitor of the Stanley Rule and Level Company at New Britain, Connecticut, and of that tremendous business known today as the Stanley Works. "One of the original Hedge Dividing Engines is still in use at this plant for dividing expensive ivory scales." Lemuel Hedge was the inventor of the very common, but very handy, two-foot folding rule. In 1849 he invented the "band saw" which is used today all over the world in exactly the form in which he turned out the first and set it to work in the Robbins and Lawrence car shop in Windsor. An active engineer to the last, Lemuel Hedge died when eighty-seven in Brooklyn, New York, August 1, 1853, and was buried in Evergreen Cemetery of that city.

The Invention of the Rotary Pump—In the chapter on "River and Lake Navigation" the stories are told of the early efforts to navigate the Connecticut River, and of Captain Samuel Morey and what was really the first commercially valuable steamboat built in America. The steamboat was a still novel creation a hundred years ago and inventors were scratching the inner recesses of their brains for any improvement that could be made in what was still a crude affair. John M. Cooper, of Guildhall, Vermont, came to Windsor, July 16, 1827, with a pump which he thought might prove useful on steamcraft. He convinced two village capitalists that it was a good thing, and they put up the money to take over the abandoned textile buildings of the Essex Merino Association and prepare to build the Cooper "Rotative Piston Pump." The inventor was on the right track but had failed to go far enough. The pump wouldn't work well enough, and the hopeful industry, which had been capitalized at \$100,000, failed almost before it started. Less than a year after Cooper's patent, another was granted to Asahel Hubbard, a native

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of Meriden, Connecticut, but a resident of West Windsor and the owner of a water mill. This was called the "Revolving Hydraulic Engine," and was patented April 28, 1828. Like many great inventions it was a very simple affair consisting of two meshed gears revolving in a water-tight casing. Water was picked up at the bottom of the engine (most mechanical devices were called engines at that time) and conveyed around the sides of the casing but, prevented from return by the meshing of the gears, thrust the water out at the top in a most beautifully steady and smooth stream. Jabez Proctor, of Proctorsville, father of Senator Redfield Proctor, was induced to back the inventor in the manufacture of his pump. The company formed in 1829, was the National Hydraulic Company, from which sprang a series of machine industries "in which have developed some of the most important improvements in mechanic arts, and some of the most notable American mechanics . . . and no less than thirty descended and related industries notable in the engineering field." Further, Hubbard's invention, unchanged in principle, is still being manufactured after nearly a complete century and may be seen on automobiles pumping water and oil, or in the form of the electrically driven fire pump throwing a thousand gallons a minute.

The National Hydraulic Company has a curious history. Jabez Proctor had influence enough to get the State to set up power and machines in the Vermont Prison at Windsor, and to have Asahel Hubbard appointed warden. He and the company built their pumps using convicts at twenty-five cents a day pay. Agencies were established all over the United States and even in Mexico. Contracts would be taken to supply pumps of any size and agree to deliver and install them anywhere. St. Louis, Missouri, was in the throes of building the first water-works and bought a large sized Windsor pump. "This huge pump," says Guy Hubbard, "was built, and in the spring of 1830 it was taken by the inventor to St. Louis; the journey being made by wagon over the Green Mountains to Albany, thence by the Erie Canal to Buffalo, and by lake steamer to Chicago (which was then a small settlement) and then by wagon and boat to St. Louis. The pump was successfully installed by Asahel Hubbard, but when he came to settle the bill he discovered that the Aqueduct Company did not have sufficient cash to pay it. A collection was then taken up among the citizens of the forerunner of the present Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and this additional amount, together with a white saddle horse 'to boot,' was accepted by the inventor as pay-

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ment in full. Asahel Hubbard and his horse returned by the same route by which he went West, and months after his departure he rode into Windsor, where his mount was long remembered by the older inhabitants as the 'St. Louis horse.'"

The Development of the Modern Repeating Rifle—Some of the greatest gunsmiths in America came from Vermont, and Vermonters played prominent rôles in the improvement of the modern rifle. Asahel Hubbard was connected with the early rifle manufacturing in Windsor, making in his plant the first Kendall rifles, an improved sporting arm invented by his son-in-law, Nicanor Kendall. Kendall was born in the West Parish, Windsor, December 20, 1807. He became a gunsmith under the tutelage of Asa Story, a local black-and-gun-smith. Guy Hubbard relates that, "one day when riding in a sleigh with his future wife, Kendall started to draw one of Story's rifles from beneath the fur robe to shoot a squirrel, but instead maimed his hand and sent a bullet through the hair of the young lady as the gun exploded prematurely. This startling accident inspired him to invent a new rifle, which was one of the safest, simplest, and most dependable sporting arms ever devised, and it became the standard of the locality as long as the percussion lock remained in use." Two of these Kendall rifles are preserved in the great museum in the Tower of London, and a third, which was the boyhood companion of President Chester A. Arthur, is now in the collections of the Vermont Historical Society. Hubbard and Kendall filled many large orders for this gun, including a number for the struggling Republic of Texas, 1836, for which they received some 2,000 acres of Texas land.

Kendall bought out the interests of Asahel Hubbard in 1839, and gave employment to Richard Smith Lawrence, a native of Chester, Vermont, born November 22, 1817. Lawrence received \$100 a year and board at first but proved so skillful that he was made a partner in 1843. Funds were lacking in this partnership to carry out some desired expansion; but, in 1844, Samuel E. Robbins, a wealthy Boston lumberman, came to them with the proposition that he would finance the company if it would contract with the United States Government to supply rifles for the War with Mexico which was imminent. The firm of Robbins, Kendall & Lawrence was organized and took a contract for 10,000 "Harpers Ferry Model Rifles" at the price of \$10.90, a figure which other contractors deemed impossibly low. Lawrence had a genius for organization and invention. He constructed novel and efficient machinery which

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eliminated much of the hand work, and gathered three hundred skilled workmen from all parts of the country. The contract was filled and money made, but Kendall, who did not understand "big business," withdrew. The partnership was reorganized as the Windsor Car & Rifle Company, in 1849, and although Lawrence introduced what is now the modern method of pressing on car wheels, the car side of the business was a failure and was abandoned within a year.

Henry, Wesson and Sharps—Lawrence managed to bring a number of remarkable men in association with his activities, such as Henry D. Stone and Frederick W. Howe, who, with Lawrence, are ranked as among the great American mechanical geniuses. Benjamin Tyler Henry, Daniel Baird Wesson and Christian Sharps, men whose names are known by everyone who knows anything about firearms, were also workmen in the Lawrence plant. Henry was the grandson of Benjamin Tyler, whose pre-Revolutionary iron works at West Claremont supplied much of the iron used by the early mechanics of Windsor. Lawrence and Henry entered into an agreement with Courtlandt C. Palmer, of New York, to correct the faults in the almost worthless Jennings repeating rifle. This was about 1850 and the two succeeded in improving the arm making 5,000 of them at Windsor. Later, Henry took this repeating rifle, adapted it to use new ammunition, and thousands of them were used in the Civil War as the Henry rifle. When Governor Winchester founded the rifle works the Henry-Jennings rifle became the far-famed Winchester repeater.

Wesson and Lawrence were responsible for the Robbins & Lawrence revolving pistol of 1850. Wesson afterwards founded the Smith & Wesson Company, of Springfield, the well-known revolver and automatic pistol makers. Some of the old Robbins & Lawrence machines, in 1922 and possibly later, were in active service in the Springfield works doing "more and better work than the modern ones."

Christian Sharps invented a breech-loading rifle which he brought to Windsor in 1848. Lawrence perfected this, adding to it the "Lawrence Pellet Primer Lock" and in 1852 the Lawrence & Robbins Company set up a branch shop in Hartford, Connecticut, to manufacture what was called the "Sharps Rifle," with Lawrence as the master armorer. The Sharps rifle had the distinction of being the first breech-loading arm to be used extensively in war and sealed the doom of the muzzle-loading gun as a military affair. The "sharp-shooter" of the Civil War was not so named because of his eye-sight.

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To the Robbins & Lawrence Company must the honor go of being the originators of the "Interchangeable U. S. Army Rifle," the parts of which, or of many, could be mixed and reassembled without regard to the gun from which they came. Six of these rifles and their interchangeability were exhibited at the Crystal Palace, London, in 1851, and were the means of bringing to the Windsor firm a number of orders from abroad. The first 25,000 Interchangeable English Rifles used in the Crimean War came from the Vermont factory, and most of the mechanical equipment of the new Royal Armory at Enfield, England, was constructed in Windsor (1855). This Enfield Armory repaid the debt of the past in the World War by supplying the American Expeditionary Forces with nearly all of their rifles. It would be just to claim that the ancestry of nearly all of the finest rifles now used around the globe might be traced to the Windsor inventors and makers.

Other Robbins & Lawrence Workmen—The mechanics of the Windsor shops who became the gunsmiths of the Nation, were but one of the groups of remarkable workmen serving in the Robbins & Lawrence plant. Charles E. Billings was one; he was the founder with the inventor, Christopher M. Spencer, of the Billings and Spencer Company, the pioneer and leading drop forging concern in the world. George A. Fairfield was another; he established the Weed Sewing Machine Company at Hartford, and with Mr. Spencer (who was a protégé of Richard Lawrence) founded the Hartford Machine Screw Company, which introduced the automatic screw machine to the world. Both Billings and Fairfield became millionaires.

Frederick Webster Howe was Lawrence's right-hand man, and left Windsor to become one of the four who originated the famous Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Company, of Providence, Rhode Island (1868); this is one of the leading machine companies of the world. Henry D. Stone and Mr. Howe, while at Windsor, invented (about 1855) the modern turret lathe, considered one of the most important machine tools now in use. Howe also designed at Windsor the Lincoln milling machine, of which 300,000 have been made, and the original Universal milling machine, without which few modern machine shops would try to operate.

The Lamson & Goodnow Company and Some of Their Notable Workmen—In 1858 the Windsor Armory was purchased by Lamson & Goodnow, of Shelburne Falls, Massachusetts, and in it began the manufacture

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of a sewing machine designed by Henry D. Stone and Edwin Clark. When the Civil War broke out the Lamson & Goodnow Company went into the manufacture of rifles for the Government, selling their sewing machine to Thomas White, who took it to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1866, and continued its construction. It was the predecessor of the White sewing machine so well known. General Hiram Berden was one of the Lamson workmen; he invented the modern centre-fire cartridge and the Berden rifle while at Windsor, and after four years in command of Union "sharpshooters" became firearms' expert to the Russian Government, which had adopted his rifle for use in its army. Albert Ball, another of the Lamson & Goodnow mechanics, was the inventor of the Ball repeating rifle, later incorporated in the Winchester. In partnership with others, he founded the Sullivan Machinery Company, makers of mining and quarrying machines, and lived to see this concern, based upon more than a hundred of his patents, become the largest of its kind in the world.

Others of these astounding workmen were: William Palmer, inventor of the Palmer carbine adopted and adapted by the Prussian Government and used during the Franco-Prussian War; Dennis Lane, originator of the Lane Saw Mills, first at Windsor and later at Montpelier; Quimby S. Backus, of the Backus vise fame; David Moore, inventor at Windsor of the rachet wrench; Frederick E. Wells, who went to Greenfield and established the Greenfield Tap & Die Company, the largest industry of that place and holding a chief place among like companies in the world. George H. Coates, Windsor born and trained, was the founder of the Coates Clipper Company, of Worcester, Massachusetts, and the inventor of the flexible shaft used for so many purposes today.

Among the descendants of inventors of Windsor who inherited some of the genius of their ancestors were: Henry D. Lawrence, of Windsor, a cousin of Richard S., who did remarkable things in connection with the establishment of the mechanical industries of Sherbrooke, Province of Quebec, and who aided in its growth within his day from a country village of 5,000 to a busy city of 20,000 population; George W. Hubbard, a nephew of the inventor of the rotary pump, invented while at Windsor the familiar coffee percolator (1876) and, in 1880, the patent glaziers' point and drive which revolutionized the setting of window glass. The Lamson & Goodnow Company, after the end of the Civil War, sold out their gun-making machinery to the Winchester Company and reëquipped the Windsor Armory building as a cotton mill, and Mr.

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Lamson, in association with Henry D. Stone, laid the foundations of the Jones & Lamson Machine Company, about which no praises will be sung here.

"First" and "largest" and "in the world" and other superlatives have been used in this account of Windsor's mechanical leadership, with malice aforethought, for the expressions are believed to be justifiable, based on authorities, and necessary to an honest and deserved tribute to the famous workmen of this small Vermont town.

Springfield, "The Cradle of Industry"—That so much space has been given to the industrial history of one small Vermont town must not be interpreted as meaning that this is the only place noteworthy for its basal industries or inventions. While it is doubtful whether any other Vermont town can make an equal showing in world-known mechanical productions and mechanical engineers, there are a dozen or two villages which shared in the remarkable manufacturing developments of the earlier times which fostered so marvelous a spirit of inquiry and invention. Springfield, Vermont, was one of these two dozen, another small place with few natural reasons beyond waterpower and men for industrial leadership, and yet Springfield prides itself as "The Cradle of Industry." The stories of such present large concerns as the very large Jones & Lamson Machine Company, the active Parks & Woolson Machine Company, which can celebrate its centennial in 1929, and other present-day industries of Springfield can be told in another chapter. In the paragraphs which follow it is the inventor rather than the plant in which he produced his invention who will be given the floor.

Springfield Inventors—More than 200 patents have been granted to Springfield mechanics. The Parks & Woolson Machine Company was begun by John Davidson, an inventor, and Frederick Parks, a skilled mechanic, whose business it was to superintend the construction of Davidson's machines. The inventions had to do with the improved and speedier shearing and finishing of woolen cloth. Davidson, in the 1830's, invented a rotary churn which sold well. He also (1828) made a "vibrating shearing machine," with two straight blades, one of which vibrated, which had a capacity of shearing forty yards of cloth a day, which was well beyond what any other machine of that time could do. In 1839 he took out a patent of an instrument with revolving blades, capable of finishing 1,200 yards a day, the best and fastest of its kind. Later this was improved to do four thousand yards of cloth per day, which machine

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with improvements is manufactured in quantities at the present time. Davidson died in 1850, since which time the company he founded has gone under its present name, and like the Robbins & Lawrence Company, of Windsor, has been remarkable for the mechanics and inventors who have worked for a time with the concern. (The Jones & Lamson, mention of which has been made in previous paragraphs, originated in Windsor after the Civil War.) Amasa Woolson, who became a partner of the firm of Davidson, Parks & Woolson, in 1846, took out no fewer than eight patents on the shearing machine, and was the originator of a scheme for saving the lists on cloth. Adna Brown, a manager of this company, first invented a wire device for holding an egg while taking off the shell. Then in rapid succession he invented a tricycle for boys, a flock protector for shearing machines, a cloth-measuring machine and one for folding cloth (former hand operations), a cylinder for steaming woolen goods, a worsted polishing instrument, a brushing device, a combination napper and gig and others of lesser importance. These three men, Davidson, Woolson and Brown, by their improvements in cloth finishing machinery, were so far in advance of other inventors of the world, that they were enabled to give to Springfield a lead in the making of this type of machinery which brought both wealth and fame to the Vermont village.

The Smiths—There were blacksmiths, gunsmiths and a silversmith in Springfield in the pioneer days, and inventors, a half dozen at least, by the name of Smith. David M. Smith was exceedingly prolific in invention, having to his credit, an axe haft, a combination lock (1849) which Hobbs, the great lock expert, said was the only one which could not be picked, and a combination lock. He invented the first lathe dog ever used and which is still used; the common clothespin originated with David M. His blanket hook and eye was much used in the army and navy. He invented a corn-planter, a screw head and driver, a broom-holder, a lift spring for match-boxes, an adding machine, breech-loading gun, joint for carpenter's rules, as well as a number of improvements of various kinds of machinery. Many of his inventions he manufactured in Springfield. Miles Smith originated an improvement in scythe snaths which was patented in the United States and Canada and which is still made in a Springfield plant. Rev. Pinckney Frost patented an improvement of snaths. Asahel Burr, Joseph and Isaac Smith all invented improvements in harness hames which were used by the Vermont Hames Company, which started with Burr in 1836 and continued until 1875. Jesse War-

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ren invented the Warren plow and made it in the Vermont Snath Company, one of the present large concerns of Springfield. Herbert M. Warren, a son, invented Warren's improved gravel roofing and made fortunes for all who had a part in its manufacture. Joel A. H. Ellis contrived a steam shovel in 1848 which did good work in the building of the early railroads of Vermont and elsewhere. To his credit goes the splint basket so much used about a farm. During the 1850's and 1860's he made the first toy carts and the first guitar and violin cases placed upon the markets; also doll carriages and jointed dolls. In 1870 he patented the principle of utilizing exhaust steam applied to bisulphite of carbon for motive power. In all Ellis received thirteen patents, but some of the best of his inventions were never patented.

Other Well-known Inventors—Frederick A. Porter invented the automatic card machines, an elaborate-working device. Luke W. Taylor patented the Taylor mop and perfected the machines of more than one inventor. B. B. Choate invented a wringer for this mop. Jonathan Woodbury devised the sweep-horse power once so much used in the West. Moses H. Grinnell invented a process for polishing marble. A. J. Fullam improved stencil dies and the machinery for making them. He also made an instrument for shearing sheep which was later used for clipping horses and cleaning up the necks of the modern "flapper." Noah Safford originated hay and straw cutters. F. B. Gilman invented a number of improvements in lathes for turning lasts, hat-blocks, and other irregular forms in wood, now, with fifty other machines manufactured by the very large "Fellow Gear Shaper Company," of Springfield, many of these machines being the inventions of the company's workmen or their improvements. Other Springfield inventors were G. A. Watkins and Dr. Eleazer Crain; L. T. Guernsey, publisher of the "Telegraph," who patented an improvement of the printing press; Charles C. Johnson, Captain Alvin C. Mason (machine for making hooks and eyes, and others), W. L. Bryant and F. S. Weatherhead.

James Hartness—One does not usually look to a former Governor of Vermont, an official in many offices of the State, and a representative of the United States abroad during the World War, to find a prominent inventor. Nevertheless, James Hartness, beginning when he was about twenty years old, was granted the first of his over one hundred patents. After seven years' experience in Connecticut industrial plants he came to Springfield, in 1888, as a designer of machinery for the Jones and Lam-

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son Machine Company, with which he served successfully as superintendent, manager and president, and became one of the leading manufacturers and engineers of New England. He perfected the original flat turret lathe or screw machine, as well as the automatic check, roller feed, automatic hydraulic shucking, pneumatic convertible bar-work, all geared turret, cross-feeding head, low-swing, double swing, and possibly several other lathes. He originated many forms of dies for splitting rods of irons, on tricycles, locks, carpenter's planes, sensitive drills and turret machines for shop use, to mention a few of the improvements of machine shop equipment which increased capacity for work, and for perfected, rapid and economical execution. In 1920 he headed the list of four eminent scientists and inventors to receive awards from the century-old fund given to Philadelphia by John Scott. Governor Hartness, being interested in astronomy, invented the turret equatorial telescope, which is so valuable in protecting an astronomer from the weather.

Pioneer Industries and Inventions of Vermont Towns—Windsor and Springfield, after all, but illustrate what was going on everywhere in what might be termed the "inventive era" of Vermont. The twain had early industries and inventions which affected the manufactures of the world rather than being confined to a State, but many other places contributed notable contrivances to industry or set the pace for others. It would be possible to go on at great length concerning the industrial history of very many towns. Bennington must always be considered carefully when the early history of Vermont is being searched. It will bear repeating that this town had a woolen business prior to the Revolution which has continued down to the present day. Paper was made there, 1784, first in Vermont. One of the earliest of knit underwear factories was started here in 1802. The first pottery in Vermont was opened at Bennington in 1793 by Captain John Norton and his sons. It was a rough red earthenware that was moulded and peddled from carts all over the country. The Bennington ware, the delight of collectors, was of a later date. There was proportionately as much inventive genius in Bennington as in other towns, but there was no centering upon a few lines as in the towns already mentioned. John Flack Winslow was born in Bennington, and was the first man in America to use the Bessemer process of making steel, and originated several important devices used in the manufacture of iron and steel. He was, it will be recalled, the builder of the "Monitor" of Civil War fame. Olin Scott was another native-born

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son, for half a century a leader in the making of gunpowder both in Bennington and elsewhere.

Brattleboro always suggests pipe organs to the average mind. Jacob Estey went there in 1835 as a plumber, but later began building melodeons, and later cottage organs. Before the organ period Brattleboro had one of the first cotton mills, and became quite a center for all sorts of wooden articles. The Estey works have always been a source of ingenious contrivances and inventions, but the most world famous of Brattleboro inventors was, probably, Seth Wilmarth, who originated the "heavy lathe" and planes, and was for twenty years superintendent and master mechanic of the Charlestown Navy Yard.

Burlington has been mentioned in connection with its former importance as one of the greatest lumber ports in the country. As the largest city and industrial center, no summary of its early operations can be condensed in a paragraph. It is rather interesting to realize that the "Match Millionaire" of Canada, Ezra Eddy, was born in Burlington. Montpelier, despite the importance of its factories, seems to have turned its inventive ability loose on the construction of strange legislation, for which legislation it cannot be blamed since it accepts what the rest of the State sends. Bellows Falls is said to be the first place of America in which paper was made successfully wholly from wood pulp (1866). Here also was built the first canal in the country (1798) and the first paper mill of the place was built on this canal in 1802. The scythe snath business of Bellows Falls is said to be the oldest in the United States.

St. Johnsbury has the most extensive scales works in the world. Thaddeus Fairbanks constructed a crude platform scale in 1830 which was the progenitor of the lever type of scales used for accurate weighing of anything from a baby's breath to the tonnage of a planet. Thaddeus Fairbanks had thirty-two patents to his credit before his death in 1886. Rutland ranks second in its scale factories, but is noted more for its marble industries, and many of the devices used in the working of that stone originated among its mechanics, although Hiram Kimball, of Stockbridge, was the inventor of the saw which is used for cutting marble. Middlebury can hardly be listed as an industrial center, but Jeremiah Hall, a mechanic of the place, originated the circular saw, but neglecting to patent it, failed to profit thereby. The method of casting welded steel was discovered by three Middlebury workmen, Josiah Nichols, Daniel Pettibone and Ezekiel Chapman, who, although they did patent it, also

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failed to make any profit from their discovery. Norman Tupper, of Middlebury, conceived the modern way of making window sashes by machinery; and Isaac E. Markham, of the same place, originated the process of sawing marble by water-power with the aid of sand, water and a toothless saw.

James Wilson, in 1796, completed the first artificial globe made in America. A few of these geographical affairs of our school days had been constructed abroad, but Wilson had never seen one. He was an uneducated man as far as schooling was concerned, but had mastered the contents of eighteen volumes of the "Encyclopedia Britannica." He settled in Bradford in 1796. Untaught he worked out his own methods of building up a light portable globe by covering a wooden ball with several layers of paper and then cutting this in hemispheres and removing. Without a teacher he projected his maps to a globular surface, a problem which has tried the skill of the greatest mathematicians, and again without teaching engraved on copper his maps. It took him a year to produce his first plates and they proved incorrect. Selling his only cow he raised money enough to start again, and this time was successful. The globes sold until the Bradford shop was not large enough to supply the demand, and others were started. "This Yankee genius without instructor or pattern, assistant or partner, had become an inventor and globe manufacturer." When eighty-three Mr. Wilson planned and constructed and engraved the plates for a Planetarium for exhibiting the movement of the heavenly bodies, the seasons, day and night and the procession of the equinoxes.

At South Shaftsbury the making of steel squares has been going on for more than a century and a quarter. This Bennington county village was, in fact, the birthplace of this useful tool, for it was the invention of the village blacksmith, Silas Hawes. The smithy was sitting in front of his shop one summer day several years before the War of 1812 waiting for the next job to turn up. A peddler drove up and desired his horse shod but wanted to trade some worn out saws he had collected for the work to be done. A bargain was struck and the peddler moved on; Silas Hawes became the possessor of a pile of old saws and straightway tried out a scheme he had held in mind for some time, the welding of two thin pieces of steel together to form a square which would have none of the disadvantages of the wooden article then in use. This he did and after marking it off in inches and their subdivisions he had the first steel square

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ever made in the United States. After 1814 Hawes began their manufacture on a large scale in the shop of his neighbor, Stephen Whipple, and took out a belated patent on his discovery. Many other shops about Shaftsbury began making steel squares and the Hawes name became known all over the country. The smaller concerns consolidated in 1856, and in 1864 the Eagle Square Manufacturing Company was formed, which continues the manufacture of squares to this day, giving employment to nearly one hundred employees.

Captain Samuel Morey and Thomas Davenport—In the chapter on River and Lake Navigation is related the sad story of Captain Samuel Morey, of Fairlee, and the steamboat he operated on the Connecticut River in 1793, long before Fulton's "Clermont" steamed up the Hudson. Morey failed to receive either glory or wealth from his invention of what was the first commercially successful steamboat ever launched. Discouraged, he sank his boat beneath the lake which now bears his name.

Captain Morey's great work in the development of the steamboat has so overshadowed his other efforts that many of his patient and fruitful researches have been forgotten, particularly those having to do with light and heat and the mechanical application of the latter. His first patent was a spit-turner in 1793. In 1795 he followed this with a patent for the application of steam to propelling boats. The records of the patent office show sixteen other patents granted him, the subject including stoves, lamps, steam and water engines, water wheels, a steam boiler, apparatus for obtaining power from the air and shooting with steam. He had the courage to announce an attempt to burn water, and patented, in 1818, a water burner or vapor lamp. This was the result of experiments whereby jets of steam were passed through various materials producing inflammable hydro-carbon gasses; he devised a lamp which would use these. This method, elaborated, is the one now used whereby water-gas is made in our cities and towns, by passing steam through beds of glowing coal or coke. This process was not in successful service until 1874. The date of the discovery of wood alcohol is usually given as 1812, and the country in which it was discovered as England. Morey discovered and described this substance which is one of the staple articles of modern industry, eight years earlier than the English date. In 1815, he patented the revolving steam engine, one of the few things from which he derived any profit, for he sold it and the peculiar mechanism was utilized in powering tow boats. One of these boats, built in Boston, made a most remarkable

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journey under its own steam down the coast to South Carolina and was used for years upon southern rivers. "The small engine now in the custody of the Vermont Historical Society was the model of this revolving type and not of the engine used in the first steamboat." (J. L. Davis.) In 1826, Morey patented an explosive gas or vapor engine, but evidently did not patent this father of the modern gas engine.

The tale of Thomas Davenport, although given elsewhere, will bear enough repetition to point out that he is now recognized as the inventor of the electric motor, one of the greatest inventions of the past century. Of the blanket patent which he secured it has been said by one of our highest authorities: "If this patent were in force today . . . it is not too much to say that every successful electric motor now running would be embraced within its scope." Davenport made hundreds of motors, constructed working models of electric trip-hammers, lathes, cotton twisting machines. He was the first to operate an electric engine and railway, and this before there was one single mile of steam railroad track in Vermont. He created a telegraph before Morse originated a better one. Davenport made and ran the first electrically driven printing press and published the pioneer electrical journal on this novel press. All his life was spent in exhibiting his inventions and adding others, one of which was an electric piano! The marvelous progress made in the use of electric energy is a feature of the present century, but this man Davenport was born in 1802 and died in 1851. He passed away at home in Brandon, Vermont, a poor man, having spent all he received to increase and improve the inventions which probably, more than any other single type, have helped to advance American progress in industry. It was not until September 28, 1910, that the electrical societies recognizing the genius of Thomas Davenport erected to his memory at Forestdale, Brandon, a tribute to his memory, reading:

THOMAS DAVENPORT
1802-1851
The Inventor of the Electric
Motor .

Nation-Famous Vermont Inventors—A very interesting subject for extended research would be the "Vermont Inventors and Inventions," a subject hardly more than skimmed in this chapter. The space used has been over-much as it is, although little has been indicated of the many towns and men who played important parts in the early industries of

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Vermont. In 1913, Dorman B. E. Kent, after long and careful work, published a list of "One Thousand Vermont Men" whom he considered to have reached a place of highest prominence at home and abroad. From that strictly limited list of native sons the following names have been selected of those who were inventors or connected with invention. It must be remembered that only those whose birthplace was Vermont are included, and only the outstanding individuals are mentioned.

A LIST OF PROMINENT VERMONT INVENTORS

Aikens, Andrew Jackson: Born October 31, 1830, at Barnard. Originator, 1864, of "patent insides" newspaper and first man in business of supplying these.

Chandler, William Wallace: Born January 7, 1821, at Randolph. Inventor and operator of the first refrigerator car.

Chase, Jefferson: Born 1831, at Concord. The first to make pails and tubs from wood-pulp.

Clapp, William B.: Born ———, at Montgomery. First man to can meat in America.

Colton, Gardner Quincey: Born February 7, 1814, at Georgia. Co-worker with Horace Wells in the discovery of laughing gas, and the first to take it for an operation. He also invented an electric locomotive.

Converse, John Heman: Born December 2, 1840, at Burlington. For many years head of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, several of his inventions being used on railroad equipment.

Davenport, Thomas: Born ———, at Williamstown. Inventor of the electric motor and pioneer in several other notable applications of electricity.

Deere, Charles Henry: Born March 28, 1837, at Derby. Maker of the world's first steel plow and long the largest maker of plows in the world.

Dewey, Hiram Todd: Born July 13, 1816, at Poultney. Viticulturist. Founded, in 1865, the first large American wine company.

Dodge, Thomas H.: Born September 27, 1823, at Eden. Inventor and examiner in the Patent Office.

Eddy, Ezra Butler: Born August 22, 1827, at Bristol. Originated many of the methods used in match-making and became, in Canada, a millionaire manufacturer of matches.

Fairbanks, Franklin: Born June 18, 1828, at St. Johnsbury. Contributed several improvements to the Fairbanks Scales, of which Thaddeus was the inventor of the lever or platform scales. Thaddeus Fairbanks, prior to 1828, had patented the cast iron plow and a cook stove. He originated the method now universally adopted in the construction of refrigerators.

VERMONT'S EARLY INDUSTRIES AND INVENTORS

Field, Benjamin: Born June 12, 1812, at Dorest. Partner with George M. Pullman in the construction of the first sleeping and parlor cars, and the originator of many things which went in their making.

Harlan, Sherman Miner: Born June 29, 1864, at Chester. Improved in several ways the Welsbach light.

Harris, Silas: Born ———, at Shaftsbury. Originated the carpenter's square.

Hart, Gilbert: Born ———, at Wallingford. Inventor of Hart emery wheel.

Harvey, Thomas William: Born July 22, 1795, at Wardsboro. Patentor of the gimlet pointed screw; founder of the Harvey Steel & Iron Company of Mott Haven, New York.

Herring, Silas Clarke: Born September 7, 1803, at Shrewsbury. Maker and inventor of Herring safe.

Hodges, Silas Henry: Born January 12, 1804, at Clarendon. United States Commissioner of Patents and Chief Examiner at Washington, 1861-75.

Hood, Charles Ira: Born at Chelsea. Originator of Hood's Sarsaparilla, and sometimes called the inventor of "patent medicines."

Johnson, Edwin Ferry: Born May 23, 1803, at Essex. For many years one of the foremost civil engineers in America. His inventions were mostly connected with his profession.

Kimball, Hiram A.: Born October 1, 1837, at Stockbridge. Inventor of saw for cutting marble.

Langdon, William Chauncey: Born August 19, 1831, at Burlington. Was Chief Examiner in the United States Patent Office.

Otis, Elisha Graves: born August 3, 1811, at Halifax. Inventor of the Otis Elevator.

Rice, Vietts Lysander: Born 1844, at Windsor. Inventor of the roller process for making flour.

Roberts, Benjamin Stone: Born 1811, at Manchester. Inventor of railroad and other devices.

Rowell, George Presbury: Born July 4, 1838, at Concord. Founder of the first advertising agency in the United States, and of the first newspaper directory.

Sargent, James: Born December 1, 1829, at Chester. Inventor of the first successful time lock.

Schoff, Stephen Alonzo: Born January 16, 1818, at Danville. Engineer and inventor.

Scott, Olin: Born February 27, 1832, at Bennington. Was for half a century a leader in the making of powder, many of the methods used being of his own contriving.

Smith, David M.: Born 1809, at Hartland. Patented more than sixty various machines and devices.

VERMONT'S EARLY INDUSTRIES AND INVENTORS

Smith, Hezekiah Bradley: Born July 24, 1816, at Bridgewater. Received a number of valuable patents; was the founder of Smithville, New Jersey.

Stewart, Philo P.: Born about 1800, at Pawlet. Inventor of the cook stove.

Stillman, William Robinson: Born ———, at Reading. Civil engineer, inventor, author, college professor.

Stoddard, Joshua C.: Born August 26, 1814, at Pawlet. Inventor of the steam calliope and of a horse rake of which 100,000 were made.

Strong, Francis Miles: Born September 16, 1829, at Pittsford. Inventor of the Howe Scale.

Walker, Albert H.: Born November 25, 1844, at Fairfax. Was author of authoritative work on "Patents."

Warren, Edward K.: Born April 7, 1847, at Ludlow. Inventor of "Featherbone," from which he became wealthy.

Wells, Horace: Born January 21, 1815, at Hartford. Joint-discoverer of laughing gas.

Wilmarth, Seth: Born September 8, 1810, at Brattleboro. Inventor of heavy lathes and planes. He was for twenty years superintendent and master mechanic of the Charlestown Navy Yard.

Winslow, John Flack: Born November 5, 1810, at Bennington. First in America to make Bessemer steel; was the builder of the "Monitor" and contributed several improvements in iron and steel working.





SEVEN HUNDRED TREE SUGAR ORCHARD, WITH MODERN PIPING SYSTEM



The Life and Work of John Cotton Dana

By EDGAR HOLGER CAHILL, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY



JOHN COTTON DANA was Newark's librarian since 1902. The Newark Museum is his creation. He began it in the main public library building in 1909, and he has been its director ever since. In 1926 the museum moved to a building at the corner of Washington Street and Washington Place, Newark, just two blocks from the public library. Mr. Dana continued to direct both institutions.

In the forty years which he devoted to library and museum work, John Cotton Dana has profoundly influenced the aims and ideals, as well as the administration and techniques, of the library and museum professions.

Among librarians Mr. Dana was long known as a prophet. Innovations which he introduced in the Newark Public Library were later copied in all parts of the world. He devised and championed ways for giving the reader free access to public library books. Mr. Dana believed that a public library is the property of the taxpayers, and that they should use it as they want to use it. For that reason he believed there should be as few barriers of rules and regulations as possible in getting books to the public. He believed that library books are intended for use and not for shelf ornaments. He was always known as a cutter of library red tape.

At the meeting of the American Library Institute in Washington, D. C., May 31st, last, E. F. Stevens, librarian of the Pratt Institute Library in Brooklyn spoke of Mr. Dana as "a librarian whose contribution to the profession, by precept, example, distinguished service, conspicuous leadership, original enterprise and brilliant achievement deserves the acclaim of his fellows."

Mr. Dana's contributions to the library and museum professions were many. He did more than any other man to set up the ideals and to create the reality of a library of service rather than the library as a mere collection of books. He founded the first special library department for children when he was librarian of Denver; he organized the first library picture collection; the first extensive pamphlet library, classified by

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colored bands; the first library branch devoted specially to business was founded by him in 1904; he was one of the prime movers behind the organization of the Special Libraries Association and was its first president in 1909; he was one of the earliest and most effective champions of open shelves in public libraries; he actively advanced public library information service and information exchange; he raised the standard of library printing; and he set up a standard of public library coöperation with other civic activities.

"There is only one solution of social problems," Mr. Dana used to say,—“the increase of intelligence and sympathy. To this end newspapers, schools and pulpits are useful. But these are all limited in their speech. Politics, personal considerations, undue or misplaced conservatism—these make limitations. The public library is the broadest of teachers, one may say the only free teacher. It is the most liberal of schools; it is the only real people's college. It answers fairly all who want to know. It leads us to want to know. Among the things which continually make for happiness, order and prosperity in the community count the public library as one.”

“The worth of a book is in its use” was a favorite maxim of Mr. Dana's library policy, which was carried out in a liberality in regard to the lending of books, equalled only in few instances in library administration. How to get the books to the people was his constant thought. He held “that the lending department of a library reaches its highest degree of usefulness when its shelves are empty and all its books are in the hands of readers.” The increased use of the library by mechanics and tradesmen in acquainting themselves with the literature of their craft was one of the many things Mr. Dana worked for.

Mr. Dana's contributions in the museum field were no less important. He introduced into the museum the same ideal of service which guided him in his library work. No museum director has done more than he to abolish the gloom of the museum, and to create an institution which should serve the public and be inviting to it; he was the pioneer in art in industry among American museum directors, and his showing of modern German decorative art in the Newark Museum in 1912 was the first museum exhibit of contemporary design in this country; his interest in contemporary American painting and sculpture had wide influence upon the attitude of museums and collectors; his policy of lending museum exhibits to schools, studios, factories and individuals has been widely copied. Many other innovations, such as the policy of changing exhibits,

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museum branches, museum advertising to attract the public coöperation with other museums and related institutions and with the industrial activities of the community, the foundation of a museum apprentice class, etc., were begun by him.

John Cotton Dana was born August 19, 1856, in Woodstock, Vermont, the third in a family of five sons. His parents, Charles and Charitie (Loomis) Dana were of sterling New England stock, his father being a descendant in the sixth generation from Richard Dana, who emigrated to the United States in 1640, and was the ancestor of all of that name in this country.

Mr. Dana's boyhood and youth were passed in his village home, where his education began in the public schools, from which he entered Dartmouth College at the age of eighteen. He was graduated in 1878, leaving at Hanover a fine reputation as an earnest, high-minded, scholarly young man of marked intellectual capacity. During his college course he had tutored in Greek and Latin, and, in vacations, had taught a country school. After graduation he began the study of law in his native place, but delicate health soon led him to seek the more stimulating climate of Colorado, where he was admitted to the bar in 1880. After a year or two of beneficial outdoor life in the work of surveying mining claims, he returned East, and resumed his law studies in New York City, where he became a member of the bar in 1883. Ill health again compelled him to go West, this time to Minnesota. Here he tried a variety of occupations, having in charge at one time the editing and publishing of a country newspaper, and gaining thereby a practical knowledge of printing, which was of much value to him in his later work. Resuming the business of surveying he became, in 1886-87, connected with the work of building the Colorado Midland Railroad. The varied experience of life on mountain and plain, in mining camp and town, which he thus gained, he counted as a valuable course in his education. "The young man who has packed his blanket across the plains," Mr. Dana was wont to say, "has added something to his life equipment which he can get in almost no other way."

With improved health came the opportunity for more settled and congenial work. In 1889 Mr. Dana accepted the position of librarian of the Denver Public Library, then in its infancy. From two thousand volumes, the library grew in the nine years of Mr. Dana's administration, to a well-selected collection of over forty thousand books, and through his able leadership it acquired a national reputation. Special attention

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was devoted to developing the use of the library by the schools, a work which Mr. Dana was well fitted for, as he filled the double office of librarian and secretary of the Board of Education for a district spending annually \$300,000. This latter work brought him into close touch with men and methods in the educational field, and enabled him to bring coöperation between the library and the schools to a point of development seldom reached.

Mr. Dana found the school teachers most helpful and earnest allies in all library movements and believed the utmost freedom and liberality should always be extended to them by the library. "He aimed always," wrote one of his associates, "to buy such books as were at the same time attractive and helpful, always with a desire to raise the standard to the ideal of only the best; to make the library known to the people as an institution designed for their benefit; to create an atmosphere of attractiveness and welcome which should lead people to feel that they were conferring a favor on the members of the force in asking questions and appealing for help; and to reduce red tape, restriction and rules to a minimum.

"His work in Denver was thus broad in conception, educative in purpose, liberal in administration, democratic in spirit and prolific in ingenious devices." It was in Denver that Mr. Dana began his championship of open shelves, a movement which has profoundly influenced libraries in this country, and it was also in Denver that he founded the first special room for children, an idea which has since been taken up by all the leading libraries of the country. His interest in youth was great, but he did not believe that a library or a museum should encroach on the province of the teachers in the public schools, but rather that they should supplement school activities.

In November, 1897, Mr. Dana accepted the librarianship of the City Library of Springfield, Massachusetts, succeeding Dr. William Rice, who had held the office for thirty-eight years, and who had accumulated by wise direction and large expenditures for books, a remarkably rich and valuable library of over 100,000 volumes. Mr. Dana felt it to be his special mission to bring this great wealth of material into more general use, and in this effort was successful. In the four years of his service, there was an increase of forty-five per cent. in the number of volumes lent for home use, while there was a decrease of twenty-four per cent. in the proportion of fiction read. Mr. Dana was a close student of the fiction problem, and these figures indicate that he studied it to some purpose. He

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established a children's department containing over 8,000 volumes, very carefully selected, helpfully classified and managed by a competent assistant. The estimated circulation from this department for the last year of his service in Springfield was 80,000 volumes. The entire library was rearranged, additional space secured, workrooms established and a modern system of classification started. The Horace Smith collection of casts was installed and the possibilities of art education opened up with much promise.

December 3, 1901, Mr. Dana resigned his position to accept that of librarian of the Free Public Library of Newark, New Jersey, the duties of which he entered upon January 15, 1902. His decision to leave Springfield called out expressions of regret from the press, from organizations and from individuals not only in Springfield, but throughout the surrounding country and the State.

The keynote of Mr. Dana's career as a librarian was making books and print in general, and the information to be found in print, easily accessible to the public. The year before he came to the Newark library it circulated 314,000 volumes. In ten years the circulation was over a million volumes. In 1928 the circulation was 1,795,067 volumes, and it must be remembered that the Newark library lends books for the period of one month and not two weeks as is usual with public libraries. Were the library to lend for two weeks the number of renewals would bring the circulation figures up by one-third. Newark's librarian, however, believing that it is more important to have readers get the maximum value from books borrowed than it is to have circulation figures that look well on paper, stuck to the one month loan period.

When Mr. Dana came to the Newark library it had 79,000 volumes. In ten years the number of volumes had increased to 191,000. Today the library has 391,843 volumes. When Mr. Dana came to the public library there were 19,680 registered borrowers, about one in ten of the population of the city. At the close of 1926, the library had 75,407 registered book borrowers, one in every six of the city's population. The increase of library borrowers has far outstripped the increase in the city's population.

The first problem which Mr. Dana tackled on becoming Newark's librarian in 1902 was that of getting the library used to a greater extent. He saw that Newark was an industrial city, and he felt that the library must get at the people of Newark through their industrial and business interests.

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"It has always seemed to me," said Mr. Dana, "that a public institution like a city's library was a thing far too limited, too restricted, when it failed to touch the large portion of the population whose interests lay chiefly in commercial pursuits.

"In other words, that library which has no appeal to the business man was not fulfilling all its functions. If the practical man who had no yearnings for culture or other such nonsense turned up his nose at the library, I suspected that the fault lay not with the practical man but with the librarian.

"My problem was to interest the local business man in books. Any books would do as a beginning. I saw at once that if I was to accomplish my object I would have to do it through something in which he was already interested. That, obviously, was his business. And if I was to get him actively engaged in reading books I must do it by beginning with what he was already accustomed to reading. That, of course, was his newspaper."

A combination of these two ideas produced what was the first public business library in the country, and which is still the largest and most complete. The Business Branch of the New Public Library was started in 1904. It had first a collection of directories, books on advertising, selling, business management, financial reports, information on stocks and bonds, maps and pamphlets, newspaper and magazine clippings, and a collection of the latest novels. The branch was popular from the start. Little by little other books were added as they were called for by the people, and experiments were tried in putting in various kinds of books. The business branch soon outgrew its quarters.

When the branch moved to Beaver Street in 1913, it devoted itself to nothing else but business books and business information service. The branch is now located in a building erected for it by the city at 34 Commerce Street.

The business branch is the high point of the information service which Mr. Dana built up in all departments of the library to supply Newarkers quickly and effectively with the knowledge and information which may be found in print. The Newark Public Library information service has become so well known that inquiries are received at the library from all parts of the United States, and often from foreign countries. Books, directories, pamphlets, periodicals, and clippings from newspapers were used as source material for the information service, and Mr. Dana

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devised methods for making all this material readily accessible. Among these methods was a simple and economical system of color-band classification for handling pamphlets on open shelves which made readily available to the reader a vast amount of information which had not yet made its way into books.

Through the business branch and the information service of the main public library and its other branches, Mr. Dana did more than any other man to adapt the services of a public library to the needs of business and industry, and to the information needs of the city in general.

Another way in which Mr. Dana extended the service of the public library was the development of the library's services to the schools and its coöperation with the educational system of the city. He was active in the formation of high school libraries. He began, in the Newark public schools, the study of Newark, its history, how it is governed, its schools and public institutions. When the public library began to stimulate the study of Newark in the schools there was nothing in print on Newark suitable for the young. The library's first move was to request a local editor to write three short articles on the city's rise and progress. These were written through three successive winters, published as pamphlets by the library, and lent to teachers in quantities for use as school readers. During this period, and at the library's request, there were inserted in the school curriculum suggestions to teachers about using Newark, its history, geography, industries, and institutions as topics for service, study, talks and essays. The resulting demands for information on these topics by pupils and teachers led the library to prepare short items on Newark's affairs. This was done by collecting material from newspapers, books, and city reports, by personal visits to institutions and officials and from other sources. The library clipped, summarized, rewrote, classified, and generally made information accessible and cast it into form suitable to the intelligence of young people. Also it collected and mounted pictures, prints, and maps, old and new, and displayed them and lent them to teachers. And finally it prepared and multigraphed a series of leaflets, from 500 to 1,200 words each, on Streets, Parks, Trees, Water Supply, Sewage, Health Department, Fire Department, Schools, Hospitals, and many other factors and aspects of the city's life. These it lent to children and in quantity to teachers to a total of thousands each year.

Three years later the Board of Education requested the author of the articles on Newark to recast them in one volume. The result is "A Short

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History of Newark," by F. J. Urquhart. Mr. Dana believed that the helpful kind of patriotism is the kind that grows out of a knowledge of one's town, her growth, her people, her property, her government, and her needs.

The Newark library has been unusually successful in stimulating the children of the city to read good books. Last year the library lent 869,958 books to children. Most of these books were lent from the children's rooms of the main public library and its branches, but nearly 300,000 of them were lent through classroom libraries, one of the methods used by the Newark library to make books more accessible to children. These libraries are made up in the school and children's department of the public library, an average of forty volumes in each, boxed, and delivered to the teachers who act as librarians for their classes.

The Newark Public Library, under Mr. Dana's direction, in stimulating interest in Newark and New Jersey generally, among library patrons, held a great many exhibitions of city and State industries. Before the Newark Museum was started in 1909, the library had held sixty-seven exhibitions which had been visited by 282,000 persons.

Mr. Dana felt that a library should coöperate with the various organizations of the city, educational, industrial, etc., through the preparation of booklists, exhibits, etc., and through the use of unoccupied rooms in the library or the museum for meetings of various educational and cultural organizations in the city. He believed that libraries must adapt themselves to the growing needs of their patrons. Writing of librarians, he said:

"I have not attempted to say definitely how the librarian of the future will adapt his practice to the new conditions. I have tried only to make it quite clear that the wise librarian will keep his mental manners plastic and his professional methods flexible. . . . After an enthusiasm born of the love of the calling, the one most essential attribute of the librarian, if he would be forever helpful, and never an obstacle, is a profound belief that the end is not yet, that new conditions arise daily and that they can be wisely met only after a confession of ignorance, a surrender of all doctrines and careful and unprejudiced observations."

Making print useful to the public was Mr. Dana's great interest as a librarian, but he was also interested in making print attractive. A writer in a printers' magazine said some years ago: "Mr. Dana, as librarian of the free public library of Newark, New Jersey, has probably done more

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than any other individual in the country to promote the cause of print appreciation among the general public. In his house organ, 'The New-arker,' he has reprinted many notable typographic specimens; and with a hand press and a few fonts of type he has himself produced various broadsides and smaller pieces of a kind unique in the country today. These pieces have been exhibited in the library at Newark and elsewhere, and have attracted wide attention, both for their content and for their typographical form." The Newark library, under Mr. Dana's direction, was noted for its display of good printing in exhibits and in its own publications. Its bookplates were famous.

Mr. Dana saw the library and the Newark Museum also as educational forces in the community. Writing of this conception of libraries and museums, Dr. Keppel, of the Carnegie Foundation, in his recent book, "Education for Adults," says:

"Not only the libraries, as we have seen, but the museums are beginning to recognize that their job is essentially an educational one. John Cotton Dana, who is one of the major prophets of this generation, is conducting a museum in the city of Newark, which shows how far the new conception has gone and which will repay the study of anyone interested in this field."

The Newark Museum is the child of the Newark Public Library, and has, from the first, been guided by the principles of service to the public which were the core of Mr. Dana's administration of the library. The museum began with a series of exhibits in the library, of painting, sculpture, pottery, Japanese prints, posters, bookplates, and other objects of art. In 1909 the city of Newark appropriated \$10,000 for the purchase of a collection of Japanese art, known as the Rockwell collection, which was shown in the public library. This collection formed the nucleus for the exhibits of the Newark Museum which was founded in the same year. One of the most important collections which came to the museum early in its career was the Disbrow science collection, which gave the museum one of the best small working science collections in the country. This collection consisted of 50,000 specimens of minerals and other scientific specimens, installed and labeled by the donor, Dr. W. S. Disbrow, and 13,000 books, magazines and clippings on science. This collection came to the museum in 1912.

Four years after the museum was founded, Mr. Dana issued a statement which outlined his museum policy so well that it is worth quoting:

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"We should try to develop here in Newark a group of museums, in the fields of art, science and industry, of the modern type. Our Newark museums should be of immediate practical value to Newark citizens, old and young. They should appeal to all of us, to the newer people as well as the older. They should reflect our industries, be stimulating and helpful to our workers, and promote an interest here and elsewhere in the products of our own shops. They should be the handmaidens of our schools, helping to discover among our thousands of young people those tastes and talents which may lead them to such accomplishments as will bring profit, credit and civility to our city. Our museums should do these things in all the fields they touch; in fine art, in the applied arts, in industry, in the mere making of honest goods, which is in itself a fine art, and in pure and applied science."

Mr. Dana interested local organizations in the museum project and soon a great amount of exhibition material came in through donations from the public. Among the important collections which were given to the museum was the J. Ackerman Cole's of rare books, manuscripts and works of art. A Junior Museum Club was organized in which young mineralogists, insect collectors, bird and nature lovers, stamp and coin collectors became interested, and this junior museum group has grown into one of the most interesting and important features of the Newark Museum's work.

In 1912 Mr. Dana exhibited in the Newark Museum a collection of contemporary German decorative art, which was assembled by the Deutscher Werkbund, an organization of artists, craftsmen, factory executives, and distributors whose aim was to raise the standards of design in the making of articles of everyday use. This exhibit, which included textiles, ceramics, glass, leather goods, etc., was the first showing in this country of modern decorative design, and it marks an historic date for American art in industry. Mr. Dana was active in the campaign to raise the standards of design in American art in industry. He served as a member of many organizations for art in industry and put on several important exhibitions after the exhibit of 1912. Among these may be mentioned the New Jersey clay and pottery exhibit of 1915, the New Jersey textiles exhibit of 1916, the German applied art exhibit of 1922, the American leather exhibit of 1926, the electrical instrument exhibit and the exhibit of well-designed articles, costing no more than fifty cents, of 1929. One of Mr. Dana's sayings was that "beauty has no relation to

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age, rarity or price." He believed that it was part of a museum's business to call attention to the "simplicity, charm and beauty in the humblest and most inexpensive of useful things, and thus to help us realize that the pleasures art can give us are more dependent on what we are able to see than on what any art expert may say." Mr. Dana believed that there was a close relationship between good workmanship and art, and that the workman who creates a fine product is just as much an artist as the painter or sculptor, and this belief was carried out in a series of exhibitions such as that of the Weston electrical instrument exhibit of 1928, the show of medals made in Newark, in 1928, and scores of other exhibits.

An idea which guided many of Mr. Dana's exhibits was that of stimulating international good will through showing the arts, the crafts and the everyday life of other peoples. This was the idea behind the "Homelands" exhibit of 1916, which showed the diverse elements of Newark's population the beauty and the color of the crafts of the lands of their origins; the Colombian exhibit of 1918, which illustrated the industries and accomplishments of one of our sister republics in South America; and the "China and the Chinese" exhibition of 1923, which showed the noteworthy achievements of the Chinese through four thousand years of history. All these exhibits were intended to create a sympathetic understanding of other peoples.

The Tibetan exhibit of 1921 was similar in character, in that it sought to make the mysterious land of the Himalayas understandable to the average American citizen. For this exhibition Dr. Alfred L. Shelton gathered a great amount of Tibetan material which later became the property of the museum. Dr. Shelton's collection, given in memory of Edward N. Crane, gave the museum one of the three best Tibetan collections in America.

Mr. Dana believed that a museum should not be merely a gazing gallery of dead objects, but an institution of service. "A good museum," he said, "attracts, entertains, arouses curiosity, leads to questions—and thus promotes learning. To do these things a museum can use simple, common, and inexpensive objects; just as daily life uses wayside flowers and trees, sheep, cattle, ploughs and hoes on the farm; pavements, motors and shop windows in cities, and man and his doings everywhere, to awaken young and old to interest and inquiry about the world outside of themselves. To use simple things to promote an intelligent and particu-

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lar interest a museum must apply to them the best skill it can acquire, infinite tact and constant sympathy."

Following out this idea of using simple things to promote intelligent interest in the world we live in, Mr. Dana originated, in 1913, his famous "museum on wheels," which lent museum objects to individuals, groups, societies, and schools. This material is borrowed from the museum just as books are borrowed from a library, and three times a week a museum truck delivers to the schools, who are the chief patrons, and to others such things as physical geography models, material illustrating the lives and customs of peoples and races; weapons, toys and pottery, models of all kinds, such as mediaeval castles, Swiss chalet, Eskimo igloo or snow-house, coal mine, log cabin, etc.; physics apparatus; casts of men and women, gods and goddesses; costume dolls (a very important collection); textiles; nature study material, covering birds, butterflies and minerals; economic products; industrial process charts showing how important things like leather, rice, cotton, iron and steel, sugar, coffee, tea, etc., are made. About 30,000 objects a year are lent from this collection.

These lending collections, and the permanent collections of the Newark Museum grew so fast that in 1921 Mr. Dana felt that the museum had become too large to be housed in the public library, and he began a campaign for a building in which to display properly the art, science, and industrial collections of the museum. In 1923 Louis Bamberger announced that he would give the Newark Museum a building. The city of Newark agreed to furnish the plot. In March, 1926, the building, which was designed by Jarvis Hunt, and which cost \$750,000, was opened to the public.

Many striking exhibitions have been given in the Newark Museum since that date, the most important being several large showings of the arts of everyday life—the making of leather, etc., decorative art exhibits like the recent metal show, several important shows of American painting and sculpture, and many scientific and nature exhibits aimed especially at young minds with a scientific bent. These exhibitions received much favorable response from the public that "gifts of exhibit material poured in from all sides" so that the museum building is again becoming too small to house all its possessions.

The exhibitions of fine art in 1926, 1928, and 1929, and the purchase of paintings and sculpture which followed them, have had a marked



J. H. Dana

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influence upon the attitude of museums toward contemporary art. Mr. Dana often said that "Art is still with us though most museums seem to want to create the impression that art is an activity which has flourished only in other times and other countries. The Newark Museum does not want to create this impression among its patrons and visitors. It does, definitely, want to persuade them that art is still with us in our own country and in our own time. The eyes of our American public, unfortunately, have been turned toward the art of other lands. Their purses have been opened wide for the purchase and the fashionable and expensive installation of the antique and the exotic, and they have opened hardly at all to buy the art of men and women who are working here and now. If art is to flourish in our land it must be supported by our museums and by our rich private collectors."

Throughout his career as a museum director, Mr. Dana was deeply and sympathetically interested in American art. As early as 1914, in his book, "American Art: How It Can be Made to Flourish," he wrote: "Art has always flourished where it was asked to flourish, and never elsewhere. If we wish for a renaissance of art in America we must be students and patrons of endeavors which seem humble, but are in truth of the utmost importance, here at home . . . we must buy American art; next, we must study it; next we must criticize it, adversely where we feel compelled; and finally we must praise it where we can."

These ideas of Mr. Dana's which he backed up with exhibits and purchases have helped in bringing about the present renaissance of interest in American art. From the time he organized the Newark Museum, in 1909, Mr. Dana was a keen and constructive critic of museum ideals and museum work. He held that museums should be less conservative and more experimental. He often said that little attempt was made by museums to discover what their communities needed. "No careful study," he said, "seems to have been made of what a given community will use, will enjoy, will profit from and will cheerfully support in the form of a museum. Nearly all museums have either grown haphazard, or in accordance with preconceived ideas of donors, trustees, directors and curators. The obvious course for a museum association which aimed to create a museum to fit the tastes and needs of its community was to proceed by a *series of experiments* with consequent acceptance or rejection of each as helpful or as useless."

"A survey of all the many museums in our country suggests that a

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much too large per cent. of them are of little service, adding to the lives of those who live near them few interests, few pleasures, few enthusiasms, little knowledge or wisdom, and failing even to arouse that little touch of local pride which a battle monument, for example, however awful, usually inspires in most of us. These failures are by no means all due to museum poverty. There are quite rich museums which are swollen with 'museum-pieces' and call themselves purely artistic, and yet have only a tiny clientele and wield only a minute influence."

Mr. Dana held that in a changing world museums must change their ways to fit new conditions of life. "We have," he said, "new interests, new habits and new desires. Or, put it another way, and say that we see so much, hear so much and read so much that things that a few decades ago challenged our attention and caught our interest now leave us indifferent. To mention three items only: The department store gives us in an easy stroll through it a view of the products of a thousand varied industries carried on by peoples in every corner of the world, something that we could have seen forty years ago only by a journey of weeks through hundreds of shops. The movie theatres have, in this city alone, millions of visitors in every twelve-month, visitors before whose eyes pass the peoples of scores of countries in an endless procession of varied activities; newspapers are read in many millions of copies every year in Newark alone, and bring to all of us knowledge of the whole world's doings every day.

"Long ago I was easily convinced that a collection of mere things, silent, motionless things, no matter how rare or how costly they might be, or how full of beauty to an expert's eye, can have, in this new world of ours, small power to attract, to hold attention, to instruct, to improve taste, to move toward wisdom or to urge to better conduct. I put this conclusion briefly by saying that the gazing museum is fast losing its power to charm or to touch."

Because of these changed conditions of life he felt that museums must develop out of the gazing gallery type into institutions of service which would coöperate with each other and with other educational institutions, and that they should not be above furnishing agreeable instruction and even entertainment to the public. His papers read before the annual meetings of the American Association of Museums always stimulated interest and discussion. For all his criticism of museums Mr. Dana was a firm believer in museum coöperation, and he issued from time to time

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a series of leaflets on other museums and their collections, so that Newark citizens might become interested in them and their exhibits.

One way in which Mr. Dana sought to make museums more than mere gazing galleries was by preparing labels which would arouse interest in exhibits and give real information about them. Elizabeth Luther Cary said in the New York "Times" that the Newark Museum "labels filled with careful information so compactly phrased as to seem no more than an ordinary caption . . . the straightforward, practical labels in the Newark Museum and the interesting, detailed biographical material in the catalogues reminds us of the dust that has gathered in our minds during these hazy years."

Many writers on museums have commented upon the Newark Museum and its work under Mr. Dana's direction. Arsene Alexandre, who was sent by the French Government to study art institutions in this country after the World War, called the Newark Museum "a model of good sense and originality." The "American Magazine of Art" said that "among our American art museums the most revolutionary, or the most progressive is, and has been since the first, the museum in Newark, New Jersey. . . . It was nurtured and developed under the ceaseless care of John Cotton Dana." Rockwell Kent, the well-known painter, said of Mr. Dana's policy on contemporary American art, that it "Represents to my mind the ideal museum attitude toward contemporary art. It is one of the hopeful signs on the museum horizon." Museum directors in America, Germany, Sweden, and other countries have warmly praised the Newark Museum and what it has done.

In the entrance gallery of the Newark Museum is a portrait plaque of Mr. Dana by John Flanagan, the sculptor. It bears the words: "This Museum is his thought and work."

The museum and the library which Mr. Dana directed, and into which he had put so much of himself, were in his thought to the very last. Every day he planned new exhibits and thought up new ways to make the two institutions of greater public interest, of more use to the community. During the last few months Mr. Dana was particularly interested in museum branches, in new methods of museum administration to meet the changing conditions of our time, and in art in industry. To the last he was a great reader, as he had been all his life. He knew how to get the most out of books and how to help others to the knowledge and the

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wisdom which books offer. He wrote much. A list of his writings would fill a good-sized volume. Among his more important writings are:

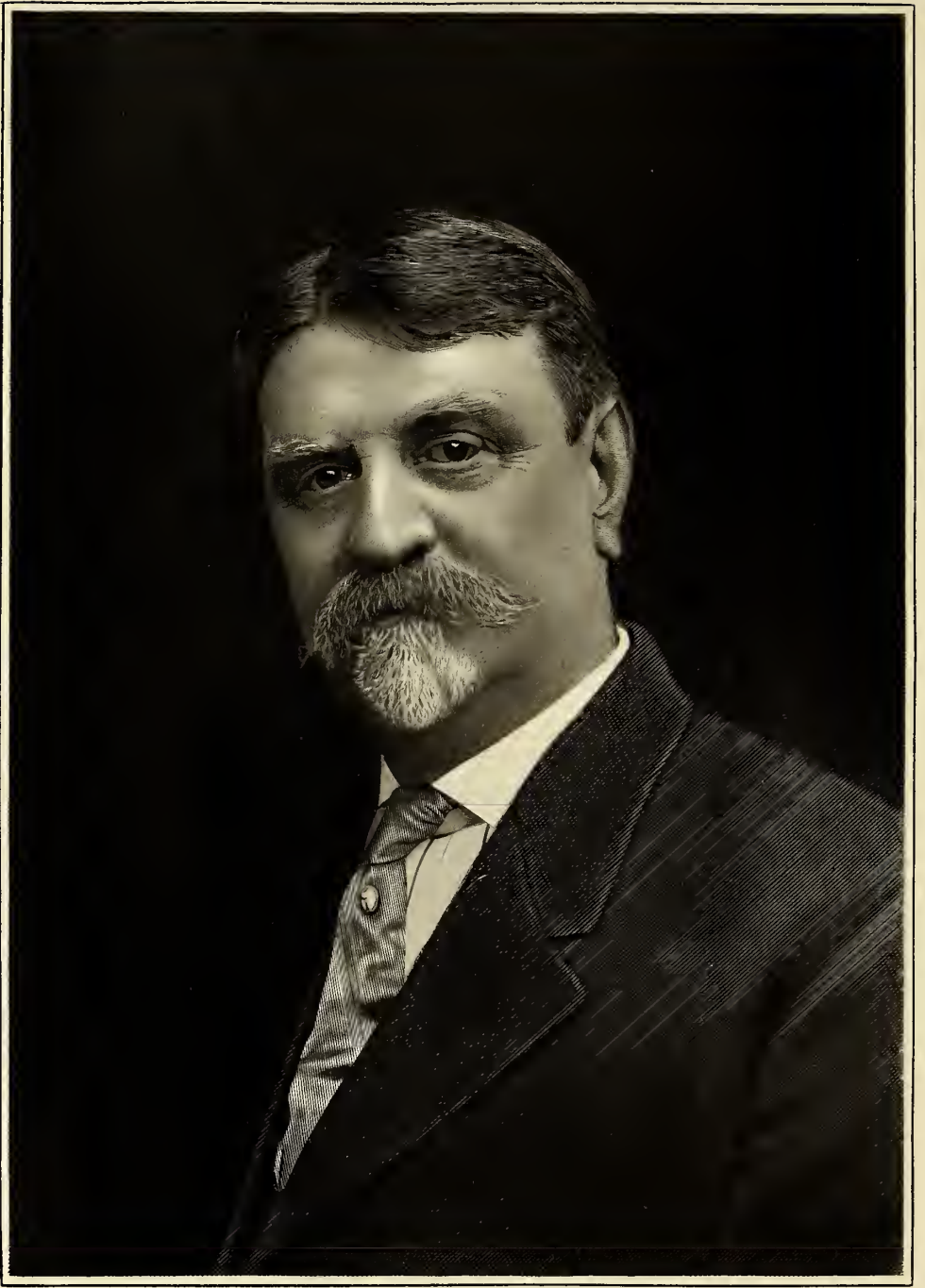
| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| American Art. | Installation of a Speaker. |
| A Library Primer. | Museums and Industries. |
| Notes on Bookbinding for Libraries. | Library Primer, Revised, 1920. |
| A Vermont Library. | A Plan for a Useful Museum. |
| Libraries. | Literature of Libraries, 6v. |
| Addresses and Essays. | Librarians' Series, 6v. |
| The New Museum. | Suggestions, 1921. |
| The Gloom of the Museum. | |

He translated Lipsius *De Bibliothecis Syntagma*, and was the author of numerous other contributions to periodicals and newspapers. He edited:

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Modern American Library Economy. | 2400 Business Books, 1920. |
| 1600 Business Books. | Mailing List Directory, 1924. |

As an executive Mr. Dana had few equals. He had a remarkable faculty for infecting others with his own enthusiasms, and for developing latent abilities, especially in young people, whom he was always ready to encourage, and he had the unquestioned loyalty of his staff and his associates. He was kindly, tolerant and had a remarkably keen sense of humor. The winning charm of his personality made him sought as a friend.

Mr. Dana was greatly interested in many organizations having to do with libraries, museums, and educational activities generally. He was president of the American Library Association in 1896. He was a member of the New Jersey Library Commission for many years; president of the New Jersey Library Association from 1904 to 1906, and again 1910-1911; member of the New Jersey Library Commission; he was one of the prime movers in the organizations of the Special Libraries Association in 1909 and was its first president, 1909-11; member of the Committee on Museum Education; of the Council of the American Association for Adult Education; Art Committee of the Art Center in New York; the Century Association; Committee on Research and Education of the International Advertising Association; Society of Chemical Industry; Japan Society; American Geographical Society; American Numismatic Society; Mediaeval Academy of America; Chicago Society of Etchers; Society of Printers; honorary member of the Boston Society of Calligraphers; member of Committee on Library of American Branch of La Bienvenue Française; New Jersey Audubon Society; Vermont Botanical and Bird Club; honorary member of National Vermont Association; Carteret Book Club; director of the Stephen Crane Association of Newark.



Walter S. Davis,

Davis, Miller, Otto and Allied Families

BY M. M. LEWIS, GLEN ROCK, NEW JERSEY



IN origin and significance, the surname Davis is identical with Davidson, both being derived from the given name David, and both meaning "son of David." The Welsh custom of adding the first name of the father with the possessive sign to designate the son, as John, David's, Harry, David's, meaning John, David's son, and Harry, David's son, gradually smoothed from David's to Davis, and in the latter form is one of the frequently found family names of this country. It is also common in Great Britain.

I. Thomas Davis, a native of England, married Mary A. Smith, who was also born in England. They came to this country before 1851, and after living for a time in New York State, removed to Reading, Pennsylvania. Among their children were: 1. Walter S., of whom further. 2. Sarah, who married Aaron Wilhelm (now deceased), of Reading. 3. George, who resided in Easton, now deceased.

II. Walter S. Davis, son of Thomas and Mary A. (Smith) Davis, was born at Four Corners, New York, December 6, 1851, and died at his home, No. 720 Centre Avenue, Reading, Pennsylvania, January 14, 1919. While he was still a young boy his parents removed to Reading, Pennsylvania, where the boy attended the public schools.

He began his business career in the employ of the Wilhelm Paint Company, and it is characteristic of his steadiness of purpose and his persistence, that instead of moving about from place to place for several years as is customary with young men at the beginning of their careers, he built his entire business career in that connection. For nearly fifty years the best of his splendid ability was devoted to the advancement of the interests of that firm, of which he finally became secretary and treasurer. He was one of the leading factors in the development and expansion of the concern, and his foresight, wisdom, and energy brought steady growth, enviable prosperity, and widespread popularity.

Important as were his business interests, however, he always found time for civic service, and few men in Reading were more interested in the general improvement of the city, or gave more generously of time

DAVIS, MILLER, OTTO AND ALLIED FAMILIES

and means for the advancement of the public good. He had a large share in the beautifying of the parks and public property, serving for many years as park commissioner, and was serving in that capacity at the time when George F. Baer, president of the Reading Railway, served as head of the board. Long a member of the Holy Cross Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, he always took an active interest in the welfare of the parish. He was chairman of the Building Committee when the present church edifice was erected, and for many years served as president of the Board of Trustees and superintendent of the Sunday school.

Walter S. Davis married, October 25, 1877, Mary M. Miller, daughter of George W. Miller. (See Miller III.) Children: 1. Esther, married C. Scott Althouse, of Reading. 2. Helen, married Ralph Rothermel, of Wyomissing, Pennsylvania, and has John Butlin and Frederic.

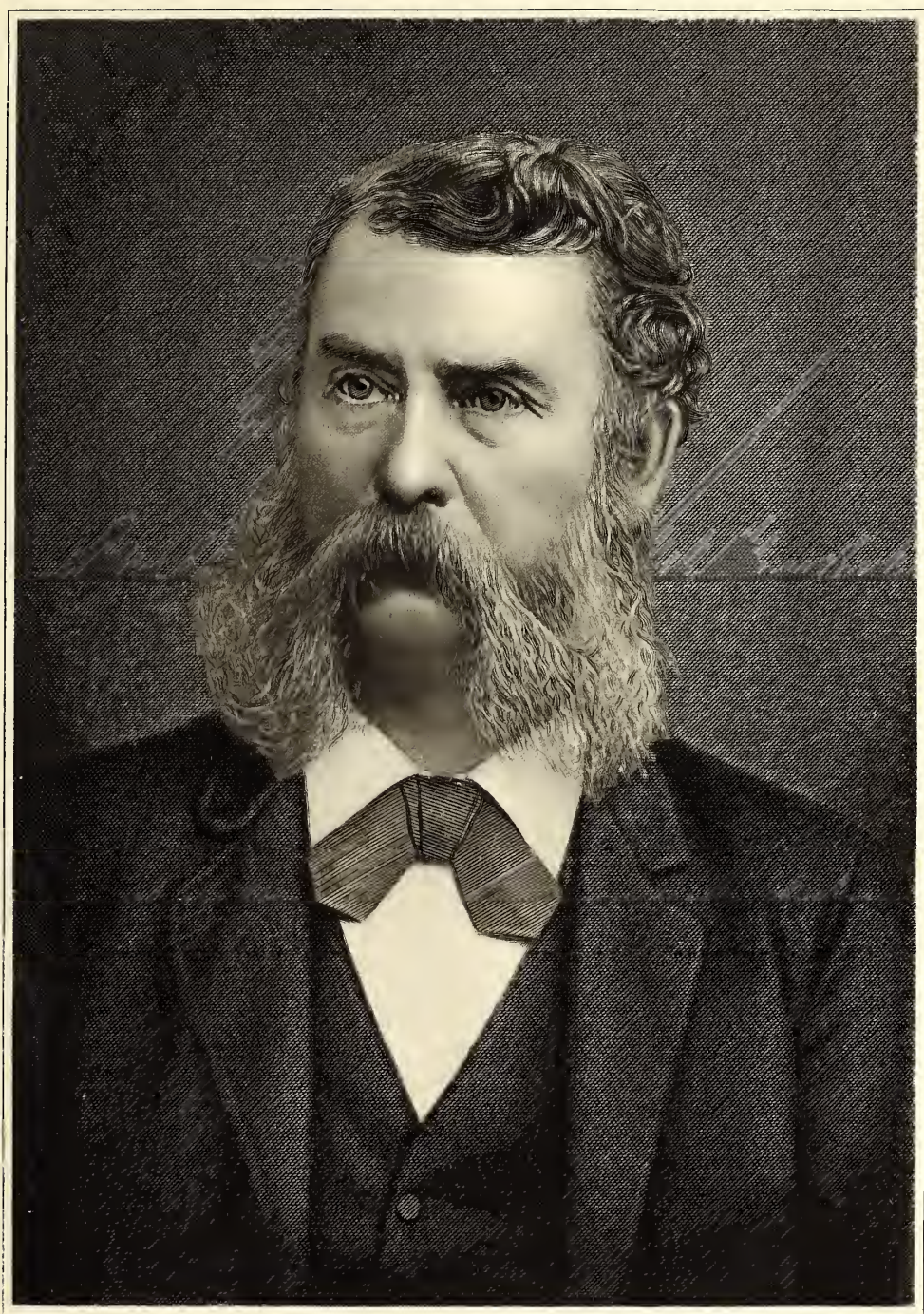
Well-apportioned in its business and religious activities as was the life of Walter S. Davis, the plan and purpose of his Christian thought and effort permeated his dealings in all his associations, whether business, social, or civic, and he was known and respected among all creeds and classes for his broad sympathies and his genial personality. The Wilhelm Paint Company grew and prospered through his enthusiasm for his work and his interest in all connected with his firm; and the tribute of his associates and of the public in general as to his worth was spontaneous throughout his life and at the time of his passing. It has been well said of him that he was a man of staunch faith and interested in all the things that would serve the highest interests of his fellowmen in home, school, church, and State.

(The Miller Line)

Arms—Argent, a double tressure flory, counterflory; over all a fesse embattled, counter-embattled gules.

I. Samuel Miller, of Welsh ancestry, was born in 1801, probably in Pennsylvania, though it is possible that he may have come directly from Wales. He was at one time a resident of Reading, Pennsylvania, and died there when only twenty-seven years of age. In religious beliefs the family were Presbyterians, and in politics Mr. Miller was a Republican. He married Harriet Pearson, daughter of Jonathan and Harriet Pearson, a descendant of a Quaker family of Pennsylvania. (Pearson V.) Children: 1. George, of whom further. 2. Hiram. 3. Morris P.

II. George W. Miller, son of Samuel and Harriet (Pearson) Miller, was born in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1825, and died June 24, 1882. He



George W. Miller



Matilda W. (Otto) Miller

DAVIS, MILLER, OTTO AND ALLIED FAMILIES

was brought up by his uncle, John S. Pearson, a leading merchant of Reading. In the dry goods business he made a notable success, and was widely known for his inflexible integrity and his strict adherence to his word. In 1871 he bought out his uncle, Mr. Pearson, and became the sole manager as well as the owner of the store until his death. Mr. Miller followed his father's religious affiliations, and his father's political preferences. He was a good Mason, and had taken a number of degrees, belonging not only to Chandler Lodge, No. 227, Free and Accepted Masons, but also to the DeMolay Commandery, No. 9, Knights Templar.

George W. Miller married, November 26, 1850, Matilda W. Otto, daughter of Dr. John B. Otto. (Otto III—sixth child.) Children: 1. Mary M., of whom further. 2. An infant, who died at birth. 3. Henry O., married Emma Hipple. 4. John, deceased. 5. Anna P., unmarried. 6. George W., married Mary Boyer, daughter of George F. Boyer.

III. Mary M. Miller, daughter of George W. and Matilda W. (Otto) Miller, married Walter S. Davis. (Davis II.)

(The Pearson Line)

Arms—Argent, a chevron ermine between three laurel leaves proper.

I. Thomas and Benjamin Pearson, two brothers of old Quaker stock, came to Pennsylvania with the Penn Colony in 1683 from Cheshire, Chester County, England. Thomas settled in Maple Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, where, in 1684, he was constable and supervisor for the highways. The records give the names of Thomas Pearson and Peter Worrall as in 1690 the "fence-viewers" for the township. Thomas Pearson married Margery. Children, all born in Pennsylvania: 1. Robert. 2. Thomas. 3. Lawrence, of whom further. 4. Enoch. 5. John. 6. Alice. 7. Sarah. 8. Benjamin.

II. Lawrence Pearson, son of Thomas and Margery Pearson, was born in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. In an Orphans' Court petition, dated November 25, 1754, it is declared that Lawrence Pearson, of Maidencreek Township, Berks County, died intestate, and Benjamin, a son, asks for the estate to be distributed among the eleven children. Lawrence Pearson married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Thomas. 2. Benjamin, who settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania. 3. Elijah, of whom further. 4. Hannah. 5. Sibylla. 6. Phebe. 7. Margery. 8. Charity. 9. Lydia. 10. Sarah. 11. Mary.

DAVIS, MILLER, OTTO AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. *Elijah Pearson*, third son of Lawrence Pearson, was read out of meeting in 1761 and records are scanty from that time on. He married Hannah. Children: 1. Jesse, born in 1769. 2. Jonathan, of whom further. 3. Elijah, born in 1773; married, April 6, 1792, Mary More, daughter of Gideon More.

IV. *Jonathan Pearson*, son of Elijah and Hannah Pearson, was born probably in 1771, and married Harriet. Child: 1. Harriet, of whom further.

V. *Harriet Pearson*, daughter of Jonathan and Harriet Pearson, married Samuel Miller. (Miller I.)

(The Otto Line)

Arms—Azure, a chevalier fully armed argent, the helmet crowned or standing on a hillock vert, and holding a scepter gold.

Crest—Helmet crowned, the chevalier issuant.

Mantling—Argent and azure.

History relates that early in the eighteenth century many inhabitants of the Lower Palatinate, lying on both sides of the Rhine, in Germany, were driven from their homes by the persecutions of Louis XVI of France, whose armies desolated their country. Many of the fugitives went to England. Arrangements were soon on foot to transport these Lutheran Protestants to America after English naturalization had been carried out.

I. *Doctor Bodo Otto*, a physician of high standing, born in Hanover, Germany, in 1709, was a member of one of these bands of incoming colonists. He had heard of the wonderful lands across the sea, where it was not only possible for honest labor to receive a due reward, but where the new principles of religious toleration gave to serious-minded men a new and inspiring sense of personal worth and liberty. It is very possible that Dr. Otto had himself heard William Penn speak, or at least had seen the great man who was the apostle of that "brotherly love" which was then so new an idea in Europe. At any rate, Dr. Bodo Otto took passage in the good ship "Neptune," Captain Smith, and came by way of Rotterdam, Holland, and at Philadelphia, October 7, 1755, took the Oath of Allegiance to the Province of Pennsylvania. This made him what we would now call a British subject—and at the same time might also be called an American citizen. He settled in Philadelphia, entering upon the practice of medicine and remaining there until 1773, when he removed to Reading and was its most distinguished physician and surgeon from 1773 until 1787, when he died. He was an ardent



John B. Otto

DAVIS, MILLER, OTTO AND ALLIED FAMILIES

supporter of the Colonial side in the troublous Revolutionary times, entering the Continental Army as a surgeon, and was the senior surgeon during the stay at Valley Forge and is said to have continued there until 1783. Dr. Otto married three times and had five children, the sons being: 1. Frederick C. 2. John Augustus, of whom further. 3. Bodo, Jr., died January 26, 1782; he was a colonel of New Jersey Militia, 1777-1778; hospital physician October 6, 1780.

II. Doctor John Augustus Otto, son of Dr. Bodo and Dorothy (Dockmicher) Otto, was born in Hanover, Germany, in 1751, and died in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1834. He received his classical education at Philadelphia institutions, and studied medicine under his distinguished father; then, settling in Reading he practiced his profession there from 1773 until his death. He also served in the Continental Army as a surgeon and filled various public positions with distinction.

He married, in 1776, Catherine Hitner, daughter of George Hitner, a prominent citizen of Marble Hall (now Montgomery), Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania. Children, born in Reading, Pennsylvania: 1. Margaret, born in 1777, died in 1838; married Benjamin Witman. (Witman I.) 2. Mary, married Gabriel Hiester, a prominent official. 3. Sarah, married Jonathan Hiester, Esq. 4. Elizabeth, married the Hon. Henry M. Richards, of Reading. 5. Maria, married Joseph Wood. 6. Daniel Hitner, married Sarah Whitman. 7. John Bodo, of whom further.

III. Doctor John Bodo Otto, son of Dr. John Augustus and Catherine (Hitner) Otto, was born in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1785. He was a graduate of the College of New Jersey, as Princeton University was then called, being a member of the class of 1806. He then entered the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, graduating from this institution in 1808. Throughout his whole life he occupied a position of recognized importance in his profession.

Dr. Otto married Esther Green Witman, daughter of the Hon. William Witman, of Reading. She was a highly educated woman, a graduate of the famous Moravian Seminary at Bethlehem, and was very devoted and generous to the Lutheran Church and to public charities. She died in 1880, aged eighty-four years. (Witman III.) Children, all born in Reading, Pennsylvania: 1. John Augustus; married Caroline Mohr. 2. Bodo, married Annie Weimer. 3. Emma, married Samuel A. Filbert. 4. Harry M., married Susan B. Goodhart, daughter of Jacob Goodhart. 5. Maria, married Jacob Geise. 6. Matilda, married George W. Miller. (Miller II.)

DAVIS, MILLER, OTTO AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Witman Line)

Witman (Widman) Arms—Per fess; (first) or, an eagle sable; (second) azure, a man issuant in profile attired gules, wearing a pointed cap of the second, holding in his dexter hand a rose gules, stemmed and leaved vert; on a canton in sinister chief an estoile or.

Crest—A fore-arm in pale, attired gules, holding a rose gules, stemmed and leaved vert, between a pair of wings, sable.

Mantling—Dexter, or and gules, sinister, or and sable.

The German family name Witman was originally Widerman and was often spelled Widman by the German emigrants from the Palatinate into Pennsylvania; the meaning is *Woodman*.

(The Family in America)

I. *John Witman*, the American progenitor of the family, was born in 1746 in Western Germany. He emigrated during the days of the Palatinate immigration into the United States and settled at Reading, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Here he died in 1818. He married Anna Maria Yerger, who was also a native of Germany. They had four sons and probably also daughters: Their sons: 1. Benjamin, born in 1774, died in 1856; married Margaret Otto, daughter of Dr. John Augustus Otto (Otto II), and had nine sons and two daughters. 2. Jonathan, was killed in Gratz, Dauphin County, about 1683; he married Mary Yerger, born in 1781, died in 1863. 3. William, of whom further. 4. Jacob, of whom nothing is known more than that he resided at Reading.

II. *William Witman*, son of John and Anna Maria (Yerger) Witman, was born at Reading, Pennsylvania, and died in the same town. He married and his children as far as is known were: 1. Charles. 2. Collinson. 3. Hamilton, a prominent surgeon, died in the Civil War. 4. Esther Green, of whom further.

III. *Esther Green Witman*, daughter of William Witman, was born at Reading, and married Dr. John Bodo Otto, of Reading. (Otto III.)

REFERENCES—Miller: "History of Berks County, Pennsylvania," p. 1549. Pearson: "History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania"; Records of the Courts of Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1681-97; Church Records of Reading and County Wills; Pennsylvania Historical Society. Otto: Rietstap, "Armorial Général"; Rupp, "Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants in Pennsylvania, 1727-76," p. 349; Egle, "Names of Foreigners Who Took the Oath of Allegiance," p. 451; "Historical and Biographical Annals of Berks County, Pennsylvania," Vol. II, p. 920; Fox, "Reading and Berks Counties, Pennsylvania," Vol. II, p. 149; "Daughters of the American Revolution Lineage Book," Vol. XXVIII, p. 27. Witman: Rietstap, "Armorial Général"; Heintze, "Die Deutschen Familiennamen," pp. 271-72; Egle, "Historical Register," Vol. III, p. 76; "Book of Biographies of Berks County," p. 326; Montgomery, "Historical and Biographical Annals of Berks County," Vol. II, p. 841.

OTTO

Arms—Azure, a chevalier fully armed argent, the helmet crowned or standing on a hillock vert, and holding a scepter gold.

Crest—Helmet crowned, the chevalier issuant.

Mantling—Argent and azure.

PEARSON

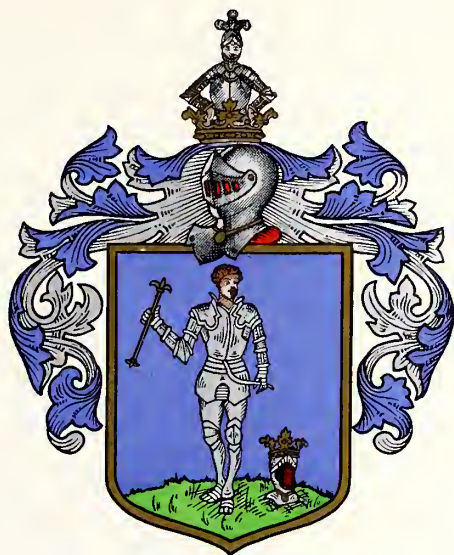
Arms—Argent, a chevron ermine between three laurel leaves proper.

WITMAN (WIDMAN)

Arms—Per fess; (first) or, an eagle sable; (second) azure, a man issuant in profile attired gules, wearing a pointed cap of the second, holding in his dexter hand a rose gules, stemmed and leaved vert; on a canton in sinister chief an estoile or.

Crest—A fore-arm in pale, attired gules, holding a rose gules, stemmed and leaved vert, between a pair of wings, sable.

Mantling—Dexter, or and gules, sinister, or and sable.



Otto



Pearson



Widman
(Wilman)

Chapple, Wooldridge and Allied Families

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO

Chappell (Chapple) Arms—Or, an anchor in pale sable.

(Visitation of County of Devon, edited by Vivian, pp. 169-70. Burke: "General Armory.")



THE surname Chapel, Chappell, Chapple, originated to designate a dweller beside a chapel. Hugh de la Chapele is in the Hundred Rolls of Nottinghamshire, A. D. 1273, John atte Chapele is in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, A. D. 1327. William a la Chapele, Fines Roll, 12. The name is probably traceable to a Norman origin and in France is as theoretically signifying connection with the city Aix-la-Chapelle; and (from the Latin "capella," meaning head covering) a connection with the custom of ancient kings of France carrying the hat of their patron saint (St. Martin) into battle with them. This sacred headdress (kept in an oratory or tent bearing the name "chapelle") doubtless was guarded, and the guardian received the name "chapelain," which comes to us in the present times as "chaplain." The name chapel also may be thus explained from the French "chappelle."

We are inclined to the Norman origin of this family because of their locality—Devonshire—a natural residence for French newcomers to England. Many bearing the name were French Huguenots, who fled to England. In records of Devonshire the name appears in North Devon, at Barnstaple, as well as South Devon. In Modbury, about twelve miles from Plymouth, England, wills were recorded of John and Mary Chapple (again spelled Chappell), his will in 1625-26, and that of Mary, his wife, in 1641-42. Their sons, Samuel and John, were mentioned. In 1728, a certain John Chappell, a Quaker, was appointed to value certain possessions of parties deceased. The name John is found in various references to Chappell families in Devonshire—and a radius of less than a hundred miles would include the localities mentioned above and also the great centers of Exeter and Plymouth, where doubtless those seeking religious circles, less restricted, might easily foregather.

Among the Chappells of Huguenot origin, appears Nicholas Chappelle, who was a preacher at Southampton, England, from 1600 to 1620, and another of the name Aaron Chappelle, was a celebrated divine, 1598-

CHAPPLE, WOOLDRIDGE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1606. At the same period we find a minister of prominence, Jean (or John) Chapelle.

(P. E. Chappell: "Chappell Family Genealogy," pp. 15-21. Visitation of Devon, edited by Vivian, pp. 169-70. C. Worthy: Devonshire Wills, pp. 42, 273, 275.)

The will of John Chapple, of Faringdon, appears on the registry of the Bishop of Exeter, Devonshire, in 1605. In 1608 is recorded the will of John Chappell, of Chittehampton, and in 1627 that of George Chapple, of Hatherleigh. Still earlier again, in 1603, we find a will of Margaret Chapple, of St. Wenn, and in 1610 that of Thomas Chapple in Brockhill in Broadclist. The wills of later Chapples or Chappells were likewise to be found, that of Gabriel Chappell, of Nymet Regis, in 1646; of John Chapple, of Fremington, in 1689; and in the same year that of Thomas Chapple, of Bideford. Closely following these in point of time was the record of the will of John Chapple, of St. Just, in 1691. In 1712 the will of Christopher Chapple, of Warkleigh, is to be found; in 1781 that of William Chapple, of the Close, Exeter; in 1782 and 1787, respectively, that of James Chappell and Margery Chappell, of Appledere, and in 1788 that of John Chapple, of Witheridge.

(Calendar of Cornwall and Devonshire Wills, pp. 32, 33, 34, 36, 40, 42, 48.)

While it would thus appear that the family of Rev. John Chapple, whose biography follows, was long resident in Devon, definite account of his ancestry has not been located.

I. Reverend John Chapple was born at Washford, Devonshire, England, May 5, 1811, which lies not far from Crediton, noted as being the first seat of the bishopric in Devonshire and remained so until in 1049, when the seat was transferred to Exeter. He died in America in 1896. In religious affiliation he became a Bible Christian, a sect founded in the early years of the nineteenth century, spreading throughout the districts of Devon and Cornwall, bringing to the naturally pious and simple folk of the land the fire and religious zeal that the English clergy had, at this period, ceased to give. Much good was accomplished by these pioneer evangelists and ministers, who appealed to the Bible as sole authority for affirmation of the tenets they proclaimed, differing but little from the early Methodists, and like them afire with Christian fervor. This sect originated October 29, 1815, in England, in connection with the labors of

CHAPPLE, WOOLDRIDGE AND ALLIED FAMILIES

William O'Bryan, a Methodist local preacher, its distinctive features being its liberal policy, the laity having equal rights with ministers in all church courts. From the original counties its teachings spread to the Channel Islands and to Canada and Prince Edward Island, "where it gained many converts," as well as to China, where its missionaries accomplished much. Churches were also established in America.

In 1831, at the urgent request of friends who had emigrated to America, two missionaries were sent out, John Hicks Eynon to Canada west, Francis Metherall to Prince Edward Island, and in 1846, George Kippin to Ohio. About four years later, in 1850, Rev. John Chapple succeeded Rev. George Kippin, the first missionary to Ohio. He had entered the ministry of the Bible Christian Church in England in his early manhood in 1833 and labored successfully in various charges in his native country, until he accepted the call to the New World. He was a true apostle of the faith and his daily life was the exemplification of the religion which he taught.

Mr. Chapple's first pastoral position in Cleveland was the charge of the Orange Street Bible Christian Church, organized in October, 1852, at the residence of Mr. Joseph Venning on Orange Street, Cleveland. Its membership at first was small, numbering only ten, and those who organized it, and served as its first board of trustees, included, besides Mr. Venning, the following: Walker Ayers, James Rabon, G. H. Hill, James Gill and George Newman. It met at first in the house of Mr. Venning and afterwards in that of Mr. Richard Wooldridge, which was more commodious and better adapted for the needs of the congregation growing steadily under Mr. Chapple's able and inspiring ministry. Rev. John Chapple's son, Francis John, later was to marry one of Mr. Wooldridge's nieces. In 1853, a small frame church was built at the corner of Irving and Orange streets, later, in 1860, to be replaced by a brick edifice. It flourished for many years, changing its name to Ebenezer Bible Christian Church. In September, 1884, it united with the Congregational Church under the name of Irving Street Congregational Church, and about 1910 moved to Kinsman Road. Still later it was merged again and today it is part of the Woodland Hill Union Church. Though its identity has thus been lost, the work of Rev. Mr. Chapple in behalf of this early Cleveland Church, in essence and spirit, still endures. It formed a sound foundation on which many other and later churches were built. When he first came to Cleveland, the Rev. Mr. Chapple also had charge of a church at Chagrin Falls, Cuyahoga County.

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The Bible Christian Church at Chagrin Falls was organized in 1846 with seventeen members following the migration of a number of English families to that vicinity, shortly before the year first mentioned. In 1851 the church had increased so that it was able to build a small frame house of worship, which was occupied until 1874, when a commodious brick edifice was erected. It was incorporated in 1869 and Rev. John Chapple was its second minister. He remained with these two churches until 1857, when he went to Charlottetown, the capital of Prince Edward Island, Canada, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. From 1859 until 1872 he was pastor of different Methodist churches in Canada.

The following interesting items are to be found in John Harris' "The Life of the Rev. Francis Metherall," and the "History of the Bible Christian Church in Prince Edward Island," published in 1833, pages 99, 100, 109:

Rev. John Chapple labored on Prince Edward Island for seven years, 1865-72, coming there from Ontario. On the removal of William Barker from Charlottetown, John Chapple was appointed to fill his place. His work on the island showed him to be a good pastor; the congregation in Charlottetown considerably increased and is said to have been larger than at any other time in the history of that church. He also succeeded in considerably reducing the church debt. John Chapple lives in the affections of the people. John J. Chapple gave up the position of superintendent in 1870, and was removed to West Cape, where he continued for two years. . . . At the close of his pastorate in Charlottetown, the membership was sixty.

In the latter year he returned to Ohio to take charge again of his old church at Chagrin Falls. At that time he also served as pastor of the Bible Christian Church at Orange, Cuyahoga County, becoming its eighth pastor. This church had been organized as a "Protestant Methodist" church among the people of the central part of Orange as early as 1840, or before. After a time the members largely adopted the views of the Bible Christians, and the church was reorganized under that name. About 1848 a small church building was erected on part of the ground where the cemetery later was, a mile west of Orange Center. Here the congregation worshipped until 1865, when a more commodious edifice was built, a little west of the former location. This church was in the same circuit with Chagrin Falls until 1873.

Mr. Chapple continued to remain in active service until 1882, when he was placed on the superannuated list of the Canada Conference. After

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that he continued to make his home in Chagrin Falls, until some years later, when he removed to Cleveland, where his son Frank had built a home for him in Wooldridge Avenue. Even after he had been superannuated, he was very active in pastoral work, frequently preaching in the churches of which he had had charge formerly and in others. His circle of friends was unusually wide, including people of all classes and all ages, all of whom always found in him a warm and unselfish friend. He was modest and unassuming and insisted, to the last, that the world had a claim on his usefulness. His work for the cause of the church of his allegiance never ceased to be the all absorbing interest of a life devoted to kindly and uplifting deeds. His life of service was a long and beautiful one, for he had reached the age of eighty-five before death came to him in his Cleveland home, quickly and gently, September 16, 1896. His funeral, very largely attended, took place at the Woodland Avenue Methodist Church, Cleveland, and he was laid to rest in the Woodland Cemetery.

The terse summary of his life as given in "Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada," Volume II, page 322, speaks volumes to all who realize the Christian self-sacrifice and noble devotion of the pioneer worker in the field of religion. The brief words say: "John Chapple, London Conference, died September 16, 1896, forty-five years in effective ministry, seventeen as superintendent of supply, total sixty-two, aged eighty-six." The force of his life came on not only in tangible church history, but in an ever-widening circle of human influence, inspired and impelled by his manhood. Such inspiration dies not with the passing of years, but is augmented and made vital in each succeeding generation.

Rev. John Chapple married (first) in England, Elizabeth Radford, who died in England; he married (second) in Cleveland, Ohio, Sarah Ann Bailey. (Bailey II.)

Children of first marriage, born in England: 1. Caroline Elizabeth. 2. William Radford, born at Plymouth, England, April 12, 1846, and came to this country with his father at the age of five years. Educated in Cleveland and Canada, he learned the printer's trade and for several years worked on the Cleveland "Herald," the second newspaper to be founded in Cleveland, October 19, 1819, and the first to achieve permanency. In 1871 he came to Little Falls, New York, and there, together with T. M. Chapman, purchased the "Herkimer County News." He continued as part owner and senior editor of this paper until his death, June 10, 1908. Mr. Chapple was active in public affairs and served at different

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times as village clerk, village trustee, postmaster, school trustee, and president of the school board. Though unassuming personally, he was a man of strong convictions and of great and useful influence. A tireless reader, a clear thinker and a keen judge of men and affairs, he was a forcible writer and deeply devoted to the best interests of his community, to his family, and to his very large circle of friends. He married, at Little Falls, New York, September 10, 1873, Jane Catherine Stephenson, born in 1850, died in 1916, a native of Virginia, and had two daughters: Ada, later Mrs. John S. Cotton, of Washington, D. C., and Mary Louise, later Mrs. J. M. Tanzer, of Little Falls, New York; also William Radford, Jr., who died young, and Carrie, who died young. Children of second marriage: 3. Francis (Frank) John, of whom further. 4. Mary, died in 1887; married Rev. James P. Rice; no children.

(Family records. C. Johnson: "History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio," p. 433.)

II. Francis (Frank) John Chapple, son of Rev. John and Sarah Ann (Bailey) Chapple, was born in Bowmanville, Durham County, Province of Ontario, Canada, October 15, 1857. The first fourteen years of his life were spent in Canada. Here he received his education. Following preliminary education, he attended Prince of Wales College, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. Upon the completion of this very fine educational preparation he went to Little Falls, New York, where he made his home with his brother, William Radford Chapple (q. v.), who was editor of the "Herkimer County News." It was the desire of the Rev. Mr. Chapple to make a printer of Francis (Frank) John Chapple and this seemed the best field for his training. He worked at the trade for four or five years, but then decided to enter mercantile pursuits.

His first venture in the business world was as a merchant in Brampton, Province of Ontario, Canada, about twenty miles northwest of Toronto, where he went at the age of twenty. Here he opened a small store in partnership with J. P. Rice. Prospering in this Mr. Chapple removed to St. Mary's, Province of Ontario, Canada, about twenty miles north of London, where he conducted a trade in all kinds of sporting goods. Here his genius for business and his native enterprise led him into still another piece of work, that of running a newspaper, carried on at the same time that his mercantile ventures were in progress. His next mercantile endeavor, again in partnership with Mr. Rice, was in London, Ontario, Canada, where the retail and wholesale fancy goods busi-



Paul P. P. Es

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F. J. Chapple,

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ness, established by him, flourished for seven years and brought to its owner no small measure of success. His stores were located at No. 168 and No. 123 Dundas Street. Here, too, the early years of his happy married life were lived.

In 1892, family circumstances brought him to Cleveland, Ohio, and he entered here an entirely new field, that of insurance. But new fields are but "new worlds to conquer," to those who by close attention and conscientious application to former tasks have laid the foundation for any forward step. To the insurance line he most naturally added real estate development and here it can be recorded, and that most honestly, that the progress of Cleveland has been in large part due to the foresight and public spirit of such leading citizens as Frank John Chapple, as he was generally known. He was representative of objectives and business principles typical of the finest business ethics in America.

In insurance so successful did he become, that at the time of his death he represented twenty-seven well-known companies. The listing of some of these here will show better their importance: Ohio Mutual Insurance Company, Salem, Ohio; Mansfield Mutual Fire Insurance Company, Mansfield, Ohio; Central Manufacturers Mutual Insurance Company, Van Wert, Ohio; Ohio Underwriters Mutual Fire Insurance Company, Van Wert, Ohio; Merchants and Manufacturers Mutual Insurance Company; Western Mutual Fire Insurance Company, Urbana, Ohio; Rideland County Mutual Insurance Company, Mansfield, Ohio; Knox County Mutual Insurance Company, Mt. Vernon, Ohio; Mill Owners Mutual Insurance Company, Des Moines, Iowa; Millers' Mutual Insurance Company, Alton, Illinois; National Benjamin Franklin Fire Insurance Company, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Baltimore American Fire Insurance Company, Baltimore, Maryland; Victory Insurance Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Hartford Fire Insurance Company, Hartford, Connecticut; American Underwriters Insurance Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Lumbermen's Mutual Casualty Company, Chicago, Illinois; Mutual Plate Glass Insurance Association, Shelby, Ohio; New Jersey Fidelity and Plate Glass Insurance Company, Newark, New Jersey. The business was conducted under the name of F. J. Chapple Company, with offices in the Republic Building. At his death Mr. Chapple left his insurance business to Miss M. F. Pierce, who had been his faithful assistant for twenty-four years, and under her able management it has continued since then, under the old name. Its offices are now in the Swetland Building on Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

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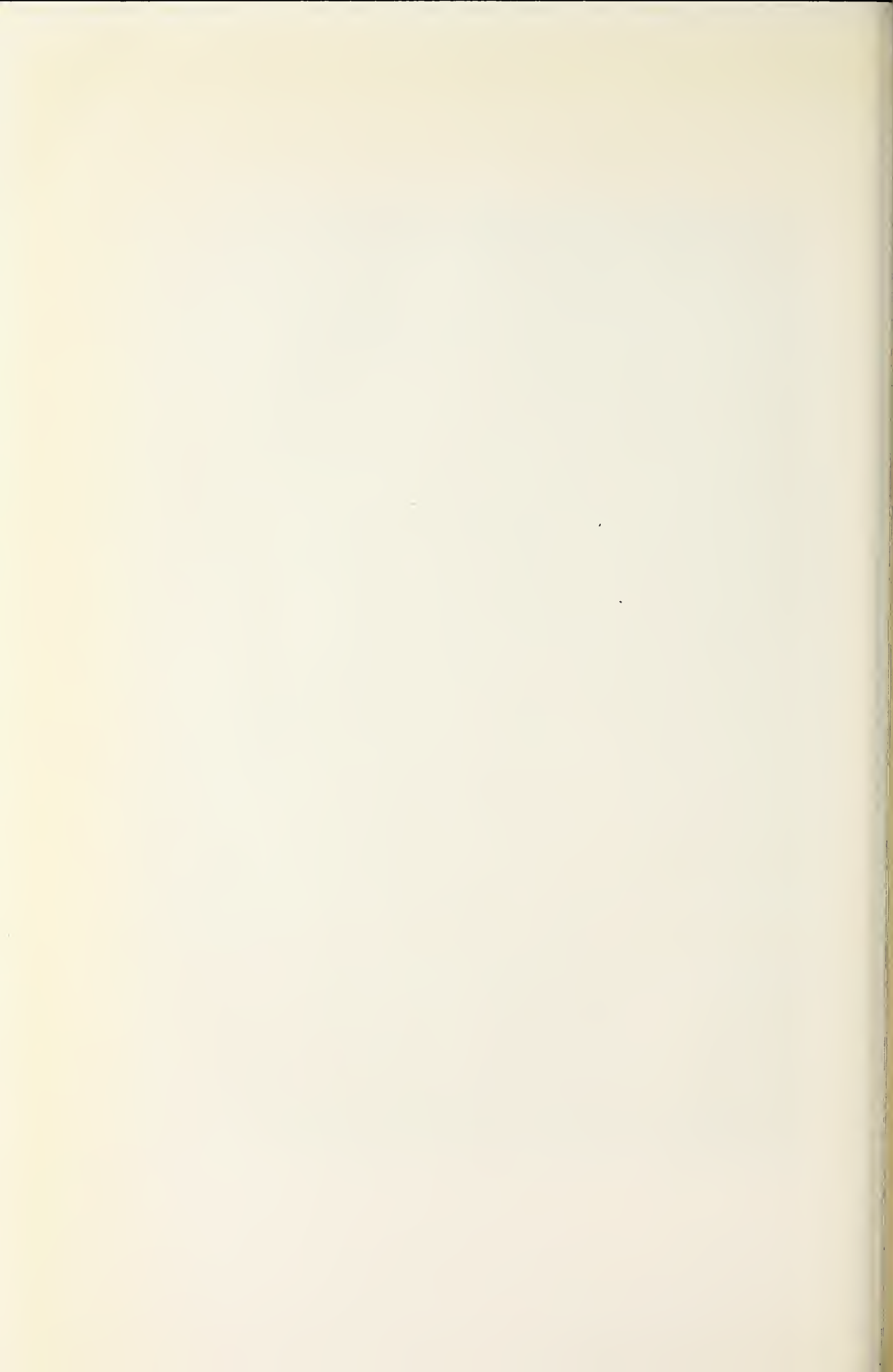
During the World War, as culmination of repeated successes, Mr. Chapple was offered the agency for the London Lloyds. This, however, he declined. Collateral with his absorbing business program in the field of insurance, his real estate interests grew, both to his own advantage, and to the marked upbuilding of the city of Cleveland itself. Mr. Chapple was a particularly important factor in developing the southeast section of Cleveland. In the management of property left to his wife, Mr. Chapple showed keen foresight. Careful investigation of the trend of population centers showed the rapid growth of the town toward the Kinsman Avenue section of the city. Here the property inheritance lay, and Mr. Chapple laid out the land in lots, built forty dwelling houses upon the sites thus marked out, and from time to time made advantageous sale thereof. Here, too, in the beautiful home, at No. 6118 Kinsman Road, of Mrs. Chapple's parents, the family for some time resided. Wooldridge Street, or Grand Avenue, as it is now called, was built up by Frank John Chapple. But as the progress of time rendered the section more urban, the family moved, in October, 1919, to Bay Village, Ohio, buying there a most beautiful residence on Lake Road, upon the picturesque shores of Lake Erie. Here (1929) Mrs. Chapple still lives.

Francis (Frank) John Chapple married, on September 17, 1889, Nellie Lavinia Wooldridge. (Wooldridge II.)

Death came to Mr. Chapple at the home of his niece, Mrs. Cotton, in Washington, D. C., March 1, 1922, while he and Mrs. Chapple were returning from Florida. He was buried in Lakewood Cemetery, Cleveland, where his body rests in the beautiful mausoleum. He had reached his sixty-fourth year. Personally popular in all circles by virtue of his charming and high-minded personality, he was everywhere respected for the integrity and ability which brought him marked success, a success he himself had carved out. Progressive and public-spirited, a man of keen vision and broad understanding, he achieved much. Hard work and fair dealing were his tools. He knew men, and he weighed causes and measured events truly. Cleveland and its growth were close to his heart, and in the building of it, he benefited not only himself, but his fellow-citizens, and his city. For it, his influence was exercised ever on the side of general betterment. Friends, many and of long standing, were his both in Cleveland and in Canada. The home of Mr. and Mrs. Chapple, happy and harmonious, was a delightful gathering place for men and women of intelligence and culture. His life was filled with good deeds



CHAPPLE NEW HOME, BAY VILLAGE, OHIO



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and his assistance was always ready and effective to further every worthy civic or philanthropic movement. He was a member of the Cleveland City Club, the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, and the Cleveland Fire Insurance Club.

In token of the esteem in which his associates held him we quote the following :

At a meeting of the members of the Village of Bay Community Club, held on the second day of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-two, the following Memorial Tribute was adopted :

WHEREAS, The Almighty in administering His last reward has removed from us on the first day of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-two, a faithful and conspicuous member, Frank J. Chapple, whose memory will ever be prominent in our minds. He was an important figure in the development of our Community Club, and through his efforts and perseverance won the high esteem of his fellow-members. A faithful friend, loyal to every trust, he leaves a brilliant record in the hearts of those who knew him as an associate. Kindness and encouragement for the efforts of others were outstanding characteristics which won him many friends, and his graciousness and courtly bearing distinguished him among men.

We acknowledge our great loss in the death of our beloved member and associate and extend to his devoted wife our sincere sympathy.

Resolved, That this humble tribute to the memory of Frank J. Chapple be made a part of the records of this Community Club, and a copy presented to his beloved wife.

(Signed) WALTER J. RUSSELL,
O. P. RANT,
R. D. SCOTT,
Committee.
JOHN L. FLEHARTY,
President.

H. T. FRENCH, Secretary.

(The Wooldridge Line)

Arms—Argent, a cross quarter pierced sable, between four crescents gules.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, an ass's head gules.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Wooldridge, an English family name, is a variation of Woolrich, an ancient Shropshire family, originally Wulfric, an Anglo-Saxon name, meaning "wolf ruler." Adam Wulfric was in the Roll of Guild Merchants of Shrewsbury in 1231, and was seated many years at Wenlock. He was the ancestor of the Shropshire Woolrych family of Croxley House, Hertfordshire, and Wooldridge, of Garlenich in Creed, County

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Cornwall, both descended from Woolrych of Wolridge, of Dudmaston, an estate, acquired by the marriage of William Woolrych to Margaret de Dudmaston, daughter and heir of Hugh de Dudmaston, A. D. 1403. Thomas Wilfrich is in the Hundred Rolls of Buckinghamshire, A. D. 1273. William Wulurich in those of Wiltshire.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Burke: "Landed Gentry.")

The Wooldridge family herein recorded, seem to have been, although descent cannot be traced, originally of the Cornwall family, since their later home was in the bordering shire of Devon. The Okehampton district, in which place the home of the family originally was, is of historic interest. A little of its history would not be amiss here.

It is an old borough, mentioned in Domesday Book, as Ockmenton ("the town on the Ock"), and having at one time its Parliamentary representatives, which it lost in 1832, though it still retains the charter of incorporation, bestowed upon it by James I and Charles I. In its corporation is now vested the lordship of the manor, which in days gone by belonged sometimes to the Crown and sometimes to the Earls of Devon, Marquises of Exeter, and other noblemen. Of its possession by the Crown, we are reminded by a document still extant in the handwriting of Queen Katherine, the good queen, whose unjust divorce by the uxorious "bluff Hal," was the proximate cause of the Reformation of the Church of England. It is dated 1520, and reads thus:

KATRYNA QUEENE,—We will and command you that, up on the sightte hereof, that ye delyver, or cawse to be delyvered, unto our trusty and well-beloved servant, John Cruisse, of Crusham Orcharde (Cruwys Morchard), or to the Brynger hereof, in his name, one Buck of Season; to be taken as our gyfte owte of owre Park in Ockhampton, though any Restraynth, Commandment had made to the contrary, that not withstandynge. Gevyn at the Manor of Shute, the 10th day of Sep., in the 18 year of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord, Kynge Henri the 8th. To our trusty and well-beloved servant Robert Cruisse, keeper of oure Park of Ockhampton; and in his absence to his deputies.

Dating back to such old days, a moderately-sized volume might be written concerning the chronicles of the town. We might speak of the Roman occupation of the neighboring heights; of its history under the Saxons, Normans, and Plantagenets, under the Tudors and the Stuarts; of its fortunes—or rather misfortunes—during the great Civil War, when



Michael Wooldridge

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it appears to have changed hands very frequently; and of more recent occurrences in its now peaceful valley.

The Old Castle (or rather its ruins, for it was dismantled soon after the execution of the marquis of Exeter, in the reign of Henry VIII), stands on the summit of a rock, near the Launceston Road, and close to the left bank of the West Okement, about a mile southwest of the town. The site commands a wild and beautiful view of the valley of the brawling stream, with Dartmoor in the background. The ruins include a small quadrangular keep, portions of the great hall, with its huge chimney, and of the chapel, in which is an inscription, "*V . . . , hic fuit captivus Belli, 1809,*" supposed to have been cut by a French prisoner of war.

Though Okehampton lies in a valley, in no respect differing in its general features from a hundred other valleys in "this England of ours," it is within easy distance of the wildest of the moorland scenery of Dartmoor and of some of its highest points.

(Ward and Lock: "Popular History of and Illustrated Guide to Dartmoor.")

Of Sticklepath itself, the name is sufficiently expressive. It is derived from the Saxon sticle, "steep," which is sufficiently descriptive of its position. At its western extremity is an ancient granite cross, nearly six feet high and about eleven inches in thickness, with almost undiscernible curves, lines and crosses on its side. It is close to a fountain known as Ladywell.

I. *Michael Wooldridge*, born at Sticklepath, Devonshire, England, in 1823, came to America in 1844, with his brother Richard and the latter's wife, Maria (Sangwin) Wooldridge. She, too, was a native of Devon. The three, as was the custom of the time, made the journey from their native land to these far-away United States in a sailing vessel, being en route for the long period of seven weeks. It took, indeed, brave hearts to start out not only on so long and perilous a journey, but to face the loneliness and deprivation of the pioneer life that stretched ahead. Their first landing place was Quebec, Canada, but here they did not tarry. Going thence to Illinois, they settled for a time in a swampy place, desolate then, but now near the very heart of the present city of Chicago. The Wooldridge family fell victims to the dread malaria so easily acquired in the noxious atmosphere of their new home. In search of health, and a more healthful site for a home, they moved to Cuyahoga County, Ohio. They lived here for a year or two, on the S. O. M. Center

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Road, where Kinsman Road crosses near Warrensville. Their next move was to Cleveland, which was at that time a small country town with only eight hundred inhabitants. There they purchased a two hundred acre farm on Kinsman Road, a farm then, but now the site of the Wooldridge School, named in honor of the first settlers of that neighborhood. The story of Kinsman Road itself is illuminative of the progress and development of the region. As the Old South Highway it was laid out as early as 1797 and in the 1860's was called Woodland Avenue; it developed into one of the fashionable drives in a beautiful suburban district. Richard and Michael Wooldridge did not confine their activities to farming, but also became associated with Andrew Duty in a brick-yard, the location of which also makes evident the passing of time, for here the Nickel Plate Railroad now makes a crossing. The bricks made in their yard were of the first manufacture in Cleveland. The Duty family were early in the vicinity, and early in the brick-making business. Ebenezer Duty had a small yard where bricks were made back in 1830. The later members of the family were well known in the business, among them Andrew Duty, who became associated with the Wooldridge brothers. It is of interest to note that bricks here made were used in the construction of the old Grace Episcopal Church at Huron and Erie streets. This building, the first Grace Church, then the eastern limit of the city, was forty by one hundred feet in dimension, and cost about \$10,000. It was the Second Episcopal parish in Cleveland and was dedicated in March, 1848. Growing successes came to the firm thus founded and soon the brothers Wooldridge bought out Mr. Duty, and carried on. Forty employees were employed by them in the operations in the very considerable business that was theirs.

Then Richard Wooldridge died about 1853, leaving a widow and two children: John, who died of sunstroke while a soldier in the Civil War; Frances, who married, in 1872, Dr. F. H. Barr, a physician and surgeon, now deceased, who was at one time president of the Cuyahoga County Homeopathic Society. He was born in Tompkins County, New York, January 11, 1849, son of Dr. T. and Harriet (Blake) Barr, both natives of New York. Dr. Barr was educated at Ithaca Academy, the Medical Department of the University of Michigan, Cleveland Medical College, from which he was graduated in 1871. He was a contributor to medical journals. He was a lecturer at Cleveland Medical College and was the physician of the Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum. They were the





Maria (Sangwin) Wooldridge

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parents of: Frank, deceased; Harry, a physician of Cleveland; David W., a dentist of Cleveland; Marguerite, now the wife of Dr. C. S. Cutter.

Michael Wooldridge continued the work alone. About 1856 he married his sister-in-law, Maria (Sangwin) Wooldridge. (Sangwin III.) Mr. Wooldridge continued to devote himself actively to the manufacture of bricks and to his farming interests until 1870, when he retired. His subsequent life was a quiet one on the old homestead, located near the scenes of his earlier successful activities. This residence, one of the show places of the neighborhood, was of the type that we ever associate with the word "home" in the best American sense, for its peaceful, quiet, substantial comfort made it that in the truest meaning of the word. Thirteen rooms it contained, spacious for the time and place, set in lovely grounds, fitting surroundings and beautiful outlook. Mrs. Wooldridge died July 2, 1892, and her daughter, Mrs. F. J. Chapple (q. v.) and her family came to take up their residence at the homestead. Michael Wooldridge's death followed October 22, 1905.

Michael and Maria (Sangwin) Wooldridge were the parents of two children: 1. Lora, married Dr. P. H. Keese, a dentist, of Cleveland. He was born in Hamburg, New York, June 3, 1859, and was of Revolutionary ancestry, coming to Cleveland as a child. He was educated in the Cleveland public schools, was a graduate of the Philadelphia Dental College, receiving his D. D. S. in 1879. 2. Nellie Lavinia, of whom further.

(Family records. "Memorial Record of the County of Cuyahoga and City of Cleveland, Ohio," 1894, pp. 450, 631, 696, 867. C. Johnson: "History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio," pp. 245 and 278.)

II. *Nellie Lavinia Wooldridge*, daughter of Michael and Maria (Sangwin) Wooldridge, was born in the family homestead on Kinsman Road, July 25, 1861. She lived there until her marriage, when she went with her husband to London, Ontario, living there until 1892, when she returned to the old homestead, remaining there until 1916. In 1922 the residence was torn down to make room for a large knitting mill.

Nellie Lavinia Wooldridge married Francis (Frank) John Chapple. (Chapple II.)

(The Bailey Line)

Bailey, as surname, signifying literally the bailiff, dates from an early period of English history. Bailie, a form of bailiff, now obsolete in England, is retained in a special sense in Scotland. The word had its origin in the old French "bailli." Families of the name have figured

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prominently in English life and affairs for centuries and the name appears in all counties in England, but the Bailey family of our particular interest was from Southern England, like the Wooldridge, Sangwin and Chapple families, related in later years. All of these families came from homes either in Devon or its near neighbor, Cornwall.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. John Bailey was born at North Tamerton, Cornwall, England, in 1780, and died at Cleveland, Ohio, September 25, 1853. He married Johanna Routley, who was born at Pyworthy, Devonshire, England, December 31, 1791, and died at Cleveland, Ohio, June 21, 1859. They were the parents of: 1. Sarah Ann, of whom further.

II. Sarah Ann Bailey, daughter of John and Johanna (Routley) Bailey, was born in Minninott, England, March 12, 1825, and died at the home of her son, Frank Chapple, in Cleveland, Ohio, May 4, 1909. She married, as second wife, Rev. John Chapple. (Chapple I.)

(The Sangwin Line)

Sangwine, or Sangwin, as surname may possibly be derived from a nickname applied to one who is sanguine or hopeful, but more probably it is from the corrupted form of the name of some saint. Both the Scotch and the Welsh had a saint whose name may have undergone change and gone through stages of transition until it became the name Sangwine, taking a Norman French pronunciation for saint. The saint dear in Scotland was called Saint Guinoch, that of Wales Saint Gwenog. The name was early found in Devon. In the Probate Registry at Exeter in the Calendar of Wills relating to Devon and Cornwall, is found the will of John Sangwin of Launcels in 1628; in 1634 we find the name of Theseus Sangwin of Borington, and a somewhat later will is that of William Sangwin of North Hill in 1748.

A very interesting matter to note, is that, though it was not until many years later, and in America, that a Chapple and a descendant of the Sangwins were united in marriage, yet in the census of Bodmin, Cornwall, in 1831, we find several Chapples and Chappells resident in that place, and as near neighbor they have a family called Sangwin.

The Sangwin family of our particular interest were early of Padstow, which lies along the north coast of Cornwall, not far from the famed Castle of Tintagel, "the castle of dreams," celebrated as the birthplace of

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King Arthur, or as the stronghold of King Mark, in the romances of the Middle Ages, and in the beautiful poems of Tennyson, Swinburne and more modern writers. Tintagel, the castle fortress of Arthur, the meeting-place of the Round Table, represents, indeed, part of the past romance of Cornwall, but the picturesqueness of the scenery is forever there and the north coast of Cornwall, where lies Padstow, has inspired many an artist. Here as early as 1750 the Sangwin family, whose record we here trace, were settled, and were for the most part engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." "Encyclopædia Britannica." Bodmin Register, pp. 66-69. Lippincott: "Gazetteer." Ward and Lock: "Popular History and Illustrated Guide to Dartmoor.")

I. Richard Sangwin, the first of the family of whom we have definite knowledge, although living about that time (1750), did not follow the usual calling of his family. He was a brass and copper smelter and moulder. However, though an earnest artisan, his work at the foundry did not absorb all of his thought, for so great was his thirst for knowledge that all of his spare time was spent in study and reading, to the great impairment of his sight, for he became absolutely blind in the last years of his life. He was a deep student and an earnest scholar, being especially interested in the study of history and geography. Richard Sangwin was the father of three children: 1. William, of whom further. 2. John, married, but died very young. 3. Mary, unmarried; lived at Mountain Ash, Wales, where she died.

II. William Sangwin, son of Richard Sangwin, was born at Padstow, probably about 1785. He was an engineer and a builder, who went to live at Ashwater, Devon, in early maturity. He was noted for his cleverness and was an inventor of no small ability. He built a machine for the pressing of apples and the making of cider, said to be the first ever seen in Cornwall. William Sangwin and his brother John constructed practically all of the machinery and the furniture used in the farms about their homes, which lay near to the great Dartmoor of legend and scenic glory. About the life of the day in the Devon of William Sangwin, there was gathered much of old-time charm and old-time customs. The fairs of old Devon kept much of the place in the community that the barter and trade of the Middle Ages had given them. To Rev. S. Baring-Gould we are indebted for the gathering together of Devon folksongs. Tradition has it that the jovial country-men and neighbors of William

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Sangwin gathered together at festival times and sang the famous song of Widdicombe fair which begins:

Tom Pearse, Tom Pearse, lend me your gray mare
All along, down along, out a-long lea,
For I want for to go to Widdicombe Fair
With Bill Brewer, Peter Gurney, Peter Davy, Dan'l Whiddon, Harry
Hawk,
Uncle Tom Cobleigh and all, Uncle Tom Cobleigh and all.

These were simpler times with kindlier manners and neighborly spirit.

Three of Mr. William Sangwin's daughters went from the old home out to America, and between 1850 and 1860 he paid a visit to them in that distant land, staying there about three years. He was past seventy years of age when he returned to England. His next trip made shortly afterwards, was to the Jersey Islands, where he remained six months. In spite of his age his desire to travel was strong, and in 1861 he went to London to visit the great exhibition at the Crystal Palace. He spent three months in the busy metropolis. Upon his return, his health became poor and he was not able to go afield to seek new scenes. He remained a rather frail old man until his death, which occurred soon after.

William Sangwin married, sometime after 1800, and probably about 1805, Grace Teurye, whose family belong to the strong well-to-do farmer class, and were natives of Cloyton, Devon. They were the parents of five children, whose order of birth is not given: 1. Richard, a carpenter, builder and contractor; his grand-nieces, Phillippa Hiles and Edith Chapman, are now living in Cornwall. 2. John, married, but died young. He was an engineer, died while helping with the construction of a pier in Plymouth. 3. Mary, married and went to America. 4. Ann, married a Mr. White and went to America. 5. Maria, of whom further.

(Family data.)

III. Maria Sangwin, daughter of William and Grace (Teurye) Sangwin, was born at Ashwater, Devonshire, married (first), previous to their sailing to America in 1844, Richard Wooldridge. (Wooldridge I.) She married (second) Michael Wooldridge. (Wooldridge I.)

(Family data.)

McPherson and Allied Families

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO

Macpherson (McPherson) Arms—Per fess or and azure, in dexter chief a hand fess-wise grasping a dagger palewise gules, and in sinister a cross crosslet fitchy gules, in base a lymphad, sails furled, oars in action or.

Crest—A cat sejant proper.

(Adam: "The Clans and Septs of the Scottish Highlands," p. 387.)

Supporters—Two highlandmen in short tartan jackets and hose, with steel helmets on their heads, thighs bare, their shirts tied between them, and round targets on their arms all proper.

Motto—Ná mothgadh an cat gan lamhain.

(Burke: "General Armory.")



McPHERSON, or MacPherson, is the name of one of the most ancient and celebrated of the Scottish Highland clans. The name, meaning "son of the parson," was well known throughout the Highland country in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but the clan MacPherson did not become prominent in history until the end of the sixteenth century. Their first appearance in history is in connection with the events that culminated in the battle of Glenlivet in 1594. The MacPhersons belonged to the Clan Chattan Confederacy, the leadership of which they disputed with the Clan Mackintosh.

According to Sir Aeneas MacPherson (1700), the genealogist of the clan, the MacPhersons were the most ancient branch of Clan Chattan, and descended from the Clan Eponymus, Gilli-catan Mor, in the eleventh century. It was Gilli-catan who had the name of Clan Chattan, and from his great-grandson, Muireach, the Parson, came the names of Clan Mhuirich and MacPherson. The MacPhersons are descended from Ewen Bane, the second son of Muireach. The various descendants of Muireach formed one branch of the Clan Chattan Confederacy, while the descendants of the MacDuffs, the old Earls of Fife, formed the other. Among the latter group were the Mackintoshes, who, as has been said, long disputed the mastery of the clan with the MacPhersons. The MacPhersons also had trouble with their kinsmen, the Davidsons, which culminated in the famous combat, celebrated by Sir Walter Scott, which took place in the North Inch of Perth. According to tradition, the MacPhersons were victorious, but this battle so weakened their branch of the confederacy that the Mackintoshes were able to gain the leadership.

Duncan, chief of the MacPhersons in 1672, secured from the Lyon

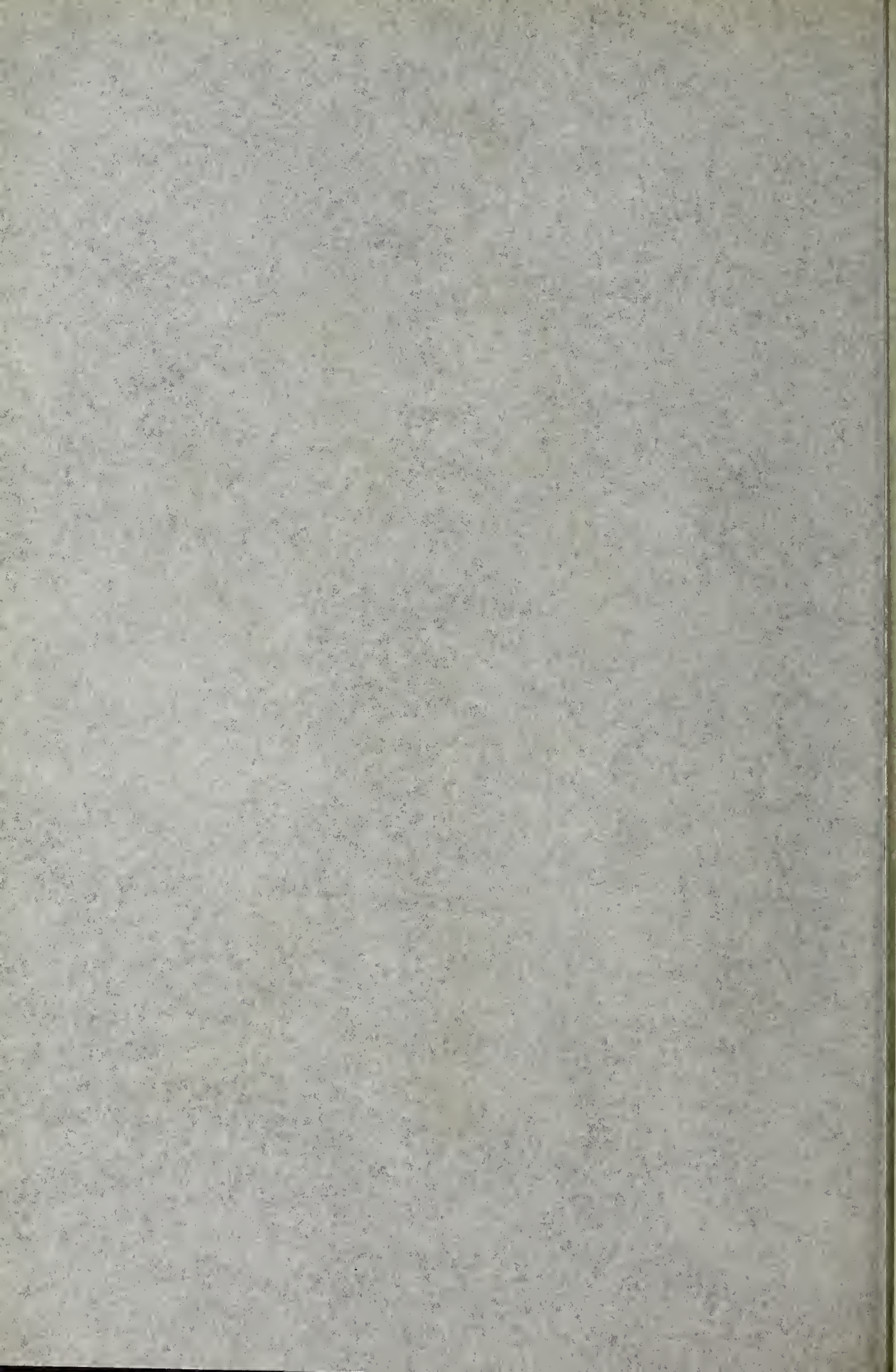
McPHERSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Office the matriculation of his arms as "Laird of Clunie Macpherson, and the only true representative of the Clan Chattan." The Mackintoshes, however, disputed this, but the Privy Council declined to settle the quarrel. Adam gives an interesting incident which shows the *noblesse oblige* that prevailed among these clans even when they were at swords' points. "The old saying of 'blood being thicker than water' was illustrated in 1688, when the Mackintoshes were defeated by the MacDonells of Kepoch at the battle of Multoy. On that occasion the Chief of the Mackintoshes was taken prisoner along with many of his clan. Although the Macphersons had taken no part in the above conflict, a large body of them, after the battle was over, confronted the victorious MacDonells and compelled these to deliver up the Chief of Mackintosh to them. The Macphersons then escorted Mackintosh in safety to his own castle, where they set him at liberty."

Certain members of the MacPherson family, who are thought to have lived in Inverness County, left Scotland for Ireland during the seventeenth century. In the early part of the eighteenth century some of their descendants emigrated to America, settling in New Hampshire. It is from this branch that the line recorded herein is descended. Many other MacPhersons settled in America, and have become distinguished in the professional and civic life of this country. Among those who settled in New Hampshire were several who followed the trade of weaving, which was of great importance not only in early colonial times but as the foundation for an important industry of today. The MacPherson family of Philadelphia, also of Scotch origin, has attained distinction in many ways. To this family belonged the famous Captain John MacPherson, who commanded a British privateer in 1757, and was the owner of the mansion "Mount Pleasant" in Philadelphia. His son, Major William McPherson, in 1794 commanded a battalion of State troops known as the "MacPherson Blues," long the pride of Philadelphia.

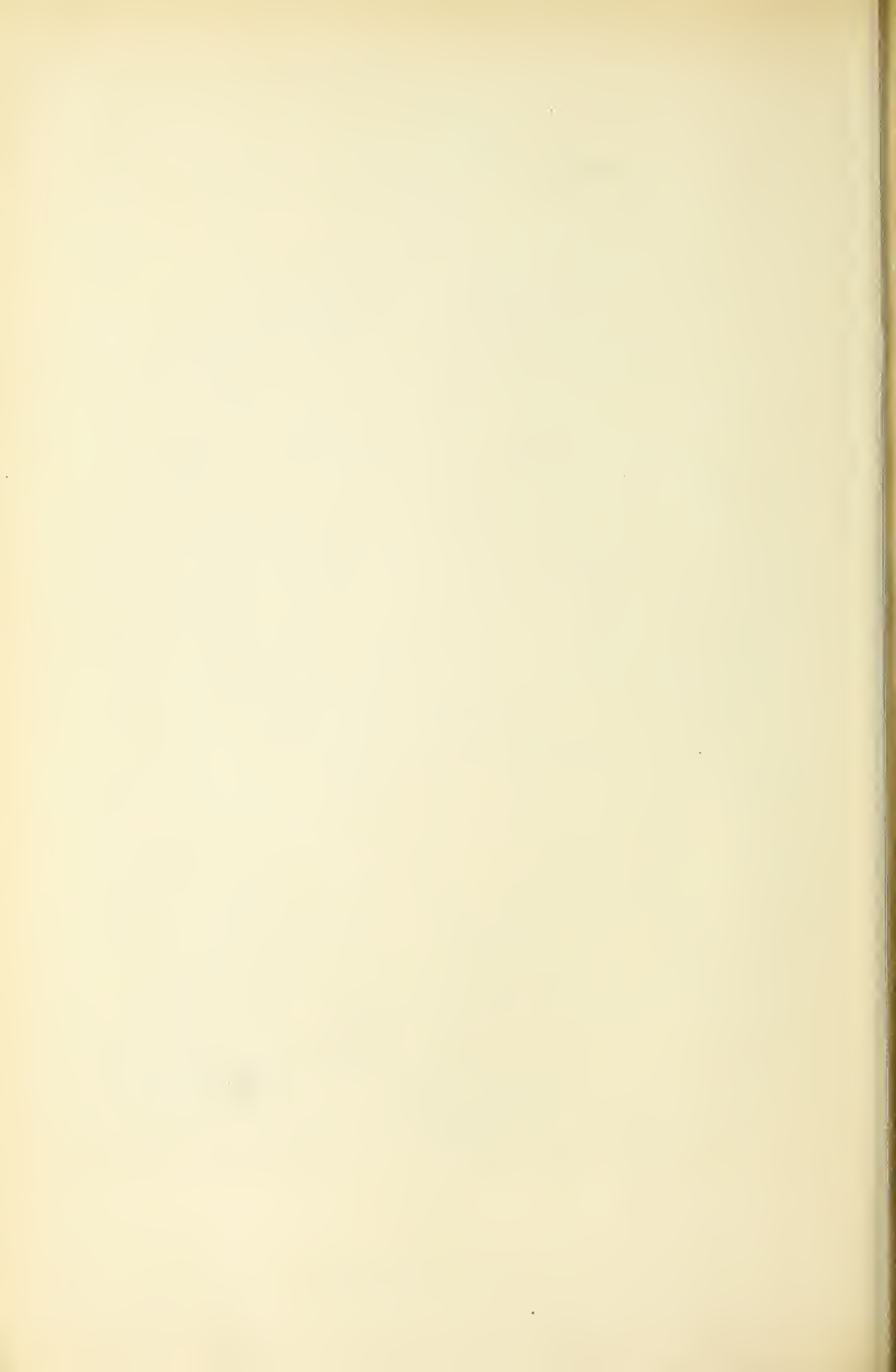
(Adam: "The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands," pp. 100-02, 476-77. E. Cochrane: "History of Francetown, New Hampshire," pp. 808-21. T. Glenn: "Some Colonial Mansions," Vol. II, pp. 445-72.)

I. Paul McPherson was born probably in County Derry, Ireland, of the Scotch clan who settled there, and died in Chester, New Hampshire. In 1732 he emigrated to America from Dumbo Parish, County Derry, and with his son William, then seventeen years of age, landed at Boston,





Cluny Macpherson



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Massachusetts. The rest of the family came in the next year and landed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In 1735-36 the name of Paul McPherson appears on the Presbyterian Protest regarding taxation. In 1741 his land in Haverhill, Massachusetts, was cut off by the boundary lines. He gave land to his son James in 1742. His name again appears on a deed dated 1748 to Samuel McFerson. It is probable that the first year after he came to America was spent with friends in Andover, Massachusetts, and that the following year he settled in what is now Chester, New Hampshire. His brother or near relative probably came to America with him and was the McPherson who settled at Goffstown, New Hampshire.

As the name of his wife does not appear, it is a reasonable conjecture that she died before her husband's departure for America. All of his children were born in Ireland. Children: 1. William, born about 1715, died in Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1743; married Mary. 2. Elizabeth, married (first) Adam Dickey, of Chester, New Hampshire; (second) a McDuffie, of New Boston, New Hampshire. 3. James, born in 1716, died November 1, 1792, in New Boston, New Hampshire; married Jeannette Lesley, who died February 26, 1804, aged eighty-six. 4. Samuel, born in 1720, died April 30, 1811; married Patty Witherspoon, of Chester. 5. Joseph, of whom further. 6. Henry, born in 1729; married (first) Martha McNeil, of New Boston, New Hampshire; (second) Mary Burnes, of New Boston, born June 16, 1731; was a weaver.

("Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly," Vol. VIII, pp. 27-28. B. Chase: "History of Chester, New Hampshire," p. 562.)

II. Joseph McPherson, son of Paul McPherson, was born in Dumbo, County Derry, Ireland, in 1725, and died in Deering, New Hampshire, in 1783. Many of the sons of Paul McPherson dropped the "Mc" and spelled their name "Ferson," but Joseph and his descendants retained the original form. Joseph moved to Deering, New Hampshire, about 1763. He was a weaver by trade and served as a private in the New Hampshire militia in the Revolutionary War. He married Ann, of Chester, New Hampshire. Children, probably all born in Chester: 1. Mary, married Robert McKean; went to Antrim, New Hampshire, in 1778, and to Corinth, Vermont, in 1800. 2. Nancy, or Margaret, married, in 1810, David McKean; went to Antrim and later to Corinth. 3. Robert, died in Deering, New Hampshire; married Mary Christie, of New Boston. 4.

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William, of whom further. 5. Jeannette, married Elias Dickey and settled in New Boston.

("Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly," Vol. VIII, pp. 28-29. D. A. R. Lineage Books, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 324. W. Cochrane: "History of Francestown, New Hampshire," p. 810. Cochrane: "History of Antrim, New Hampshire," pp. 601-02.)

III. William McPherson, son of Joseph and Ann McPherson, was born in Deering, New Hampshire, in 1752, and died at Chaumont, Jefferson County, New York, September 18, 1828. He served as a private in the New Hampshire militia at the Ticonderoga and Rhode Island alarms. He and his brother Robert both served in the Burgoyne campaign, including the battles of Lake George and Saratoga. William McPherson married, in 1780, Mary Gregg. (Gregg IV.) Children: 1. Anna, married Robert Mills. 2. Hannah, died unmarried. 3. Mary, died unmarried. 4. Hugh, married Hannah Butterfield, and settled in New York. 5. Robert, of whom further. 6. Sally, settled in Chaumont, New York. 7. Rosanna, died unmarried. 8. William, married Jane Forsaith, and settled in Chaumont, New York.

("Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly," Vol. VIII, p. 28. D. A. R. Lineage Books, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 324. D. Hurd: "History of Hillsborough, New Hampshire," p. 378.)

IV. Robert McPherson, son of William and Mary (Gregg) McPherson, was born in Deering, New Hampshire, March 24, 1790, and died in Chaumont, New York, September 1, 1868. He married (first), February 4, 1815, Sally Wilkins (Wilkins II); (second), November 25, 1845, Sarah Gregg, born March 6, 1795, died January 5, 1885, daughter of Samuel and Jane (Wilson) Gregg. Children of first marriage: 1. Rodney (twin), born May 14, 1816, died November 11, 1863; married, March 7, 1843, Persis Spencer. 2. William (twin), born May 14, 1816, died May 17, 1816. 3. Mary, born November 8, 1817; married, November 4, 1839, Robert Mills. 4. Lucinda, born October 15, 1819; married, September 9, 1841, Ira Allen Butterfield. 5. Sarah, born January 2, 1824; married, October 30, 1844, George W. Hudson, son of George P. Hudson. (Hudson I.) 6. Nancy Agnes, born August 9, 1828; married, September 7, 1852, William Mariner. 7. Margaret, born March 25, 1831, died September 7, 1853. 8. Andrew Armour Wilkins, of whom further.

(E. Cogswell: "History of New Boston, New Hampshire," p. 442. Family data.)

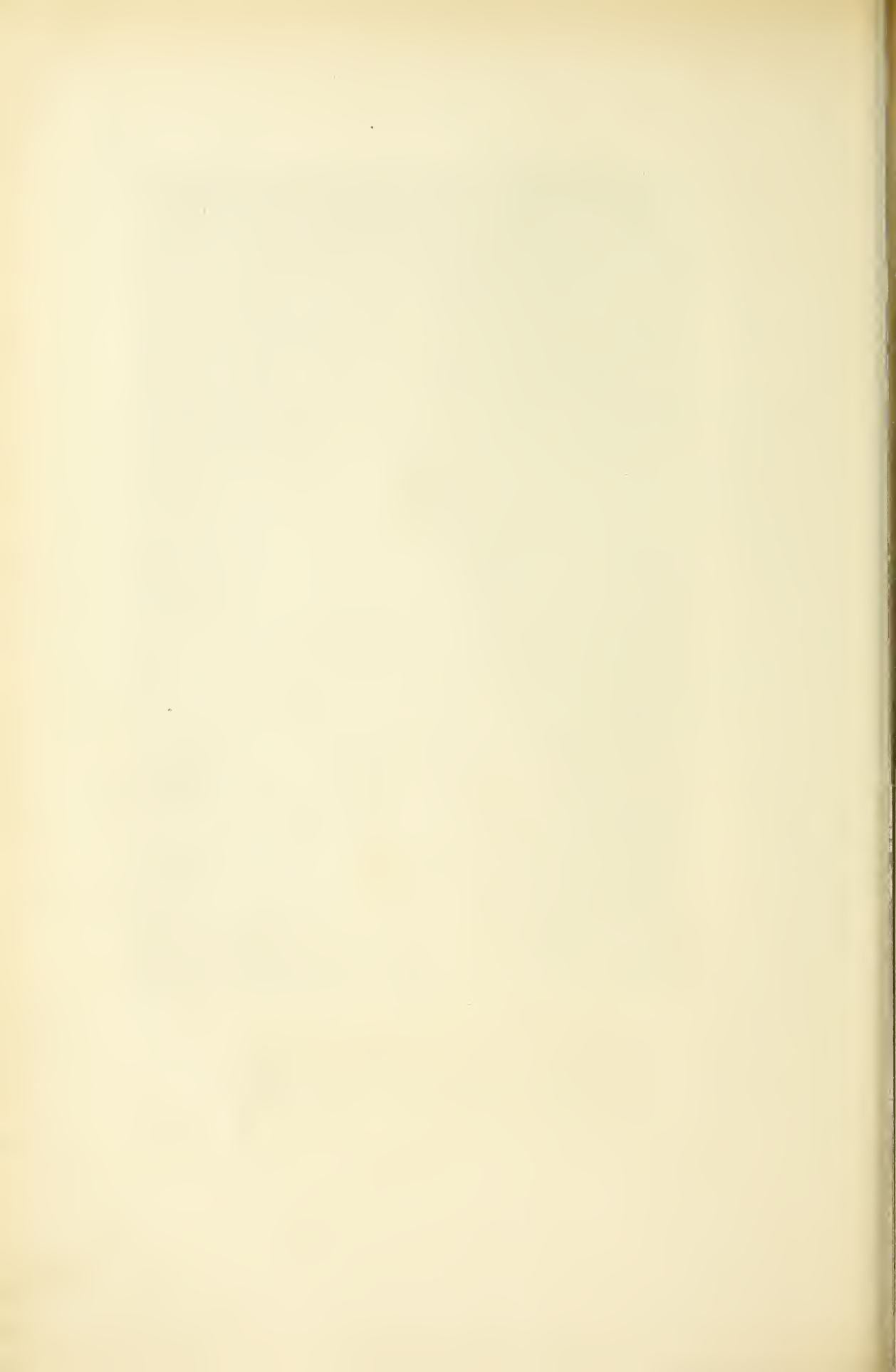


Andrew Armour Wilkins, McPherson





Myra M. (Hudson) McPherson



McPHERSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

V. Andrew Armour Wilkins McPherson, son of Robert and Sally (Wilkins) McPherson, was born in Chaumont, New York, January 18, 1836. He received his education in his native town and spent his boyhood and youth there. Upon reaching maturity he decided, however, to seek his life work in other fields and, while a young man, came to Detroit, determined to build for himself a successful career and new home in this city of larger opportunity. Mr. McPherson first took a position as a bookkeeper with the O. W. Shipman Coal Company. However, he was not long able to continue this sedentary employment because of his failing health. The wisest course of procedure seemed to be the pursuit of some out-door calling, and he purchased a farm at Royal Oak, then open agricultural country, now a prosperous suburb of Detroit.

After several years engaged in farming, he decided again to reënter business. Returning to Detroit he engaged in the coal and wood business with his brother-in-law, George W. Hudson, continuing in this venture for some time. Later, feeling that the wholesale commission business offered wider opportunity he entered that field. He devoted himself to his business, bringing from his efforts not only the success which he sought, but also the full ability to provide generously for his loved ones and the power to help many outside this closer, dearer circle. Many came to him for guidance in time of need and all felt confidence in the wisdom of his calm friendliness. Mr. McPherson had the unwavering respect of all with whom he came in contact. His friends found him very loyal and many were the pleasant hours of relaxation that he spent with them. Mr. McPherson was not of those men who give all of their time to the cares of business. His was a fully rounded life. He loved outdoor life and healthful activity. He was a charter member of the Lake St. Clair Fishing and Shooting Club, and was a member of the Granite Curling Club. He was, indeed, very enthusiastic about the game of curling and was most proficient and skillful in playing it. In the club's annual curling matches, he, on two occasions, was awarded first prize.

Reared in the Presbyterian denomination, he later became a member of the Episcopal church, giving freely of his consecrated thought, his time, effort, and money to its cause, serving for several years as vestryman.

Andrew Armour Wilkins McPherson married, at Detroit, Michigan, February 15, 1859, Almira (Myra) M. Hudson. (Hudson II.) The death of Mr. McPherson, on February 22, 1899, brought grief and a

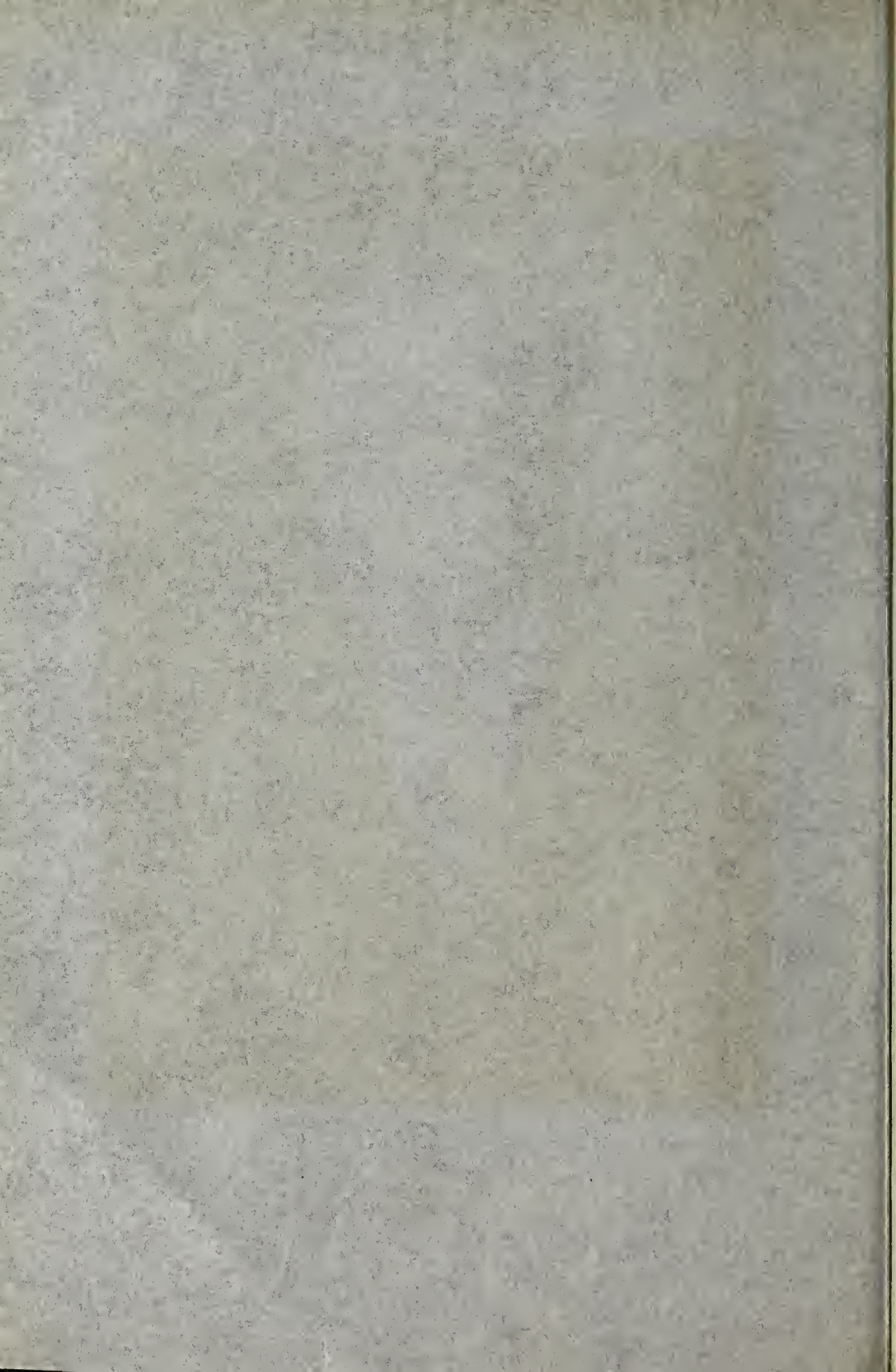
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deep sense of loss to those who remained to carry on. The sorrow, however, was mingled with a sense of deep gratitude for the kindly beneficence of his life, and the passing of years has not dimmed the memory of his fine character and fair example. Children: 1. Lynn Andrew, born at Royal Oak, Michigan, June 20, 1861, died at Detroit, September 20, 1864. 2. Nettie (twin), born October 12, 1862. 3. Nellie (twin), born October 12, 1862, died February 28, 1902. 4. Harry Andrew, of whom further. 5. Kate, born in Detroit, October 7, 1875.

(Family data.)

VI. Harry Andrew McPherson, son of Andrew Armour Wilkins and Myra M. (Hudson) McPherson, was born at Detroit, Michigan, September 13, 1873. After graduating from the Cass School and attending the Detroit High School for two years, Mr. McPherson entered upon his business career. He worked for a few months in the office of his father, who, as above stated, was a wholesale merchant, whose business was located on Woodbridge Street between Griswold and Shelby streets. In December, 1890, Mr. McPherson entered the employ of the Detroit Fire and Marine Insurance Company, with which he was destined to pass many years of his life. His unusual capacity for thorough and painstaking work, his grasp of the details of whatever work he had in hand, rendered him invaluable to the company, which had reason to congratulate itself upon having secured his services early in life. Beginning as a file clerk, Mr. McPherson worked his way up through the various degrees of promotion, and the more responsibility was placed upon him, the more capably did he support it. After three decades of association with the insurance company, in which he was then holding the important office of cashier, he left to accept an offer of the treasurership of the Commercial Electric Supply Company, which he held until his death on February 9, 1927. Through his association with the Detroit Fire and Marine Insurance Company and the Commercial Electric Supply Company, Mr. McPherson formed acquaintances with many bankers and financiers, all of whom spoke very highly of Mr. McPherson's ability and integrity.

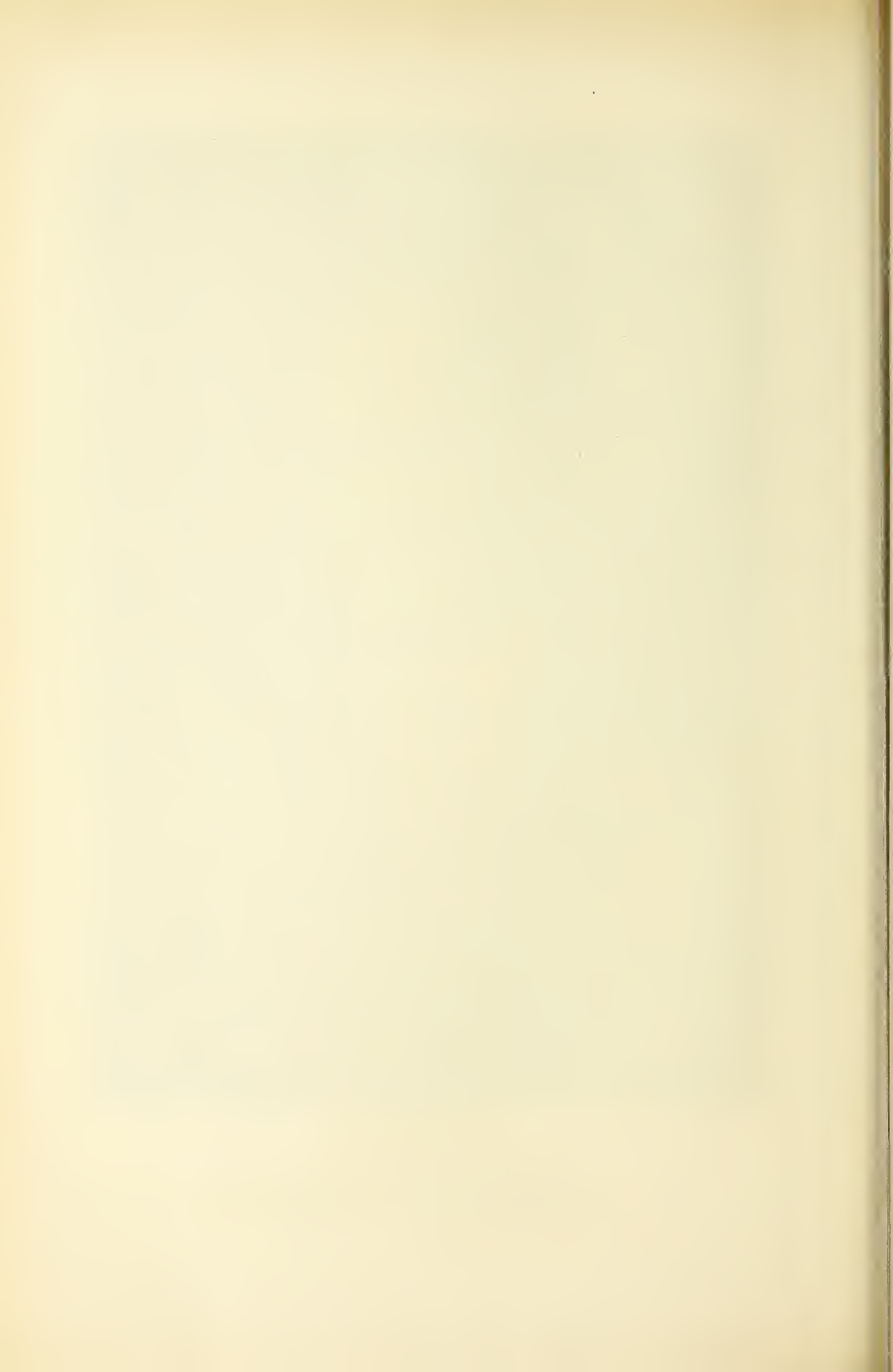
At the time of his death Mr. McPherson occupied an important place in the commercial life of the city. He was not only treasurer of the Commercial Electric Supply Company, but a large stockholder as well and a member of the Board of Directors, and while not officially the manager, still a great deal of the detail of its management fell upon his shoulders.





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He continued to be interested in the Detroit Fire and Marine Insurance Company after he had left its employ, and was a stockholder in this corporation.

Mr. McPherson's life demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that a man may be successful in business and still retain untarnished the principles of honor and integrity to which he was brought up, and to which he is committed by the teachings of his religion. Though not a demonstrative man, Mr. McPherson had an essentially religious character, and adopted that sane philosophy of life which places ethical conduct on the highest plane of values. He was a member of the Grace Episcopal Church, later merged with St. Paul's Cathedral. In his social relations Mr. McPherson possessed a quiet friendliness which endeared him to all who appreciate the qualities of sincerity and loyalty. He belonged to no clubs or societies, but although the circle of his intimates was small, the attachments therein were deep. The traditions of an honorable inheritance were strong within him, and his family relations were full of confidence, sympathy and love.

(The Hudson Line)

Arms—Per chevron embattled or and azure three martlets counterchanged.

Crest—A martlet sable wings or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Hudson, Hudd, Huddy and Hood have a common and interesting origin. They are of baptismal derivation, coming from *Hud*, an old north English nickname of Richard, taken evidently from the second syllable. Richard was a popular personal name in early times, and the fact that Hudson is derived from it is proved by an entry in the Close Roll in the reign of Edward II, occurring among several Lancashire names: "Matthew de Sutheworth dictus (called) Makyn" and "Ricardus dictus Hudde de Walkden." The nickname Hud is also found in Gower's Latin verses on Wat Tyler's insurrection:

"Hudde ferit, quem Judde terit, dum Tibbe juvatur, Jacke domosque viros vellit, en ense necat."

Ricardus de Knapton and Christiana Hud-wyf occur in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire in 1379. The suffix *son* indicates that the bearer was the son of Hud, or Richard. Richard Huddeson occurs in the Rolls of Parliament, and John Hudeson in the Testamenta Eboracensia. It will be noticed that all these entries are found in the north of England.

The Hudson family of Rhode Island evidently dates back to an early period, as the name of William Hudson is found among the earliest

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inhabitants and proprietors of Narragansett in 1663 and on a petition signed by the inhabitants of Wickford in 1668. In 1660 there is record of William Hudson, of Boston, a member of Major H. Atherton's colony of Narragansett. It is probable that these records all refer to the same person, and still another record is found in Barbadoes in 1638, when William Hudson is listed among the inhabitants. Many persons went from England to Barbadoes and thence to Rhode Island. Unfortunately there is no record of the descendants of this William Hudson.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." "Narragansett Historical Magazine," Vol. II, pp. 106, 112; Vol. III, pp. 12, 230-35.)

I. George P. Hudson was born near Providence, Rhode Island, September 29, 1793, and died in New Berlin, Chenango County, New York, March 22, 1881. He married, in Norwich, in April, 1817, Deborah Winsor. (Winsor American Line VI.) Children: 1. Elon W., born January 23, 1818. 2. Oscar F., born July 30, 1819. 3. Horace A., born June 15, 1821. 4. George W., born June 3, 1823, died in January, 1902; married, October 30, 1844, Sarah McPherson, daughter of Robert McPherson. (McPherson IV.) 5. Alonzo C., born March 19, 1826. 6. Helen E., born November 21, 1827. 7. Mary I., born June 13, 1829. 8. Cordelia A., born October 13, 1830. 9. Julia A., born May 1, 1832. 10. Edwin A., born October 1, 1833. 11. Almira M. (Myra M.), born December 16, 1835. 12. Charles T., born May 6, 1838. 13. William H., died at birth, no record.

(F. Carlisle: "History of Wayne County, Michigan," pp. 287-88. Family data.)

II. Almira (Myra) M. Hudson, daughter of George P. and Deborah (Winsor) Hudson, was born in New Berlin, Chenango County, New York, December 16, 1835. She married, February 15, 1859, Andrew Armour Wilkins McPherson. (McPherson V.) Mrs. McPherson proved a valuable and devoted helper to her husband throughout the long course of their married life. Her children found in her mother love and counsel, ready in their every need. Charming as hostess and friend, she in turn found many friends on every side. All whose lives touched hers loved her. While her home and family were always her greatest concern, she yet found time to devote to humanitarian causes. A very fine example of this was her great interest in the soldiers of the Allied Armies during the Great War. This interest took tangible form long before the entry

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of the United States into the struggle. Mrs. McPherson at the outbreak of the war was well advanced in years, but the alertness of her faculties was unimpaired. Her sympathies were aroused and she gave her time unceasingly to the knitting of socks for the soldiers, first for the Canadian army and then the American. Well past her eightieth birthday, at the close of the war, this indefatigable and unselfish lady continued to knit socks for those brave soldiers who had made such a sacrifice for her country in its need, and every year at Christmas presented seventy-five pairs of hand-knitted socks to the Tubercular Hospital for American Soldiers.

Myra M. (Hudson) McPherson died in Detroit, Michigan, August 28, 1926, in her ninety-first year. Hers was a long life, the years filled with gentle deeds of kindness. Many who had walked in early days with her had passed to the Great Beyond. In the words of the poet it can be well said in her memory—

“None knew thee but to love thee,
Nor named thee but to praise.”

(The Winsor Line)

Winsor (Winsor) Arms—Gules, a saltire argent between twelve crosses crosslet or.
Crest—A buck's head affrontée couped at the neck argent, attired or.

Motto—*Je me fie en Dieu.*

(Burke: “General Armory.”)

Winsor is an American spelling of the old English name of Windsor, which comes from the town of Windsor (old form Windlesora), in Berkshire, England. The historic family of Windsor took its name from Windsor Castle, and seems to have been descended from one of the few families of the old Saxon nobility which were able to retain their power and property under the Norman rule. The earliest known ancestor is said to have been Other or Othoere, a powerful noble of Norwegian descent, who lived at the time of Alfred the Great. The family which was descended from him and took the name of Windsor became very powerful under the Norman kings and intermarried with the Norman nobles and with the royal line itself.

I. Other, as written in the “Domesday Book,” and according to the pedigrees the son of Othoere, was living in the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-66).

II. Walter Fitz Other, son of Other, is recorded in the “Domesday Book,” a survey of England made by William the Conqueror in 1086. According to this record he was possessed of fourteen hides of land in

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Contone, Godelmin Hundred, County Surrey, and of other lands in Hampshire and Middlesex held by his father. He was warden of all the forests in Berkshire and castellan of Windsor Castle in the reign of William I. In the pedigree of his descendant, the Earl of Kerry (attested by Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms, 1615) Walter Fitz Other is said to have married Gladys, daughter of Rygwallon ap Conwyn, Prince of North Wales; but Vincent, the herald, gives his wife's name as Beatrix. He had sons: William, of whom further; Robert, and Gerald.

III. William de Windesore, son of Walter Fitz Other, was granted the manor of Molesford in Berkshire, and succeeded his father in his offices of warden of the forests in Berkshire and castellan of Windsor Castle, which were confirmed to him by Queen Maud, daughter and heir of Henry I. He assumed the surname Windsor in token of his office as castellan of Windsor Castle. He left two sons: William, of whom further; and Hugh.

IV. William (2) de Windsor, oldest son and heir of William de Windsor, certified in 1165, at the assessment for the marriage of the king's daughter, that he owned sixteen and a half knight's fees of the old feoffment, and three and a half of the new under Henry II. In 1194 he attended the king into Normandy, and died in this expedition. He had sons: Walter, who left two daughters only; and William, of whom further.

V. William (3) de Windsor, second son of William (2) de Windsor, succeeded his brother Walter. In 1212 he paid £100 for livery of part of the lands of his brother. He married Edith Plantagenet. (Descent from Kings of England, Generation V.)

VI. William (4) de Windsor, son of William (3) de Windsor, was Lord of Stanwell in Middlesex, and was surnamed the "Great Seal." He died about 1275. He married Agnes and had sons: William, of whom further; and Hugh.

VII. William (5) de Windsor, of Stanwell, oldest son of William (4) de Windsor and Agnes, married Margaret Drokensford, daughter of John Drokensford, and sister of Sir John Drokensford. He left children: Richard, of whom further; Walter, and Margaret.

VIII. Richard de Windsor, son of William (5) and Margaret (Drokensford) de Windsor, attended Parliament in 1296-98, 1306, 1309,

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1312, and 1313 as one of the knights for Middlesex, and died in 1325. He married (first) Julian Stapelton, daughter of Sir Nicholas Stapelton, of Hachilsay, Yorkshire (Stapleton V), and had: Richard, of whom further; and William; (second) Joan, by whom he had no issue.

IX. *Richard (2) de Windsor*, oldest son of Richard and Julian (Stapelton) de Windsor, served in Parliament in 1331, 1339 and 1340, and died in 1367. He married (first) Joan, by whom he had a daughter only; (second) Julian Molyns, daughter and co-heir of James Molyns, of County Southampton, and had: James, of whom further; and Sir William, a famous warrior in Ireland and France.

X. *James de Windsor*, oldest son of Richard and Julian (Molyns) de Windsor, was knighted by Edward III, and died in 1370. He married, in 1349, Elizabeth Streche, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Streche, of Wombro, Wiltshire. (Streche II.)

XI. *Sir Miles de Windsor*, only son and heir of James and Elizabeth (Streche) de Windsor, was born about 1354, and died March 31, 1386. He was knighted before March 31, 1386. He married Alice de Wymondham, died in 1394, daughter of Adam de Wymondham, of Wymondham, County Norfolk. They were ancestors of the Earl of Plymouth.

XII. *Brian de Windsor*, son of Sir Miles and Alice (de Wymondham) de Windsor, was born in 1371 and died in 1399. He married Alice Drewe, died in 1406, daughter of Thomas Drewe, of Segrave, Leicestershire. They had Miles, who died unmarried; and Richard, of whom further.

XIII. *Richard de Windsor*, son of Brian and Alice (Drewe) de Windsor, married Christian Faulkner, daughter of Richard Faulkner, of County Southampton.

XIV. *Miles de Windsor*, only son and heir of Richard and Christian (Faulkner) de Windsor, died September 30, 1451. He married Joan Green, daughter of Walter Green, of Bridgenorth, Shropshire.

XV. *Thomas Windsor*, son and heir of Miles and Joan (Green) de Windsor, was born in 1440, and died in 1485. He married Elizabeth Andrews, daughter and co-heir of John and Elizabeth (Stratton) Andrews, of Baylham, in County Suffolk, and had Andrews (died in infancy); Andrews, of whom further; William, John, Thomas, Miles, Anthony, and five daughters.

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XVI. *Sir Andrews Windsor*, first Lord Windsor, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Andrews) Windsor, was made Knight of the Bath, June 23, 1509. In June, 1513, he accompanied King Henry VIII to France and for his valor was made knight banneret. On December 1, 1529, he was summoned to Parliament as Baron Windsor, of Bradenham, Buckinghamshire, and died in 1543. He married Elizabeth Blount (Blount XIII), and had George, died without issue; William, second Lord Windsor; Edmund, of whom further; and Thomas, of Bentley.

XVII. *Sir Edmund Windsor*, of Stoke-Poges, third son of Sir Andrews and Elizabeth (Blount) Windsor, was made a Knight of the Carpet, October 2, 1553. (Sir Henry St. George calls him Edward.) He was a rigid Papist and lived abroad on account of his religion, until he was called home by Queen Elizabeth in 1753. He died January 24, 1574-75.

Most authorities agree that Sir Edmund Windsor, of Stoke-Poges, died without issue. Edmondson's "Baronagium Genealogicum" (Vol. III, p. 164) says he died unmarried; the Visitation of Surrey (Harleian Society Publications, Vol. XLIII, pp. 186-87) says he died without issue; Banks' "Dormant and Extinct Baronage" (Vol. II, p. 612) credits him with a son who died in September, 1620, without issue; Collins' "Peerage" (Vol. III, p. 670) gives him sons Robert, Andrew, and Milo, and daughters Ursula and Agnes, but gives no further descendants; and no other record of him is found.

There is a tradition current in America that Joshua Winsor, the American immigrant, was the son of Samuel, son of Robert, son of Sir Edmund Windsor, of Stoke-Poges. The evidence of so many authorities that Sir Edmund Windsor left no descendants appears, however, to discredit this tradition. Another account of the origin of Joshua Winsor is given in Winsor's "History of Duxbury, Massachusetts" (p. 346), which states that he was the son of Samuel, son of John, son of Samuel, son of Robert, a Roman Catholic knight at the time of Henry VIII. The fact is that so few records of Joshua Winsor are obtainable that it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible authentically to locate his immediate ancestors in England. There is little doubt, however, that the name was originally *Windsor*, and as this name is not a common one, genealogists are of the opinion that Joshua Winsor was probably descended from some branch or cadet line, perhaps unrecorded, of the noble family of Windsor.

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(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage," Vol. I, p. 445. Collins: "Peerage of England," Vol. III, pp. 637-69.)

(The Family in America)

I. Joshua Winsor arrived in Providence, Rhode Island, about August 20, 1637, and died there in 1679. His wife, whose name does not appear, died in February, 1655. It is claimed that Joshua Winsor was one of Roger Williams' party that founded Providence; at any rate, in 1638, he was a signer of a compact "for the public good" in Providence, and on July 29, 1640, he signed another agreement for a form of government. Children: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Sarah, married a Mr. Tyler. 3. Susannah, married a Mr. Turner. 4. Mercy, died in 1680; married, January 28, 1672, Stephen Harding. 5. Hannah, died December 14, 1715; married, September 30, 1675, Jonathan Cary, son of James Cary.

(Winsor: "History of Duxbury, Massachusetts," p. 346. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 434.)

II. Samuel Winsor, son of Joshua Winsor, was born at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1644, and died there September 14, 1705. He married, January 2, 1677, Mercy (Williams) Waterman. (Williams II.) He was a deputy in 1674 and a grand juryman in 1687. Children, born in Providence: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Hannah, died in 1742; married Daniel Angell. (Winsor American Line V.) 3. Joshua, born May 25, 1682, died October 10, 1752; pastor of Baptist Church at Smithfield; married (first), October 8, 1706, Mary Barker, born March 13, 1678, died December 30, 1718, daughter of James and Sarah (Jefferay) Barker; (second), December 3, 1719, Deborah Harding, died after 1752, daughter of Abraham and Deborah Harding. (Harding III).

(Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," pp. 434-35. American Historical Society: "American Families," Vol. XIX, p. 223.)

III. Reverend Samuel (2) Winsor, son of Samuel and Mercy (Williams-Waterman) Winsor, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, November 18, 1677, and died there November 17, 1758. At the age of fifty-six he became pastor of the First Baptist Church, of Providence, founded by Roger Williams, and he continued in that capacity for twenty-five years, or until his death. He succeeded the Rev. John Walton, leader of a party that favored the payment of ministers and the admission to communion of those upon whom hands of the church had not been laid. The party

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that opposed these sentiments prevailed and he withdrew, while the leader of the latter party, the Rev. Samuel Winsor, became the minister of the church.

Rev. Samuel (2) Winsor married, January 7, 1703, Mercy Harding. (Harding IV.) Children: 1. Martha, born December 10, 1703; married, July 28, 1728, Robert Colwell, Jr. 2. Mary, born August 5, 1705 (or 1707); married, November 10, 1728, Fisher Potter. 3. Lydia, born August 5, 1707 (or 1709); married, June 22, 1735, John Angell. 4. Hannah, born August 26, 1711; married March 5, 1732-33, James Olney, Jr. 5. Joseph, of whom further. 6. Deborah, born October 12, 1715; married Charles Olney. 7. Mercy, born September 2, 1718; married Nedebiah Angell. 8. Freelove, born September 15, 1720; married Jonathan Jenckes. 9. Samuel, Jr., born November 1, 1722; married, March 3, 1754, Anne Winsor.

(Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 435. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rhode Island," Vol. II, pp. 203, 258. American Historical Society: "American Families," Vol. XIX, p. 223.)

IV. Reverend Joseph Winsor, son of Reverend Samuel and Mercy (Harding) Winsor, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, October 4, 1713, and died at Glocester, Rhode Island, September 4, 1802. He, with his mother, was executor of his father's estate; and he and his brother Samuel inherited equally his father's homestead farm and other lands. He married (first), about 1736, Deborah Mathewson, born July 26, 1716, died August 23, 1785; (second) Mrs. Elizabeth (Taylor-Angell) Potter, died October 12, 1823, widow of Joseph Potter. Children of first marriage, born in Glocester: 1. Amey, born February 11, 1736-37; married, December 9, 1756, Joseph Colwell. 2. Deborah, born October 23, 1738. 3. Abraham, born August 7, 1740. 4. Amos, born August 22, 1742; married, September 5, 1765, Mary Bushee. 5. Zellis, born November 1, 1744. 6. Christopher, born February 5, 1746-47. 7. Azar (Anan), of whom further. 8. Daughter, born August 1, 1751, died August 12, 1751. 9. Martha, born December 18, 1752. 10. Mary, born April 2, 1755. 11. Samuel, born June 13, 1757. 12. Thankful, born August 28, 1763; married, March 16, 1783, Daniel Smith.

(Arnold: "Vital Records of Rhode Island," Vol. XIV, p. 438; Vol. III, p. 67.)

V. Azar (or Anan) Winsor, son of Joseph and Deborah (Mathewson) Winsor, was born in Glocester, Rhode Island, June 4, 1749, and

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died at Norwich, Chenango County, New York, December 30, 1820. He was a soldier in the Revolution, serving as ensign in the 4th company under Captain Asa Kimball in January, 1775; he is said to have served in the Rhode Island line in 1776. He was militia captain of the 3d Gloucester company in May, 1788. In the census of Rhode Island for 1790 he appears as a resident of Gloucester, with a wife, three daughters and five sons under sixteen. About 1800 he settled in New York.

Azar (or Anan) Winsor married Amy Angell, born September 3, 1752. Although her parentage is not recorded, she was undoubtedly a descendant of Thomas Angell, the founder of this old and noteworthy Rhode Island family. Thomas Angell came to America in 1630 at the age of fourteen in company with Roger Williams, whom he accompanied to Providence. He was one of the six earliest settlers of that city, a signer of the first articles of government, and for some time one of the commissioners to make laws for the colony. His grandson, Daniel Angell, married a daughter of Samuel Winsor (Winsor II), and for several generations the two families frequently intermarried. Children, born in Gloucester, Rhode Island: 1. Achsa, born May 12, 1771. 2. Mercy, born September 18, 1772. 3. Stephen, born August 30, 1774. 4. Rhoda, born March 19, 1777. 5. Son, born November 9, 1778. 6. Lydia, born June 26, 1780. 7. Anna, born March 19, 1782. 8. George Washington, born April 14, 1784. 9. Adam, born September 2, 1786. 10. Angell, born July 31, 1788; married, August 27, 1815, Mary Reynolds. 11. Deborah, of whom further.

(Arnold: "Vital Records of Rhode Island," p. 439. Smith: "Civil and Military List of Rhode Island," Vol. I, pp. 317, 461. D. A. R. Lineage Books, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 324. Smith: "History of Chenango County, New York," pp. 320, 322.)

VI. *Deborah Winsor*, daughter of Azar (or Anan) and Amy (Angell) Winsor, was born in Gloucester, Rhode Island, May 1, 1797. She married, in April, 1817, George P. Hudson. (Hudson I.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Williams Line)

Arms of Roger Williams—Argent, a lion rampant gules an orle of nine pheons azure. (Bolton: "American Armory." "Heraldic Journal," Vol. III, p. 175. Burke: "General Armory." Roope.)

William, in the early days, was one of the most popular of names, and was equalled in the number of its bearers only by John. When surnames first began to come into use, William naturally took precedence.

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The possessive "s" was added, making Williams, as was also, in some cases, the suffix "son." Thus Williams and Williamson have the same origin, both meaning son of William, and hence come under the classification of baptismal names.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Roger Williams, founder of Rhode Island, was born in 1599, and died in 1683, in Rhode Island. Little is known of his family or his early life. His parents were James and Alice (Pemberton) Williams, the former being a merchant tailor in London, England, where he died in 1621. Roger Williams was employed in some capacity, it seems, by the great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, who placed him at the Charterhouse School in 1621, and afterward at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he took a degree. He was admitted to orders in the Church of England, but soon becoming the friend and companion of John Cotton and Thomas Hooker, adopted the most advanced views of the Puritans. He embarked at Bristol, December 1, 1630, in the ship "Lion," and on February 5, 1631, arrived at Boston, Massachusetts. He had then been recently married, but of his wife's early history but little is known. Her Christian name was Mary. Mr. Williams was distinguished as an eloquent preacher and ripe scholar, and soon after his arrival in Massachusetts he was invited to the church at Salem, as assistant to the pastor, Mr. Skelton. He was settled April 12, 1631, as assistant or teacher in the Salem Church. He had been a disturbing element, and soon found his position at Salem so uncomfortable that before the end of the summer he sought shelter under more tolerant jurisdiction in the Plymouth Colony. Here he was settled in August, 1631, as assistant to the pastor, Ralph Smith. About this time he was first suspected of the "heresy of Anabaptism." He returned to Salem in 1633, followed by several members of the congregation, who had become devotedly attached to him. In 1634 he was settled as pastor of the church in Salem. Here he soon got into trouble by denying the validity of the charter granted in 1629 by Charles I to the Company of Massachusetts Bay. He maintained that the land belonged to the Indians, and not to the King of England, who therefore had no right to give it away. The settlers of Massachusetts condemned Mr. Williams and his views. This purely political question was complicated with disputes arising from Mr. Williams' advanced views on toleration. He maintained that "no human power had the right to intermeddle in matters of conscience; and that neither church nor State, neither bishop nor king,

may prescribe the smallest iota of religious faith." For this he maintained "man is responsible to God alone." He denounced the law requiring every man to contribute to the support of the church. The ministers, with Mr. Williams' friends, Cotton and Hooker, at their head, sent a committee to Salem to censure him; but he denied the spiritual jurisdiction, and declared his determination "to remove the yoke of soul-oppression." In July, 1635, he was summoned before the General Court to answer to charges of heresy. In October he was ordered to quit the Colony. It was about this time that it was reported many of the followers of Mr. Williams meditated withdrawing from Massachusetts and founding a colony on Narragansett Bay, in which the principle of religious toleration should be strictly upheld. Mr. Williams was granted a tract of land on the Seekonk River by Massasoit, chief of the Pokanoket Indians, who dwelt between the Charles River and Mount Hope Bay. There, in the spring, he was joined by friends from Salem, and they began to build; but in order to avoid any complications with the Plymouth Colony they moved to the site of Providence, where they made their first settlement in June, 1636. This territory was granted to Mr. Williams by the Narragansett chiefs, Canonicus and Miantonomo. His influence over these Indians was great, and it soon enabled him to perform for the infant colonies a service that no other man in New England could have undertaken with any hope of success.

In 1643 Mr. Williams went to England and obtained a charter for the Rhode Island and Providence settlements, dated March 14, 1644. Through his executors a treaty was made with the Narragansetts, August 4, 1645, which saved New England from the horrors of an Indian war. Mr. Williams again went to England in 1651 on business pertaining to the government of the Island of Rhode Island and Conanicut. He returned to Providence in 1654, and took part in the reorganization of the Colonial government in that year. He was chosen, September 12, 1654, president of the Colony, and held that office until May, 1658. During this time he secured the toleration of Quakers, who were beginning to come to New England, and on this occasion he was again brought into conflict with the government of Massachusetts.

On July 8, 1663, a new charter was granted to Rhode Island under which Benedict Arnold was first Governor and Roger Williams one of the assistants. In 1663 Mr. Williams was appointed commissioner for settling the eastern boundary, which had long been the subject of dis-

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pute with both Plymouth and Massachusetts. For the next fourteen years he was for most of the time either a representative or an assistant. In 1672 he engaged in his famous controversy with the Quakers, of whose doctrines and manners he strongly disapproved, though he steadfastly refused to persecute them. He was the author of a number of works. In King Philip's War he accepted a commission as captain of militia, though his advanced age prevented him from taking the field. The home of Mr. Williams was in Providence, and he was there buried. He was "a man of wonderful strength and activity. In private life he was as gentle and kind as he was undaunted and pugnacious in controversy. His opinions and conduct in regard to toleration entitled him to a place among the foremost men of the world in the Seventeenth Century."

Roger Williams married Mary, who died in 1676. Children, first two born in Salem, the rest in Providence: 1. Mary, born in 1633, died in 1681; married, about 1650, John Sayles. 2. Freeborn, born in October, 1635, died January 10, 1710; married (first) Thomas Hart, died in 1671, son of Edward and Margaret Hart; (second), March 6, 1683, Walter Clarke, born in 1640, died May 23, 1714, son of Jeremiah and Frances (Latham) Clarke. 3. Providence, born in September, 1638, died in Newport, in March, 1686, unmarried. 4. Mercy, of whom further. 5. Daniel, born in February, 1642, died May 14, 1712; married, December 7, 1676, Rebecca (Rhodes) Power, died in 1727, daughter of Zachariah Rhodes, and widow of Nicholas Power. 6. Joseph, born December 12, 1643, died August 17, 1724; married, December 17, 1669, Lydia Olney, born in 1645, died September 9, 1724, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Small) Olney.

(American Historical Society: "American Families," Vol. XIX, pp. 225-26. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 430.)

II. *Mercy Williams*, daughter of Roger and Mary Williams, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in July, 1640, and died there about 1705. She married (first), about 1659, Resolved Waterman, born in 1638, died in 1670, son of Richard and Bethiah Waterman, by whom she had five children, Richard, Mercy, John, Resolved, and Wait; (second), January 2, 1677, Samuel Winsor. (Winsor American Line II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Harding Line)

Arms—Gules, three greyhounds, courant, in pale, or.

(Burke: "Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")

Hardwin was the original form of this English surname, and was

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used as a font-name in early times. Hardwin *fil* Brichrith is in the Hundred Rolls of Suffolk in 1273, and Philip Hardwin in those of Norfolk.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Richard Harding, son of John Harding, of Northamptonshire, England, is mentioned in the latter's will of 1636, together with his brothers Joseph, Lemuel, Amos, and Oliver. Richard and two of his brothers, Joseph and John, came to America with Captain Robert Gorges, whose wife, Mary Harding, was their cousin. They settled in Wessagusset, later called Weymouth, Massachusetts, in 1623; but Gorges and most of his men returned to England. The brothers remained in America; Joseph married Martha Doane, of Plymouth, in 1624, and settled on Cape Cod, and John lived in Weymouth most of the time until his death in 1650. Richard was over forty years of age when he came to New England, and is recorded in Weymouth in 1633, when its records begin. His first wife, who came with him from England, died before 1630, when he married Elizabeth Adams, who died in 1664. He was a mariner and fisherman, and died after making his will in 1657. Children: 1. John, born in 1620; in Weymouth, in 1643; lived in Gloucester, 1652 to 1665, then returned to Weymouth and died there in 1682. 2. Stephen, of whom further. 3. Lydia, born in 1632; married, in 1651, Martin Saunders.

(Harding: "The Hardings in America," pp. 17, 24.)

II. Stephen Harding, son of Richard Harding, was born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, about 1624, and died in Providence, Rhode Island, February 20, 1698. He was a blacksmith and settled about 1647 in Swansea, Massachusetts, where he was admitted as a member of the first Baptist church. He first appears in the records of Providence, March 28, 1664, when he had land laid out there. He married, in Swansea, Bridget Estance, daughter of Thomas Estance, who settled early in Swansea and later removed to Providence. Children, born in Swansea: 1. John, born about 1652; lived in Newport, Rhode Island. 2. Stephen, Jr., born in 1654, died in 1680; married, in 1672, Mercy Winsor. 3. Abraham, of whom further. 4. Priscilla, died before 1708; married Thomas Esten, Jr., son of Thomas and Ann Esten. 5. Sarah, died August 20, 1731; married Henry Esten, brother of Thomas, Jr. 6. Mary, married Samuel Winsor, son of Joshua Winsor. 7. Daughter, married Alexander Balcom.

(*Ibid.*, p. 28.)

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III. *Abraham Harding*, son of Stephen and Bridget (Estance) Harding, was born at Swansea, Massachusetts, in 1656, and died at Providence, Rhode Island, November 23, 1694. He was a blacksmith, and married Deborah. Children, born in Providence: 1. John, born in 1677, died in 1732. 2. Mercy, of whom further. 3. Israel. 4. Stephen, born in 1681, died May 3, 1750. 4. Lydia, born August 23, 1690; married John Whipple. 6. Deborah, born in 1692; married, December 3, 1719, as second wife, Joshua Winsor. (Winsor American Line II.) 7. Thomas, married, April 22, 1721, Alice Smith.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.)

IV. *Mercy Harding*, daughter of Abraham and Deborah Harding, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1679, and died in 1749. She married, January 7, 1703, the Reverend Samuel Winsor. (Winsor American Line III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Wilkins Line)

This well-known English surname is derived from the baptismal name Wilkin, or Wilkins, meaning "the son of Will," or William. The suffix *kin* was frequently used as a diminutive. As early as 1167 we find record of Wilechin, *fil* Monetarii, and in 1196 we find Willekin de Laurecost. Ralph Wylekin appears in County Norfolk, England, in the fourteenth century, and Amice Wylekin in County Essex.

A branch of the English family of Wilkins inherited an estate in Ireland and removed to that place, from which some of them came to America. The first of the name to come to this country was Richard Wilkins, who was appointed by the Massachusetts Colony as second postmaster of Boston. John Wilkins settled in Marlborough, Massachusetts, about 1740, coming from Danvers. His grandson, David Wilkins, removed to New Ipswich, New Hampshire. Many inhabitants of New Hampshire settled in New York State after the Revolution. Another Scotch-Irish family of Wilkins settled in Chester, Pennsylvania.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." N. F. Carter: "History of Pembroke, New Hampshire," p. 323. C. Hudson: "History of Marlborough, Massachusetts," pp. 468-69. C. K. Bolton; "The Scotch-Irish Pioneers," p. 271.)

I. *Hezekiah Wilkins* settled in Deering, New Hampshire, about 1800. Phineas Wilkins, possibly a relative, settled near him about the same time.

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Hezekiah Wilkins married Margaret Armor, or Armour. Children: 1. Gawn, died unmarried. 2. Polly, married Benjamin Huntington. 3. Sally, of whom further. 4. Isaac, married Roxana Eaton. 5. Rodney, married Harriet Ellingwood. 6. Andrew, removed to the West.

("History of Hillsborough County, New Hampshire," p. 386.)

II. Sally Wilkins, daughter of Hezekiah and Margaret (Armor or Armour) Wilkins, was born December 1, 1790, and died October 8, 1843. She married, as first wife, February 4, 1815, Robert McPherson. (McPherson IV.)

(D. Hurd: "History of Hillsborough County, New Hampshire," p. 386. Family data.)

(The Gregg Line)

Macgregor (Gregg) Arms—Argent, an oak tree eradicated in bend sinister proper, surmounted by a sword in bend supporting on its point, in the dexter canton, an antique crown gules.

Crest—A lion's head erased, crowned with an antique crown proper.

Supporters—Dexter, a unicorn argent, crowned and horned or; sinister, a deer proper, tyned azure.

Mottoes—*S rioghal mo dhream* (above escutcheon); *Ard Choille* (below escutcheon).

(Adam: "The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands," p. 377.)

In America the family of Gregg is descended from the Scottish clan of MacGregor, one of the most celebrated of the clans of the Highlands. The MacGregors were the senior branch of Clan Alpine, and claimed descent from Griogar, the third son of King Alpin, who ascended the throne of Scotland about 787. When Alexander II conquered Argyll, Hugh, the chief of the MacGregors, was one of the leaders of his army, as vassal of the Earl of Ross. When the spoils of conquest were divided the MacGregors received Glenurchy. To this they added, by right of conquest, much land on the borders of Perthshire and Argyllshire, until their enemies, the Campbells, obtained charters to the lands long held by the MacGregors, and drove the latter from the territory which they had come to regard as their own. The MacGregors, always a warlike clan, resisted with energy, and gained a reputation for lawlessness on this account. Legislation was repeatedly passed against them. They were forbidden to carry weapons, and as a crowning insult were ordered to change their name. Throughout these persecutions they remained loyal to the Stuart dynasty and opposed to William of Orange, and when Charles II was restored to the English throne he repealed the acts against the MacGregors as a testimony of his indebtedness to them. When William

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of Orange came into power, however, the original acts were renewed, and remained in force until 1775.

The famous Rob Roy MacGregor, celebrated in many legends and in Sir Walter Scott's book of that name, was of the Glengyle branch of the family. In 1715 he was sent by the Earl of Mar to raise a band of men from the MacGregors of Aberdeenshire, who had migrated thither in 1624. The progenitors of the American family lived in Aberdeenshire, and may have been among this very band.

(Adam: "The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands," pp. 77-80. "Origin of the Greg, Grig and MacGregor Families," pp. 1-3.)

I. Captain James Gregg was born about 1678. His forefathers came from Aberdeen, but he was a native of Ayrshire, Scotland. About 1690 he emigrated to Ireland, settling probably in Macosquin Parish, County Londonderry, where he is known as a bleacher of linen cloth. In 1718 he and his family came to America, landing in Boston. They apparently spent the winter at Casco, now Portland, Maine, and the next spring came to Newbury, whence in 1719 they with others removed to Londonderry, New Hampshire. Captain James Gregg was a linen-draper in Ireland and seems to have acquired some property both there and in America. He was commissioned captain of the first company of soldiers raised in the town, and he built the first grist mill there. He received a grant of three hundred acres of land.

Captain James Gregg married, probably before 1690, Janet Cargill, of Illa, Scotland. One of her sisters married James McKeen, and another married the Reverend James MacGregor; both of these men were leaders in the Scotch emigration from Ireland to New England. Children, born in Ireland: 1. William, of whom further. 2. John, born about 1702; married Agnes Rankin. 3. Samuel, married Mary Moore. 4. Thomas, born about 1708, died in Cohoes, New York; married Agnes Ferguson (another record says Ann Leslie.) 5. Elizabeth, married James Moore.

("Autobiography of Major Samuel Gregg," pp. 3-5. E. L. Parker: "History of Londonderry, New Hampshire," p. 274. E. Cogswell: "History of New Boston, New Hampshire," p. 38.)

II. William Gregg, son of Captain James and Janet (Cargill) Gregg, was born in County Londonderry, Ireland, probably about 1695. He

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came to America with his father and finally settled in Londonderry, New Hampshire. He became the principal surveyor of this town and laid out many of its lots. He married Janet Rankin. (Rankin II.) Children: 1. James. 2. Hugh, of whom further. 3. Mary. 4. Janet. 5. Agnes. 6. Frances or Fanny. 7. Naomi.

("Autobiography of Major Samuel Gregg," pp. 3-4. E. L. Parker: "History of Londonderry, New Hampshire," p. 274.)

III. *Hugh Gregg*, son of William and Janet (Rankin) Gregg, was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, about 1730, and died in New Boston, New Hampshire. He was a prominent man and was chosen as a member of the Committee of Public Safety. In 1776 he was a signer of the Association Test of New Boston. Hugh Gregg married Sarah Leslie, a sister of the wife of Deacon James Ferson. Children: 1. James. 2. Alexander, born November 22, 1746; married Mary Christie, born in 1749, died in 1817; settled in Deering, New Hampshire. 3. Lesley, married Lydia Beard. 4. Reuben, married (first) a Wilson; (second) Mary Houston. 5. John, married a Waugh. 6. Samuel, born June 9, 1754; died May 6, 1839, at Deering, New Hampshire; married (first) Jane Wilson, born November 20, 1770, died December 25, 1800, daughter of Alexander Wilson; (second) Lydia Bartlett, of Newbury, died in November, 1835. 7. Mary, of whom further. 8. Ann, married William Patterson, and lived in New Boston. 9. Rosanna, married, December 8, 1768, William Blair.

(E. Cogswell: "History of New Boston, New Hampshire," pp. 353-55, 442. D. A. R. Lineage Books, Vol. XXII, p. 68. D. H. Hurd: "History of Hillsborough County, New Hampshire," pp. 376-77.)

IV. *Mary Gregg*, daughter of Hugh and Sarah (Leslie) Gregg, was born in 1756, and died in 1826. She married, in 1780, William McPherson. (McPherson III.)

(D. A. R. Lineage Books, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 324. Family data.)

(The Rankin Line)

Arms—Gules, three boars' heads erased argent between a lance issuing out of the dexter base, and a Lochaber axe issuing out of the sinister, both erect of the second.

Crest—A lance argent.

Motto—*Fortiter et recte.*

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Rankin is a surname meaning "baptized the son of Randolph," from the diminutive Randkin or Rankin. The name appears frequently in the early records of both England and Scotland. Gilbert Reynkyn appears in

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Kent in 1273, John Rankyn, in Somersetshire, in the fourteenth century, and Giles Rankin, of London, in the register of Oxford University in 1612. In Scotland there were families of the name in Orchardhead and in Perth, also in the counties of Rochelle and Forfar. Arms were granted in 1795 to a Ranken who was Keeper of the Lyon Records. A Flemish knight, Sir John de Rankine, is thought to have been the first of the name in Scotland. He settled in Fife, and was the ancestor of the Rankins, Laids of Colden, in Kinrosshire.

The locality in Scotland from which the family of Hugh Rankin, the American ancestor, came, has not yet been determined. He was undoubtedly descended from one of the Scotch families who emigrated to Ireland and later came to America.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Burke: "General Armory." H. B. McCall: "Memoirs of My Ancestors," p. 54. E. L. Parker: "History of Londonderry, New Hampshire," pp. 296, 334.)

I. Hugh Rankin, of Scotch ancestry, is first heard of as a resident of County Antrim, Ireland. Among those who knew him in Ireland was Captain James Gregg. (Gregg I.) Hugh Rankin came to America from Ireland about 1712. He settled, like so many of his countrymen, in Londonderry, New Hampshire, where he became a ruling elder of the First Presbyterian Church. He had nine daughters, noted for their beauty and accomplishments, but as he had no sons to carry the name, this branch of the family became extinct after his death. Hugh Rankin married a Miss Dunlap. Children: 1. Daughter, married Hugh Stirling. 2. Janet, of whom further. 3. Agnes, married John Gregg. 4. Daughter, married Allan Anderson, who died in 1728. 5. Daughter, married James Cochran. 6. Daughter, married a Clyde, of Windham, New York. 7. Joan, married John Crombie. 8. Daughter, married a Rogers and removed to Maine. 9. Daughter, died young.

(E. L. Parker: "History of Londonderry, New Hampshire," pp. 259, 266, 274, 296. C. K. Bolton: "Scotch-Irish Pioneers," p. 252. "Autobiography of Major Samuel Gregg," pp. 3-4.)

II. Janet Rankin, daughter of Hugh Rankin, married William Gregg. (Gregg II.)

(E. L. Parker: "History of Londonderry, New Hampshire," p. 274.)

HUDSON

Arms—Per chevron embattled or and azure three martlets counter-changed.

Crest—A martlet sable wings or. (Burke: "General Armory.")

WINDSOR (WINSOR)

Arms—Gules, a saltire argent between twelve crosses crosslet or.

Crest—A buck's head affrontée couped at the neck argent, attired or.

Motto—*Je me fie en Dieu.* (Burke: "General Armory.")

ARMS OF ROGER WILLIAMS

Arms—Argent, a lion rampant gules an orle of nine pheons azure.

(Bolton: "American Armory." "Heraldic Journal," Vol. III, p. 175. Burke: "General Armory." Roope.)

HARDING

Arms—Gules, three greyhounds, courant, in pale, or.

(Burke: "Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")

MACGREGOR (GREGG)

Arms—Argent, an oak tree eradicated in bend sinister proper, surmounted by a sword in bend supporting on its point, in the dexter canton, an antique crown gules.

Crest—A lion's head erased, crowned with an antique crown proper.

Supporters—Dexter, a unicorn argent, crowned and horned or; sinister, a deer proper, tined azure.

Mottoes—*'S rioghal mò dhream* (above escutcheon); *Ard Chaille* (below escutcheon).

(Adam: "The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands," p. 377.)

RANKIN

Arms—Gules, three boars' heads erased argent between a lance issuing out of the dexter base, and a Lochaber axe issuing out of the sinister, both erect of the second.

Crest—A lance argent.

Motto—*Fortiter et recte.* (Burke: "General Armory.")

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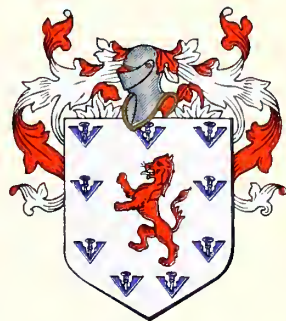
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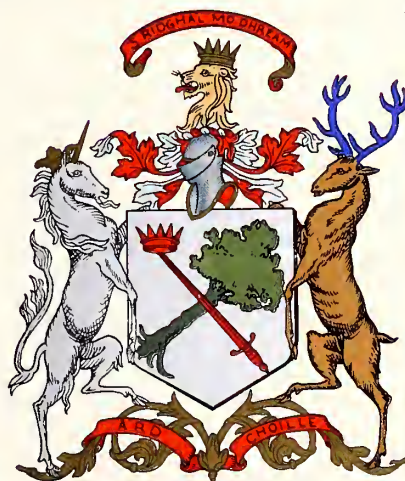
Windsor
(Winsor)



Arms of
Roger Williams



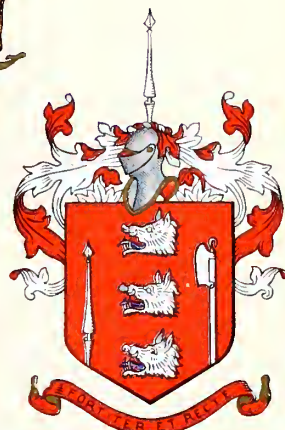
Hudson



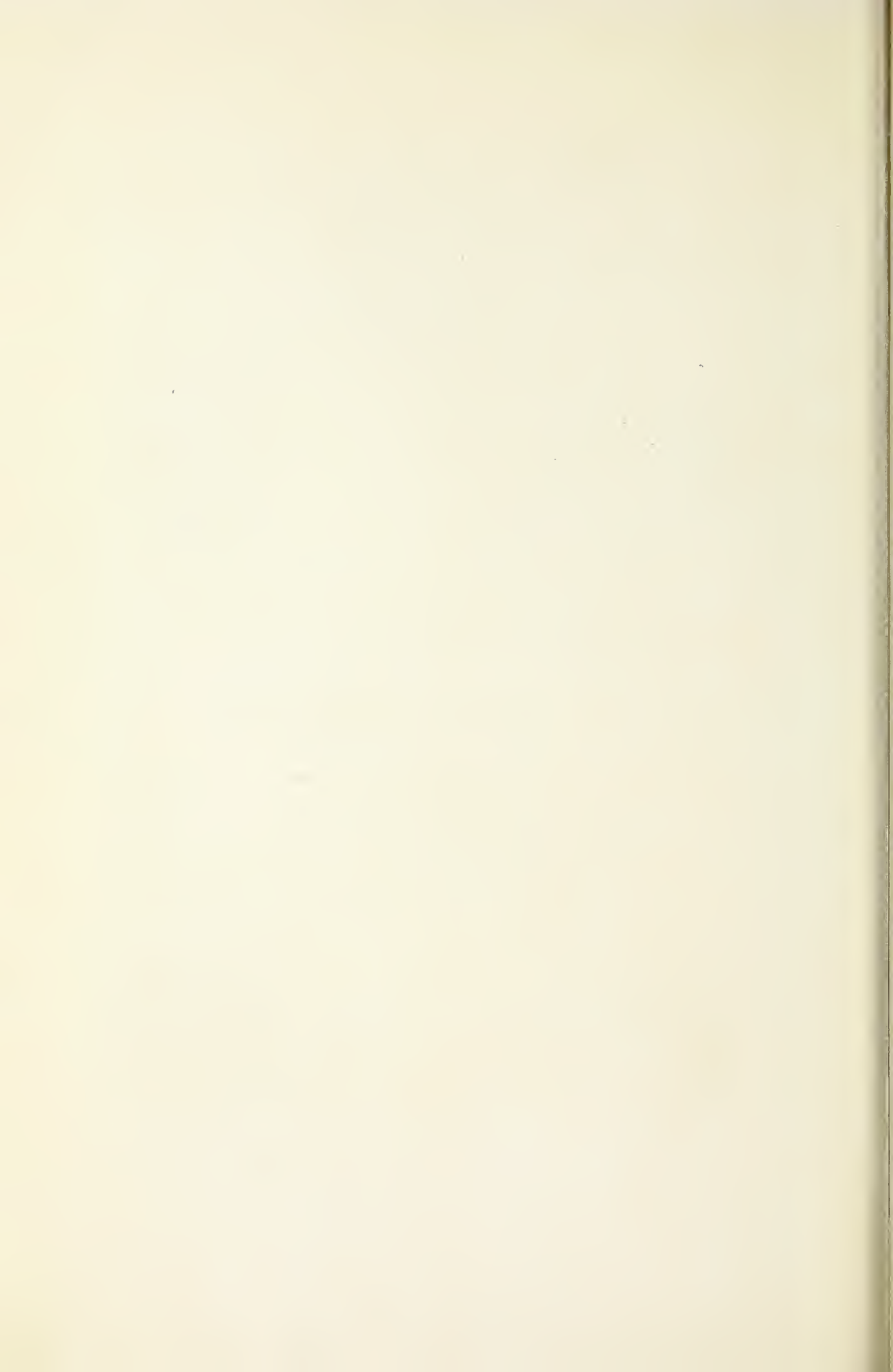
Margregor
(Gregg)



Harding



Rankin



McPHERSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(Winsor Descent from the Kings of England)

I. William the Conqueror, son of Robert le Diable, Duke of Normandy, was born in Normandy, in A. D. 1024, and died in England in A. D. 1086. He invaded England with his Norman followers, and conquered the country at the famous Battle of Senlac or Hastings in 1066. He was the first of the Norman kings of England. William the Conqueror married Matilda (sometimes recorded as Maud), daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Flanders, and Adela. (Descent from the Counts of Flanders, Generation VIII.)

II. Henry I, surnamed Beauclerc, youngest son of William the Conqueror and Matilda, was born at Selby, Yorkshire, in 1070. He succeeded his brother, William Rufus, as King of England, and was crowned August 5, 1100. He married (first), in 1102, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scotland, and his wife Margaret, a granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, King of England, and a descendant of Alfred the Great. (Kings of Scotland IX.)

III. Maud (or Matilda), daughter of Henry I and Matilda of Scotland, was born in 1104 and died April 10, 1167. She married (first) Emperor Henry IV of Germany, who died in 1126 without issue; (second), in 1127, Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk V, Count of Anjou. (Anjou X.) Their children were: 1. Henry II of England. 2. Geoffrey, Earl of Nantes, died in 1157. 3. William. 4. Emma, married David, younger son of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales.

IV. William Plantagenet, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and the Empress Maud, or Matilda, was Earl of Poitou in France, and died in 1163.

V. Edith Plantagenet, daughter of William Plantagenet, married William (3) de Windsor. (Windsor pedigree, Generation V.)

(Burke: "Royal Families of England, Scotland and Wales," Vol. I, pp. 3, 4, 9. Collins: "Peerage of England," Vol. III, p. 644.)

(Winsor Descent from the Counts of Flanders)

Counts of Flanders Arms—Or, a lion sable, armed and langued gules. Helmet crowned.

Crest—The lion sejant affrontée, between wings or.

War Cry—*Vlaandeeren den leeuw.*

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

I. Baldwin I, great-grandson of Lyderic, Count of Harlebec, the first hereditary governor of Flanders, was surnamed *Bras de fer* (that is, Iron Arm). He ruled from 858 to 879 A. D., and married (second) Judith,

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widow of Aethelwulf, King of England, and daughter of Charles the Bald, who was son of Louis the Pious, King of France, and grandson of Charlemagne. He died in 880 A. D.

II. Baldwin II, surnamed the Bald, son of Baldwin I and Judith, married Aelfthryth, daughter of Alfred the Great, King of England. He died in 918. (Winsor Descent from English Kings—Saxon Line.)

III. Arnulf I, son of Baldwin II and Aelfthryth, married Adela, of Vermandois, who was fifth in descent from Charlemagne. (Vermandois IX.)

IV. Baldwin III, son of Arnulf I and Adela of Vermandois, died in 962. He married Matilda, daughter of Herman Billing, Duke of Saxony.

V. Arnulf II, son of Baldwin II and Matilda, ruled from 965 to his death in 988. He married Susanna, daughter of Berenger II, King of Italy.

VI. Baldwin IV, son of Arnulf II and Susanna, ruled from 988 to his death in 1036. He married Orgina, daughter of Frederick, Count of the Moselle; it is also said that he married Eleanor, daughter of Richard II, Duke of Normandy.

VII. Baldwin V, Count of Flanders, son of Baldwin IV, conquered from the Emperor Otho II Valenciennes and the island of Zealand. He married, in 1027, Adela, daughter of Robert, King of France, who was the son of Hugh Capet, head of the Capetian line of kings of France. (House of Capet VI.)

VIII. Matilda (or Maud), daughter of Baldwin V and Adela, married William the Conqueror. (Winsor descent from Kings of England, Generation I.)

(Burke: "Royal Families of England, Scotland and Wales," Vol. I, pp. 5-6. George: "Genealogical Tables," 2d ed., table 29.)

(The Blount Line)

Arms—Barry nebulée of six or and sable.

Crest—An armed foot in the sun proper.

Motto—*Lux tua, via mea.*

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The Anglo-Norman family name Blount, Blound, Blunt, or Blund, is equivalent to the Old French *le Blund*, meaning one of a fair complexion. Three sons of Blound, lord of Guisnes in France, came to England with William the Conqueror, and two of them settled there permanently.

McPHERSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

I. Sir Robert le Blound (later Blount), son of Blound of Guisnes, was of Ixworth in County Suffolk. His brother, Sir William, had several lordships in Lincolnshire.

II. Gilbert le Blound, son of Sir Robert le Blound, married Alice de Colkirke.

III. William le Blound, Baron of Ixworth, son of Gilbert and Alice (de Colkirke) le Blound, married Sarah de Montchensi, or Montchansey. (Montchensi IV.)

IV. Gilbert (or Hubert) le Blound, son of William and Sarah (de Montchensi or Montchensey) le Blound, married Agnes de Lisle, and had sons: William, whose son William was killed at the battle of Lewes; and Stephen, of whom further.

V. Stephen le Blound, son of Gilbert and Agnes (de Lisle) le Blound, married Mary le Blound, only daughter and heiress of Sir William le Blound, of Saxlingham in Suffolk, the fourth in descent from the first Sir William, brother to the first Sir Robert. From the united lines are descended all the Blounts of England.

VI. William le Blound, son of Stephen and Mary (le Blound) le Blound, married Isabel, co-heir to the manor of Bilton.

VII. William le Blound, son of William and Isabel le Blound, married and had Walter, of whom further; and Thomas.

VIII. Walter le Blound, son of William le Blound, married (first) Joan de Sodington, daughter and co-heir of Ralph de Sodington, and had William, who died without issue; John, ancestor of Blount, of Sodington. He married (second) Eleanor (de Beauchamp) Meriet, widow of John Meriet, and co-heir to John de Beauchamp, of Hacche, by whom he had Walter, of whom further. (Beauchamp VII.)

IX. Walter Blount (note change of spelling), son of Walter and Eleanor (Beauchamp-Meriet) le Blound, married Sancha de Ayala, of Spain, and had Sir John, K. G., who died without issue; and Thomas, of whom further.

X. Thomas Blount, son of Walter and Sancha (de Ayala) Blount, was treasurer of Normandy, and married Margaret Grisley, daughter of Sir Thomas Grisley.

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XI. Walter Blount, son of Thomas and Margaret (Grisley) Blount, was made, in 1474, Lord Treasurer of England, and in 1475 Baron Mountjoy, of Thurveston, in County Derby, and died in 1484. He married (first) Eleanor Byron, daughter of Sir John Byron, of Clayton, Lancashire; (second) Anne, Duchess of Buckinghamshire. She died without issue.

XII. William Blount, son of Walter and Eleanor (Byron) Blount, married Margaret (or Mary) de Echingham, daughter and co-heir of Thomas, Lord Echingham, and had: John; Edward; Elizabeth, of whom further; and Anne. (Echingham IV.)

XIII. Elizabeth Blount, daughter of William and Mary (Echingham) Blount, married Sir Andrews Windsor. (Windsor Pedigree, Generation XVI.)

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, pp. 36-37. Banks: "Baronies in Fee," Vol. I, p. 127.)

(Windsor Descent from the English Kings)
(Saxon Line)

I. Ecgbert, or *Ecgberht*, the ruler of the West Saxon kingdom (Wessex) received, in 829, the homage of all the other English kings. He died in 839 (some records say 836).

II. Æthelwulf (Ethelwulf), his son, reigned 839-57. He married (first) Osburh, or Osburga; (second) Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald.

III. Ælfred, or *Alfred*, called "the great," youngest son of Æthelwulf and Osburh, or Osburga, succeeded his three brothers, Æthelbald, Æthelbert and Æthelred, whose joint reigns covered the period from 857-70. Alfred reigned from 871-901.

IV. Ælfthryth, daughter of Alfred the Great, married Baldwin II, Count of Flanders. (Descent from the Counts of Flanders II.)

(George: "Genealogical Tables," fifth edition, Table I.)

(Line of William the Conqueror)

William the Conqueror—Henry I of England Arms—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

(William the Conqueror)

William of Normandy, later known as William the Conqueror, was born in 1027 or 1028, bastard son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, some-

MCPHERSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

times called Robert the Devil, and Arletta, daughter of a tanner of Falaise; and grandson of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. In 1034 Robert of Normandy induced his barons to acknowledge William as his successor. The following year he died on the return journey from Jerusalem, and the barons kept their promise by acknowledging the lordship of the boy William. The conquest of England in 1066 and the years immediately following gained for William the title of Conqueror, as well as that of King William I of England. Recent authorities state that though in England many legends survive of arms borne by the Conqueror and his companions, nothing is more certain than that no armorial bearings appeared on either side of the Battle of Hastings. The arms described herewith are as recorded by Burke in his "Royal Armory."

I. William I, married Matilda (sometimes recorded as Maud), daughter of Baldwin V of Flanders, who traced descent in the female line from Alfred the Great (Winsor Royal Descent I.) (House of Capet VII.)

II. Henry I, fourth and youngest son of William I and Matilda (Maud) Flanders, was known as Beauclerc. He is recorded in Burke's "Royal Armory" as bearing arms identical with those of his father. He married, in 1100, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scotland. (Winsor Royal Descent II.) He married (second), in 1121, Adelaide, daughter of Godfrey, Count of Louvain. No issue by second marriage.

III. Maud (or Matilda), daughter of Henry I and Matilda of Scotland, died in 1167. She married (first) Emperor Henry IV of Germany; (second) Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. (Anjou X.) (Winsor Royal Descent III.)

(Burke: "Royal Armory.")

(Counts of Vermandois)

Counts of Vermandois Arms—Chequy, azure and or; in chief, azure, charged with three fleurs-de-lis, or. (Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

The County of Vermandois in Northeastern France takes its name from the Veromandin, who inhabited it in the time of Julius Cæsar, a people of the province which he called Belgica. The Counts begin with Heribert, a grandson of Bernard of Italy, of the Carolingian line.

("La Grande Encyclopédie.")

I. Charles Martel, died A. D. 741.

II. Pepin the Short, son of Charles Martel, was King of the Franks, from 752 to 768.

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III. *Charlemagne*, son of Pepin the Short, King of the Franks, 768 to 800; 800-814 Emperor. His realm was divided between his three sons, Pepin becoming King of Italy; Charles, King of Franconia, who died childless; and Louis the Pious, ancestor of the Kings of France and Germany.

IV. *Pepin*, son of Charlemagne, and King of Italy, died in 810.

V. *Bernard*, son of Pepin, died in 818.

VI. *Pepin*, son of Bernard, King of Italy.

VII. *Heribert I*, son of Pepin, first Count of Vermandois, died in 902.

VIII. *Heribert II*, son of Heribert I, was Count from 902 to 943.

IX. *Adela*, daughter of Heribert II, Count of Vermandois, married Arnulf I, Count of Flanders (Counts of Flanders III.)

(George: "Genealogical Tables," Nos. XII, XXV.)

(Line of Kings of Scotland)

Kings of Scotland Arms—Or, a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counter-flory gules.

Crest—On an Imperial crown a lion sejant affrontée gules, imperially crowned or, holding in the dexter paw a sword, in the sinister a sceptre erect, both proper.

Supporters—Two unicorns argent, imperially crowned, and gorged with a royal coronet, chains affixed thereto, passing between the forelegs, and reflexed over the back. The banner held by the dexter supporter is the arms of Scotland, fringed azure; that held by the sinister supporter is fringed argent and azure, the cross of St. Andrew.

Mottoes—Over the crest: In defense; under the arms: *Nemo me impune lacessit.*
(Burke: "Peerage.")

All early history of the Celtic Kings of Scotland is obscure. By the principle of tanistry brothers as nearer in degree of kinship, invariably succeeded before the sons of the last chief. Less obscurity obtains since the union of Picts and Scots under a King of Scottish race, A. D. 850.

I. *Kenneth I* (called MacAlpin) reigned from 844 to 859, succeeded by his brother Donald, 859 to 863.

II. *Constantine I*, son of Kenneth I, reigned from 863 until 877, when he fell in battle with the Danes, and was succeeded by his brother Aedh, 877-78.

III. *Eocha*, son of Run, being of Strathclyde, by the daughter of Kenneth I, reigned from 878 to 880 in association with Ciric or Grig, son of Dungail. They were succeeded by Donald II, son of Constantine I, who reigned from 889 to 900, when he was succeeded by Constantine II, son of Aedh, who reigned from 900 to 942.

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IV. Malcolm I, son of Donald II, reigned from 942 to 954, when he was succeeded by his cousin Indulph, who reigned from 954 to 962, son of Constantine II.

V. Dubh, son of Malcolm I, reigned from 962 to 967, followed by Guilean, son of Indulph, 967 to 972, and he by Kenneth II, son of Malcolm I, reigning from 971 to 995.

VI. Constantine III, son of Guilean, reigned from 995 to 997, and was succeeded by Kenneth III, son of Dubh, reigning from 997 to 1005, and he by Malcolm II, son of Kenneth II, 1005 to 1034; who had three daughters: Bethoc, of whom further; Donada, who married Finlaec Mormaer, or Moray; and another daughter, who married Sigurd, Earl of Orkney.

VII. Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II, married Crinan, lay abbot of Dunkeld.

VIII. Duncan I, son of Crinan and his wife Bethoc, succeeded his grandfather, and reigned 1034-40, when he was killed August 14, 1040, by his cousin Macbeth, son of Finlaec and Donada. Macbeth, whose story is the basis of Shakespeare's famous play "Macbeth," reigned from 1040 to 1057. He married Gruach, widow of Gillacomgan, and daughter of Bode, son of Kenneth III.

IX. Lulach, son of Gillacomgan and Gruach, was made King by Macbeth's party, but after reigning seven months was slain at Essie in Strathbogie, March 17, 1057-58; and Malcolm III, known as Ceanmor, or Great Head, oldest son of the murdered Duncan I, reigned from March 17, 1057-58, to November 13, 1093, when he was killed, and his brother, Donald Bany, ruled from November 13, 1093, to May, 1094. Malcolm Ceanmor married (first), about 1059, Ingibjorg, daughter or widow of Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, and had sons Duncan II, Malcolm, and Donald. He married (second), in 1068-69, Margaret Atheling, daughter of Edward Atheling, and sister of Edgar Atheling, of the line of Saxon Kings of England, who fled to Scotland. They had six sons and two daughters. One daughter, Matilda, married Henry I of England. (Winsor Royal Descent II.)

(Burke: "Peerage and Baronetage," 1926, pp. 44-45.)

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(The Anjou Line)

Arms—Per fess argent and gules, over all an escarbuncle nowed and flowered or.
(Burke: "General Armory"; Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Anjou is the old name of a French territory, the political origin of which is traced to the ancient Gallic state of the Andes, on the line of which was organized, after the Conquest by Julius Cæsar, the Roman civitas of the Andecair. This was afterwards preserved as an administrative district under the Franks with the name first of Pagus, then of Comitatus, or Countship of Anjou. It occupied the greater part of what is now Maine-et-Loire, and included other territory to the north, south, and east.

The surname Plantagenet is conveniently applied to the royal line descended from the union of Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, with the Empress Maud, now styled by most historians the Angevin house. "Plantagenet" was, historically, only a "nick-name" that Geoffrey of Anjou used because of his habit of wearing a sprig of the broom plant (*plante genet*) in his cap.

I. Fulk the Great, Count of Anjou, being stung with remorse for some wicked action, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and was scourged before the Holy Sepulchre with broom twigs, *plante-de-genet*. Some traditions relate that thereafter the family used the name Plantagenet.

II. Fulk the Red, died in 938.

III. Fulk II, surnamed "The Good," married Gerverga.

IV. Geoffrey I received for gallant services a grant from King Robert of the offices of Seneschal of France. He married Adelais, of Vermandois, daughter of Robert, Count of Troyes.

V. Fulk III, surnamed "The Black," Count of Anjou.

VI. Ermengard, daughter and heiress of Fulk III, married Geoffrey, Count of Gastinois (surnamed Ferole).

VII. Fulk IV, son of Ermengard and Geoffrey, Count of Gastinois, succeeded as Count of Anjou.

VIII. Ermengard, daughter of Fulk IV, married (first) William, Duke of Aquitaine. She married (second) Alan, Count of Bretaign.

IX. Fulk V, son of Ermengard, became Count of Anjou. He married (first) Ermengard, daughter of Helias, Count of Maine.

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X. *Geoffrey*, Count of Anjou, married, in 1127, Maud (some records say Matilda), daughter and heiress of Henry I, and widow of Emperor Henry IV, of Germany. (Winsor Royal Descent III.) (William the Conqueror III.)

(The House of Capet)

Ancient Royal Arms of France Arms—Azure, semée of fleurs-de-lis or.
(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Capet is the name of a family to which, for nearly nine centuries, the kings of France and many of the rulers of the most powerful fiefs in that country belonged, and which mingled with several of the other royal races of Europe. The original significance of the name remains in dispute, but the first of the family to whom it was applied was Hugh, who was elected King of the Franks in 987. The real founder of the house, however, was Robert the Strong, who received from Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, the countships of Anjou and Blois, and who is sometimes called Duke, as he exercised some military authority in the district between the Seine and the Loire. According to Aimoin of Saint-Germain-des-Pres, and the chronicler, Richer, he was a Saxon, but historians question this statement. Descent is traced as follows:

I. *Robert the Strong*, Count of Anjou and Blois, sometimes called Duke of Anjou and Blois.

II. *Robert*, second Count or Duke of Anjou and Blois, also King Robert I of France, or, more accurately, King of the Franks, was the younger son of Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou, and the brother of Odo (or Endes), who became King of the Western Franks in 888. He was himself crowned King of the Franks at Reims, June 20, 922, but Charles III marched against him, and he was killed in a battle near Soissons, June 15, 923.

III. *Hugh the Great*, son of Robert, King of France, 922-23, married Hedwiga, daughter of Henry I, King of Germany of the Saxon line. They had Hugh Capet, of whom further; and Beatrix.

IV. *Hugh Capet*, son of Hugh the Great and Hedwiga, was King of France from 987 to 996.

V. *Robert*, son of Hugh Capet, was King 996-1031. He married (first) Bertha, daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy; (second) Constance, daughter of William, Count of Toulouse. Children: 1. Hugh, died in 1025, without issue. 2. Henry I, King of France, 1031-60; mar-

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ried Anne of Russia. 3. Adela, of whom further. 4. Robert, Duke of Burgundy.

VI. Adela, daughter of Robert and Bertha Capet, married (first) Richard III, Duke of Normandy; (second) Baldwin V, Count of Flanders. (Winsor Descent, Counts of Flanders VII.) They had Baldwin VI; Robert I; and Matilda, of whom further.

VII. Matilda (or *Maud*), daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Flanders, and Adela, married William the Conqueror. (Winsor Royal Descent I.) (William the Conqueror I.)

(George: "Genealogical Tables," Table XII.)

(The Stapleton Line)

Arms—Argent, a lion rampant sable.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The English surname Stapleton originated in Stapleton-on-Tees (Staplendun in Domesday Book, 1086), a village in Darrington Parish near Pontefract, Yorkshire, Nicholas de Stapleton is in the Hundred Rolls of Yorkshire, A. D. 1273.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Geoffrey (Galfridus) de Stapelton is on record in a Pipe Roll of 1176 A. D.

II. Sir Nicholas, son of Geoffrey (Galfridus), Lord of Stapelton, was Governor of Middleham Castle in 1216.

III. Nicholas de Stapelton, II, son of Sir Nicholas de Stapelton, married Juliana (de Wath) de Nairford, daughter of Robert de Wath, and widow of Adam de Nairford. They had Gilbert, who died in 1291; Robert; Galfridus; and Sir Nicholas, of whom further.

IV. Sir Nicholas Stapelton, son of Nicholas and Juliana (de Wath, de Nairford) de Stapelton, was judge from 1272 to 1289, of the King's Court. He married Margery de Basset, daughter of Milo de Basset, of East Haddlesey. Children: 1. Nicholas, said to have gone on Crusade, and in his father's lifetime. 2. Sir Miles, first Baron, Lord of Stapelton, Carlton, etc., killed at Barmockburn, 1314. He married Cecilie, daughter of Peter de Tyndale and had Joan. 3. Gilbert, master of the Hospital of St. Leonard's at York, 1307. 4. Juliana, of whom further. 5. Emma, prioress of Keldholme from 1308 to 1317. 6. Sir John Stapelton, of Melsonby, who died about 1336.

McPHERSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

V. Juliana (Julian) Stapelton, daughter of Sir Nicholas, the judge, and Margery (de Basset) de Stapelton, married Richard de Windsor. (Winsor VIII.)

(Chetwynd-Stapylton: "The Stapeltons of Yorkshire," pp. 4, 307.)

(The Streche Arms)

Arms—Argent, a lion rampant gules.

(Hutchins: "History and Antiquity of the County of Dorset," Vol. IV, p. 197.)

The English family name Streche (Stretch) is from a variation of the Old English Straec, Strec, strong, violent. Hamon Streche is in the Cheshire Chamberlains Accounts, and William Stretch in the wills at Chester in 1596. The Streche family were in Dorsetshire under Edward I. Sir John Streche, of Wambrook, Wiltshire, held one knight's valet and had a grant from the crown of the bailiwick of the King's hundreds, and the chief bailiwick, Dorsetshire, and died September 29, 1355. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Walter de Bradston and Joan, his wife, who was daughter and ultimately heir of Richard Crispin, whose mother, Arundella, was the only daughter of Sir John Arundel, of Sanford Arundel, Somersetshire, and Hemston Arundel, Devonshire. They had children: Elizabeth; and Sir John, who was born in 1341, and died August 6, 1390, sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, 1383.

(Hutchins: "History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset," Vol. IV, p. 197.)

II. Elizabeth Streche, daughter and co-heir of Sir John and Elizabeth (de Bradston) Streche, married, in 1349, James de Windsor. (Winsor X.)

(The Beauchamp Line)

Arms—Vairé, azure and argent.

(Burke: "Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")

The Anglo-Norman surname, Beauchamp, originated from Beauchamp in the Department Manche, Arrondissement Avranches, in Normandy. In early English records usually written in Latin, it is Latinized, *de Bello Campo*. John de Bello Campo is in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, 1327. Roger de Bello Campo in the Hundred Rolls of County Cambridge, 1273, William de Beauchamp in the Testa de Neville (1216-1307), Roger de Beauchamp in Placita de Quo Warranto, 1293.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

McPHERSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

I. Robert de Beauchamp is the first of the Somerset family on record. He was sheriff of the counties of Somerset and Dorset in 1162, and died in 1212.

II. Robert de Beauchamp, Jr., son and heir of Robert de Beauchamp, died about 1251.

III. Robert (3) de Beauchamp, son and heir of Robert de Beauchamp, Jr., was founder of the priory of Frithelstoke in County Devon.

IV. John de Beauchamp, son of Robert (3) de Beauchamp, founder of Frithelstoke priory, married Cicely de Kyme, daughter and heir of Maude de Kyme.

V. John de Beauchamp, Jr., son and heir of John and Cicely (de Kyme) de Beauchamp, had summons to Parliament from the twenty-fifth year of Edward I to 1336, when he died. He married and had issue.

VI. John (3) de Beauchamp, son of John de Beauchamp, Jr., was summoned to Parliament, 1336 to 1343, when he died leaving his widow Margaret, and a son John, who died without issue; and daughters, Cicely, who married (first) Sir Roger Seymour; (second) Richard Turberville; and Eleanor, of whom further.

VII. Eleanor de Beauchamp, daughter and co-heir of John and Margaret de Beauchamp, married (first) John Meriet; (second) Walter le Blound. (Blount VIII.)

(The Montchensi Line)

Montchansey (Montchensi) Arms—Barry of twelve argent and azure.

Crest—A hand holding a scymitar in pale proper.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Lower, in his "Patronymica Britannica," states that he thinks Montchensi may originate from Casini, near St. Lo, Normandy, but the present Montcenis, in the Arrondissement Autun, in old Burgundy, was Mons Cinisus.

I. Hubert de Montchensy (Latinized Monte Caninio) was in the reign of William the Conqueror, Lord of Edwardston in Suffolk; and at the time of Domesday Survey, in 1086, held Standard Hall in Halstead, County Essex, as tenant under Robert Malet, Great Chamberlain of England.

II. Warine de Montchensi, son and heir of Hubert de Montchensy, lived in the reign of Henry I.

MCPHERSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. Hubert de Montchensi, son of Warine de Montchensi, married Muriel de Longeva, alias Langtolt, daughter of Peter de Valoines, and had two sons, besides daughters.

(Morant: "History and Antiquities of County Essex," Vol. II, p. 35.)

Children: 1. William, who held Haningfield, County Essex, by service of seven knight's fees, and married a daughter of William de Albini, Earl of Arundel, and had Warine, William, and Ralph. Warine died in 1255, having married Joan, second daughter of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, but their son, William, left only a daughter, his heir, who died without issue. 2. Roger. 3. A daughter (possibly Sarah), of whom further. 4. Joane, married Walter de Colchester.

IV. Sarah de Montchensi, apparently daughter of Hubert and Muriel (de Longeva) de Montchensi, though not named in the will of Roger, 1248. In 1248 she is called wife of David Baltoratrigh. She married (second), perhaps, after 1248, William le Blound, Baron of Ixworth. (Blount III.)

(The Echingham Line)

Arms—Azure, a fret argent.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Echingham, an English surname, originated to designate a resident from Echingham, County Sussex.

I. William de Echingham, of Echingham, in the County of Sussex, England, married Joane, daughter of John de Arundel, Lord Maltravers. The ancestors were stewards of the Rape of Hastings.

(Banks: "Baronies in Fee," Vol. I, p. 199.)

II. Thomas de Echingham, son of William and Joane (de Arundel) de Echingham, married a daughter of Knevet, of Norfolk.

III. Thomas de Echingham, Jr., son of Thomas de Echingham, lived under Henry VI (1429-71). He married (first) Mary West, daughter of Lord de la Warr. He married (second), name unknown, but she had a son who married Anne Pigot, and carried on the Echingham line. He had by the first marriage Margaret (some say Mary); and Anne, who married (first) Roger Fienes; (second) Godard Oxenbridge.

IV. Margaret (or Mary) de Echingham, daughter of Thomas and Mary (West) de Echingham, married William Blount. (Blount XII.) She married (second) Sir John Elrington.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for October 1, 1929.

State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publishers of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, American Historical Society, Inc., Somerville, N. J., and 80 East 11th Street, New York City; Editor, Winfield S. Downs, 80 East 11th Street, New York City; Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, 80 East 11th Street, New York City; Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

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MARION L. LEWIS, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1929.
(Seal.)

FREDA M. KELLER,

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Certificate Filed in N. Y. Co., No. 284.

(Commission Expires March 30, 1930.)

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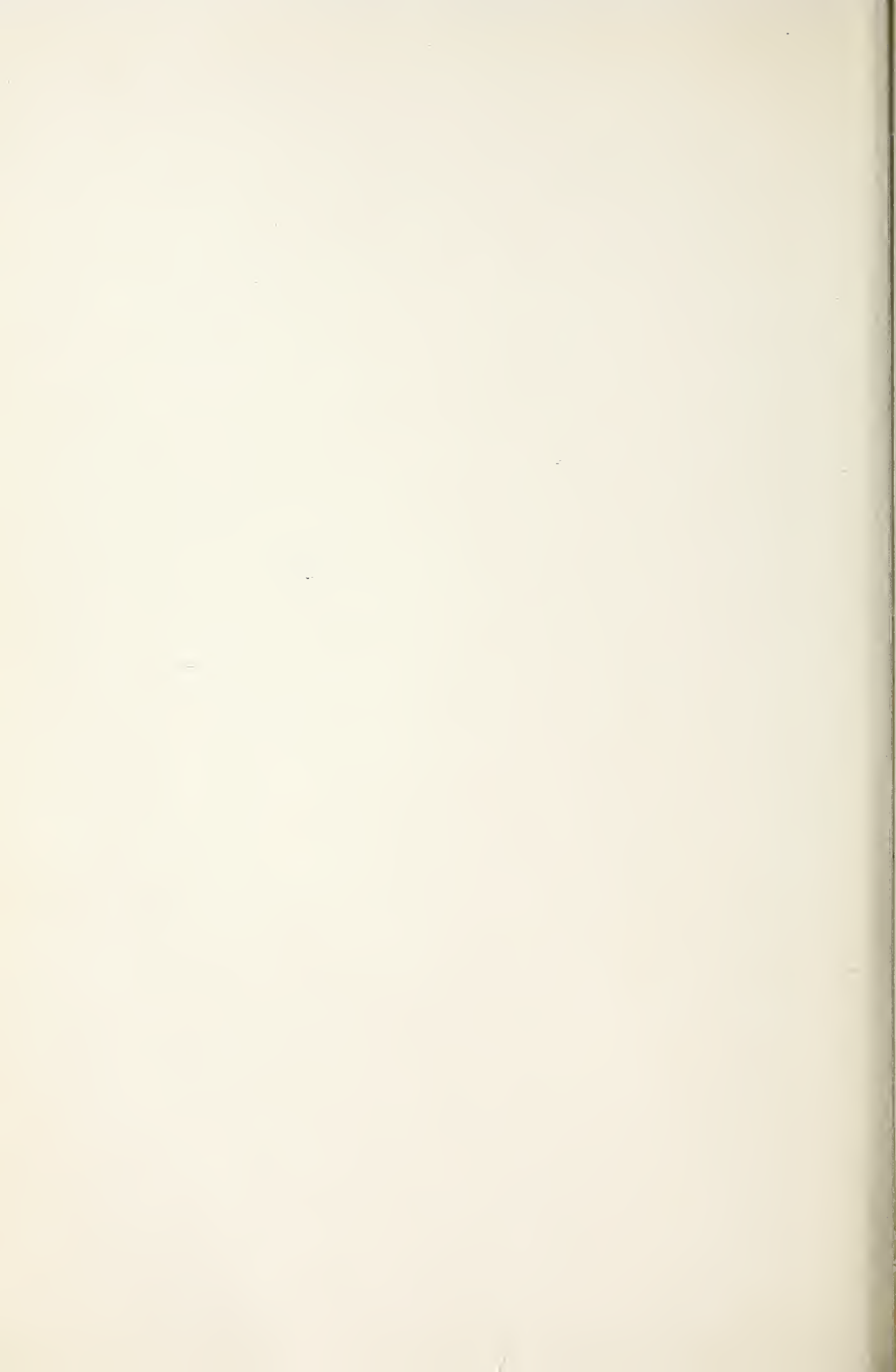
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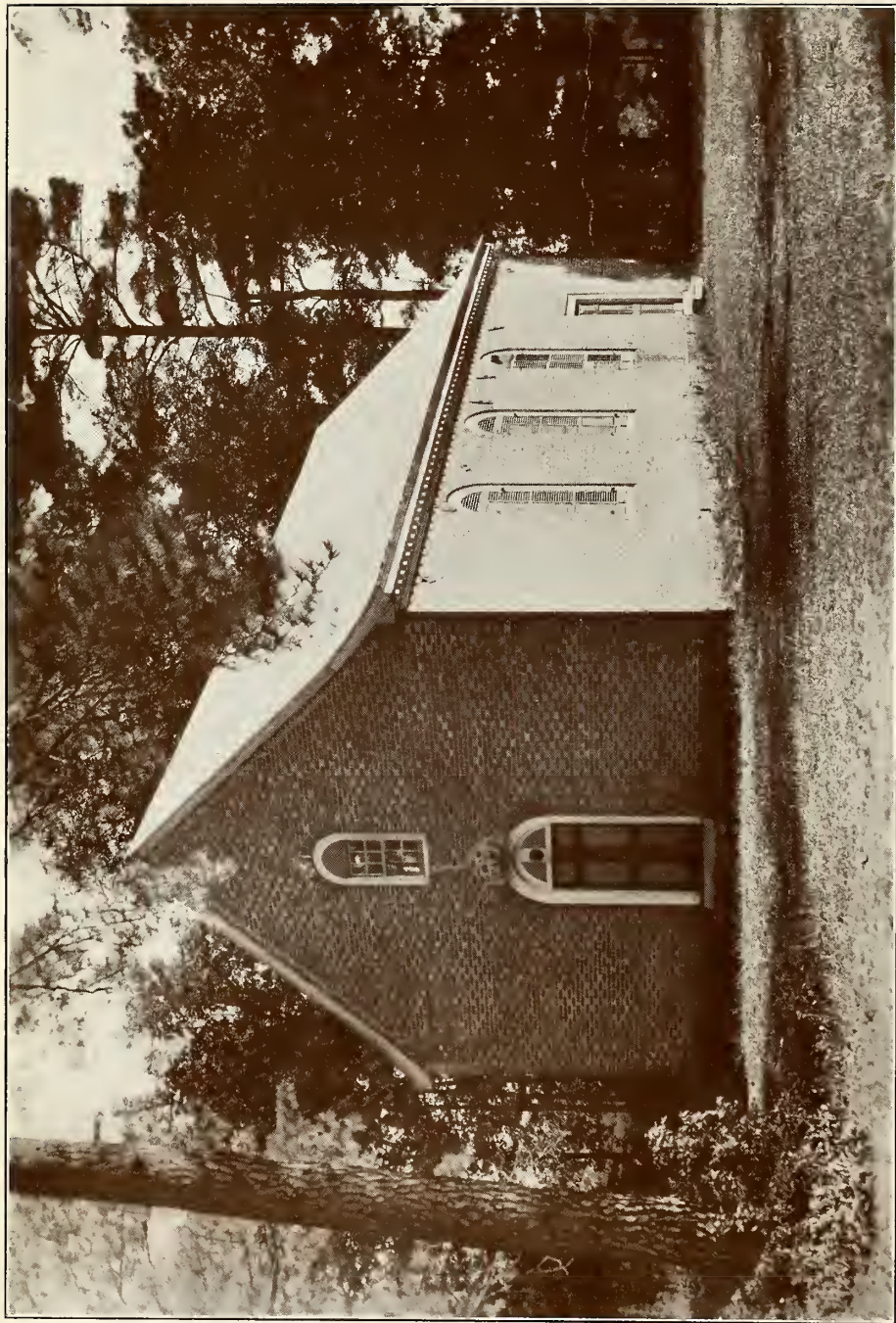
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The American Historical Society, Inc.





OLD MERCHANT'S HOPE CHURCH, BUILT ABOUT 1657 IN PRINCE GEORGE COUNTY

About fourteen miles from where Petersburg now stands. Rugged flagstones cover the floor, where two aisles six feet wide lead from the doors and meet at the chancel. One of the owners of this tract of land on which the church was built was Richard Quincy, whose brother Thomas had married Shakespeare's daughter, Judith, in 1616. The church was named for a vessel named Merchant's Hope that plied between England and the colonies soon after the founding of the Jamestown settlement.

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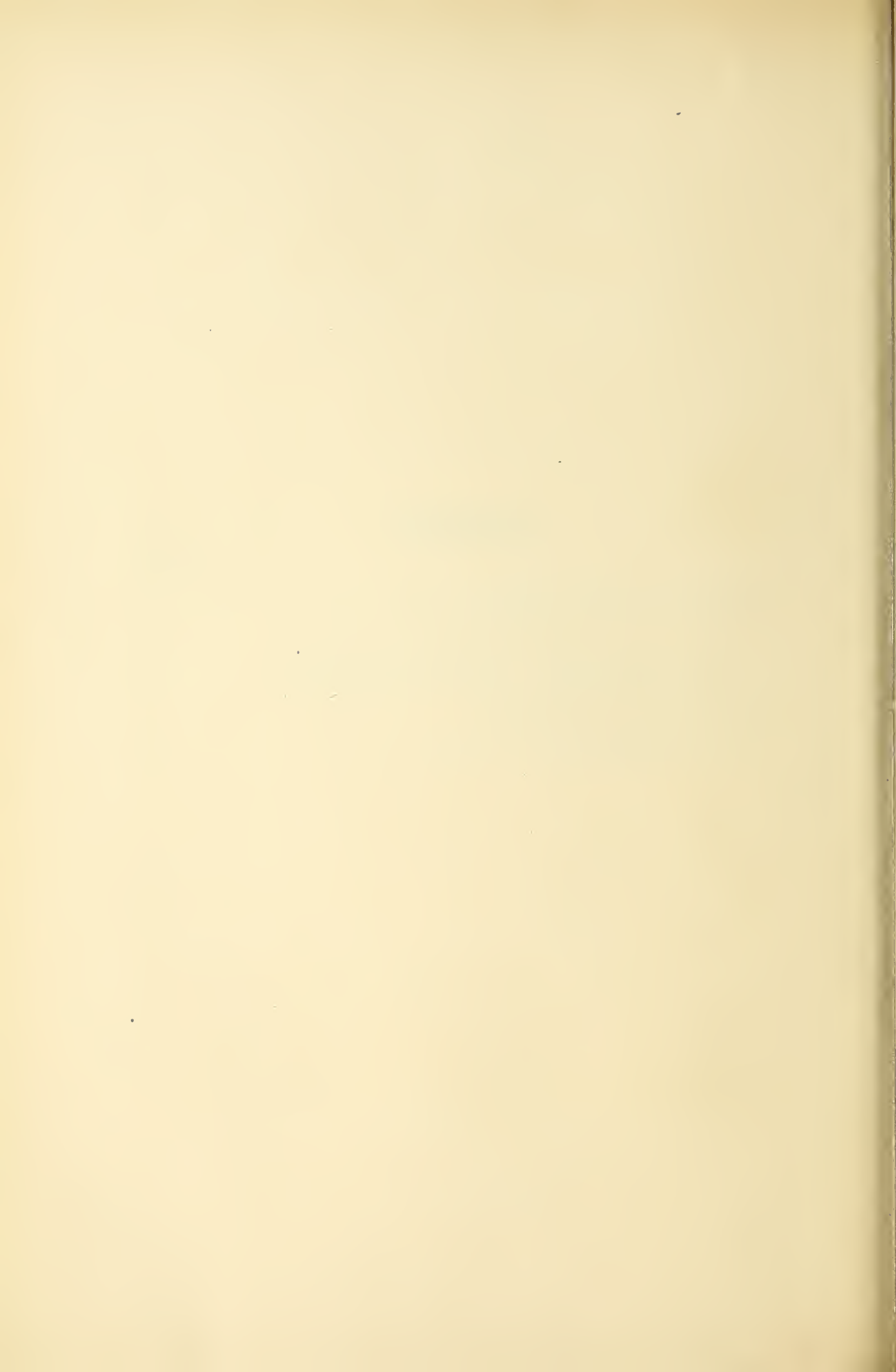
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A M E R I C A N A

April, 1930



Old Parish Churches In Virginia

BY MARY F. ANDERSON, WASHINGTON, D. C.



BETWEEN the building of the first Jamestown church of rough unhewn logs in 1607 and the solidly built Christ Church erected in Alexandria, Virginia, in 1773—one of the last churches to be built before the Revolution—is encompassed a mighty epic of the faith of a people whose lives in the New World were planted firmly in terms of churches, and who used these structures to progress toward a goal of religious and civil liberty which was achieved by the Revolutionary War. For over a century the strongest tie that bound the Colony of Virginia to the mother country was that of the Established Church of England. From the first there were very loose political bonds, which were loosened or tightened according to the temper of the times, but even that in a large measure was strengthened by the religious bonds. When the political cords were finally cut in 1776, the hold of the Church of England was also severed, yet many of the old parish churches that were established in the early days of the Colony persisted and became easily adapted to the new order. Many of these quaint old churches, moss-grown and ivy-draped, hold much of the history of the early days of Virginia. Around them cling memories of great events which have become imperishably interwoven into the history of the Republic.

The churches were associated with the growing spirit of independence. The first representative assembly in the New World met in the Jamestown Church in 1619. Old St. John's on Richmond Hill, built about 1741, was the scene of Patrick Henry's "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" speech. In Bruton Parish Church on two occasions the colonial patriots spent the day in fasting and prayer before taking decisive steps against the mother country.

OLD PARISH CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA

The old Glebe Church, built in 1738, in Nansemond County, was a place where the loyalty to the King or to the Colonists' cause was made a supreme test, and the rector of many years' standing was driven from the church because of his continued loyalty to the crown. The first tilt that the Virginians had with the royal authority, was when the vestry of old St. John's at Chuckatuck became involved in a bitter controversy with Governor Nicholson over parochial rights in respect to the induction of a new minister when a vacancy occurred.

Not only were the churches places of spiritual struggles, but there remain in walls of many of the surviving, evidences of physical combats, incident to the three wars out of which grew the individualism of a new Nation. There is still to be seen high up in one of the walls of St. Paul's at Norfolk, a canon ball shot from the frigate "Liverpool," January 1, 1776, when the bombardment by the British fleet left the city in ruins. St. Luke's, near Smithfield, suffered from the raids of Tarleton and his Legionnaires during the Revolution, and during that time many of the valuable records were destroyed.

Old Grace Church at Yorktown was in the midst of the Cornwallis struggle. The church was built before 1700, and is supposed to be the one that Governor Nicholson subscribed the sum of twenty pounds provided that a church made of brick should be built in that locality within two years after 1796. Linked with this old church are memories of patriots like General Thomas Nelson, who after giving his fortune to the Colonists' cause, was buried in York without even a slab to mark his grave. St. John's, at Hampton, figured in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 and the Civil War.

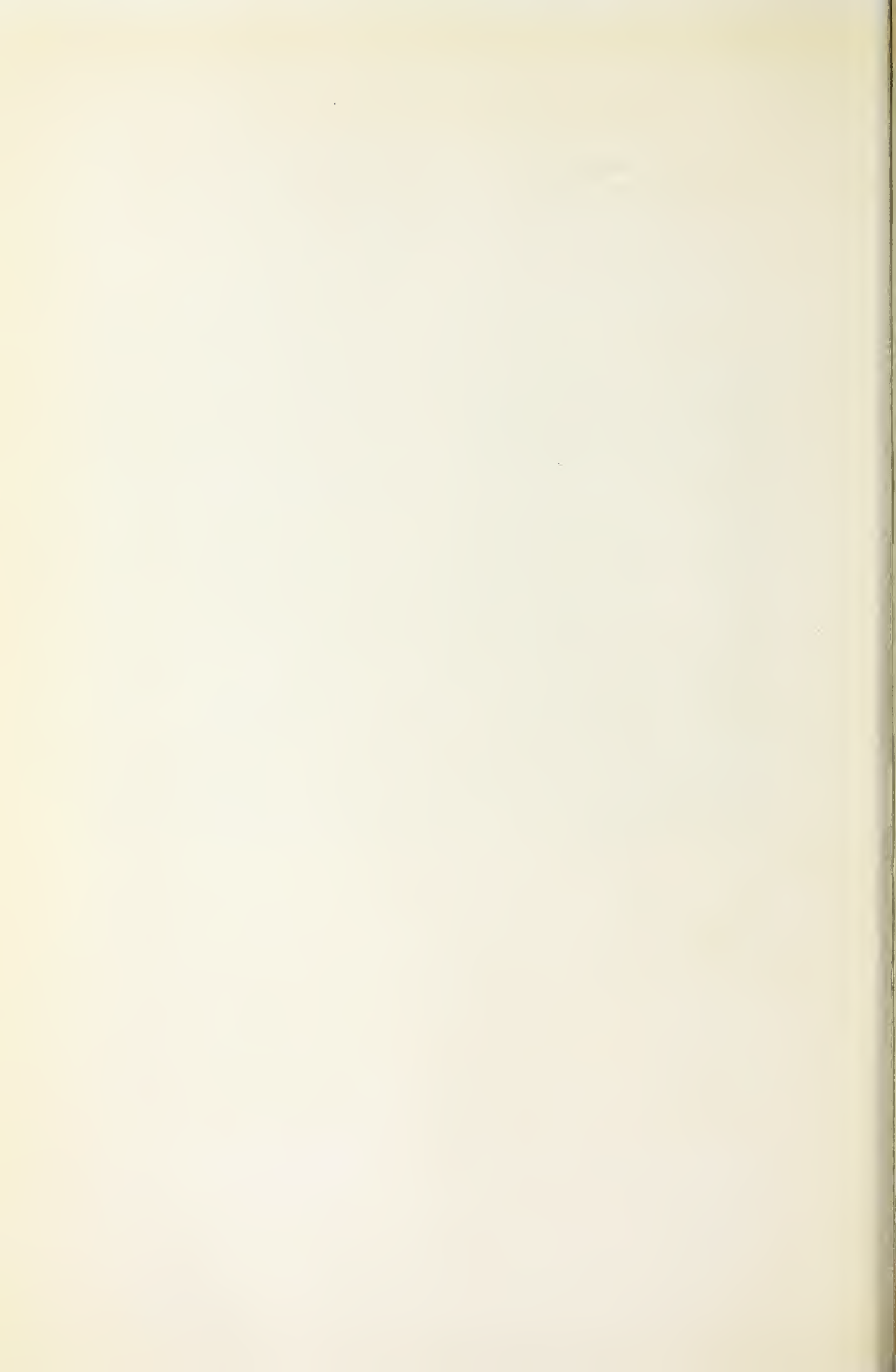
Two churches have preceded the present St. John's at Hampton, which was built in 1728, and the tombstones in the churchyard name the founders of the oldest existing settlement of English people in America. Long before the government of the Colony was moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg, it had been found advisable to place a small garrison there, "for it was a key position, healthful and abounding in fish and game." The settlement continued from that date uninterrupted and is the oldest permanent English settlement in the country. The Hampton settlement was founded on the site of the Indian village of Kichotan.

The five churches that were erected at Jamestown, with a crumbling tower that still survives, tells the story of a faith and determination that could not be defeated. They mark the beginning of an heroic effort that mounted over the ruins of floods, fire, wars and pestilence. Pohick and



OLD ST. LUKE'S CHURCH NEAR SMITHFIELD, VIRGINIA

The oldest building in America that was constructed by an Englishman. It was built twenty-five years after the settlement at Jamestown, and was in the Indian attacks and the raids of Tarleton and his Legionnaires in the Revolution, but the church with its castle-like tower has stood firm through the centuries. It is located in the Isle of Wight County, which was one of the original "shires" in the year 1634, and the first name that it bore was the Indian name of "Warrosquoyacke."



OLD PARISH CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA

Christ Church, built at the close of the colonial period, may be considered the physical evidence of the goal of a great achievement.

These architectural antiques of Virginia contain some of the most beautiful features of the colonial builders' art. The high-glazed bricks, the broad arched windows, heavy panelled doors, L hinges, and aisles paved with flag stones, belong entirely to the colonial era. Many of the early churches built from two to three hundred years ago, are well preserved. Others, through neglect, have been allowed to become dilapidated. Remnants of tumbled-down walls, with a few white stones in what were once churchyards, stand phantomlike in groves of cedar and pine, reached only by difficulty through bush and vine-choked paths. Nature has tried to soften the evidences of neglect and forgetfulness with mantels of moss and ivy, and even in ruins there is preserved dignity and beauty.

The old Yeocomenico Church, having survived the destruction of three wars, has now become a habitat of birds and animals of the woods. A sun dial, standing near it, has engraven on it the name of Philip Smith and the date 1717. Although chipped and weather stained, the sunshine and shadows still fall across it, continuing its record of registering more than 2,000,000 hours. During the War of 1812, its beautiful marble fountain was removed, and for years the communion table was used as a butcher's table. An interior view of the roof shows that the old hand-split sheathings were fastened in place by hand.

Old Penteague Church, three centuries old, stands in an isolated spot in Accomac, a remarkable monument of former days. The graves of the builders of this first house of prayer in that county have been leveled down, and their identity remains unknown and unmarked, but their handiwork has endured.

In 1840 Bishop Meade wrote of the Mother Church in Middlesex County that its unimpaired walls, roofless and deserted, encompassing an outspreading sycamore tree which occupied the vacuum within, remained a faithful memorial of the workmanship of other days.

Robert Downman's ode to St. Mary's, written in the early 1800's, suggests at that time the venerable condition of the church:

"And graves are here o'er which may weep
The friends whom memory long shall praise;
While many here forgotten sleep
That once had life and hope and love."

St. Mary's Chapel, established in 1700, and built in its present form in 1740, stands in the region in which lived the Ball family, and the

OLD PARISH CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA

chapel was their place of worship. Washington's grandmother, Mary Ball, is buried at Epping Forest, five miles from St. Mary's.

After two centuries, St. Peter's, in New Kent County, stands almost as good as new. All that remains of the colonial days furnishings is a pedestal of an old stone baptismal font. The weathered tombstones in the churchyard register the names of many of those who had much to do with the founding of the country. One of its communicants was Martha Custis, and the pastor of that time, the Rev. David Mossom, was the officiating clergyman at the marriage of George Washington and Martha Custis. By some it has been claimed that the marriage took place in the church, but more reliable data states that the marriage took place at White House, the home of the widow Custis, with the Rev. Mossom performing the ceremony.

Old St. Paul's Church in King George County is one of the best and most commodious of the cruciform churches in Virginia. An early minister of St. Paul's Parish was the Reverend David Stuart, a direct descendant of the royal house of Stuart, who came to this country from Scotland in 1715.

Old Donation Church, set in Lynnhaven Parish on Eastern Shore, has survived the wear and tear of two and a half centuries. In Accomac County, another ancient church survives—Old Eastern Shore Chapel, built in 1754. Old St. John's in King William County was erected a half century before the Revolution. Its pulpit was made at the time that the shape prevailed of a bottle turned upside down, with the neck of the bottle represented by the stairs. The original furniture is gone from the church, and the aisles, paved with flagstones, broken and worn, lead from two parts of the building to the chancel.

One of the most picturesque of the old church ruins is Old Hungar's Church on one of the beautiful tidal inlets of the Chesapeake Bay. The graceful proportions of the building, with the weather-stained brick pattern mellowed with age and tempered in coloring to an exquisite blending of tints in an old piece of rare tapestry, has a background of the wide bay and a foreground of towering pines and stones covered with moss and ivy. Its great arched windows, six feet in width, of most beautiful symmetry, compel admiration for its designers. Before the Revolution there were handsome furnishings, and as late as 1809, it is related by Bishop Meade, there could be found the remains of a fine organ broken up by ruthless hands.

It is said that the first colonists at Jamestown worshipped under an



OLD ST. MARY'S WHITE CHAPEL, LANCASTER COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Rebuilt in this present form in 1740. According to Mr. Wigmore, "In the quiet old churchyard may be seen old tombstones of massive marble inscribed with the name of Ball, and at Epping Forest, five miles distant, lies buried Mary Ball, grandmother of George Washington."



OLD PARISH CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA

awning tied to three or four trees with benches made of unhewn logs. When enough trees could be felled, the first church was built. It has been described as "a homely thing like a barn set upon cratchets covered with rafts, sedge and earth." Of the second church, in which the marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas took place in 1610, nothing remains. Every bit of the foundation was probably washed away by the James River, whose floods took heavy toll of everything along its banks. For awhile after the church was destroyed in 1617, a storehouse was used as a place of divine worship. Outside the stockade the third church was built, and in this building the first House of Burgesses met in 1619. A fourth church is thought to have been burned about 1676, when the remainder of Jamestown was destroyed. The old tower is supposed to have been a part of this church. When Jamestown was rebuilt, the walls were reënfenced, and an interior rebuilt, making a place of worship which was used until about 1800. This new part seems to have caved in, leaving the old tower ruins of 1647. Recently the body of the church has been restored according to the original plans.

The Bruton Parish Church at Williamsburg succeeded the Jamestown Church in colonial importance after the capital was moved. In the churchyard of the Bruton Parish Church is buried the great-grandfather of Martha Washington. The church, which has been kept in excellent repair, is the oldest church in continuous use in the country. A Presidential pew, where worshipped Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Madison and Tyler, may be occupied only by a descendant of a President. The pulpit and the clerk's desk are the original ones used by the first rectors. At one side of the pulpit is the elevated pew enclosing a high carved chair which was built for the royal governors. Over it is a canopy of heavy velvet on which is emblazoned in massive bronze the royal arms of Great Britain. The clock, the bell and the communion service were gifts of Queen Anne.

In the churches in and around the "Northern Neck" of Virginia, one finds many things connected with the ancestors of George Washington. The original Old Abingdon Church in Gloucester County, supposed to have been built on land donated by Colonel Augustine Washington, great-grandfather of George Washington, was in use for over a hundred years, and in it worshipped several generations of the ancestors of the Father of His Country. When the old building was deemed unsafe, a new Abingdon church was erected on the site on which it still stands. The church is cruciform in design, and its west entrance is a masterpiece of symmetry.

OLD PARISH CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA

The permanent home of the Indian Chief Powhatan was near Old Abingdon at the strategic point on the York River called Werwocomico. It was there that Pocahontas is supposed to have saved the life of John Smith. On the opposite heights of Yorktown, Cornwallis was defeated.

Pohick Church has been called the home church of Mount Vernon. Augustine Washington was a vestryman of Truro Parish from 1735 to 1737. His son, George, was vestryman in that same parish for twenty-two years, and was three times elected a church warden. He was on two building committees for the parish—old Payne's Church and Pohick. A record states that on November 20, 1772, "was sold by the order of this vestry a large square pew, No. 28, one of the center pews adjoining the north aisle and next to the communion table, to Col. George Washington at the price of sixteen pounds." Legal deeds for these pews were executed and recorded in full in the records of the clerk's office at Fairfax County.

Christ Church in Alexandria was built in 1773, and directly after its completion, Washington purchased a pew in which he worshipped during the latter part of his life. Eighty years later Robert E. Lee was confirmed there. Christ Church and Pohick were two of the last churches in Virginia to be built before the separation of church and State.

Old Aquia Church, not far from Alexandria, is one of the best preserved of the colonial churches. Its history is briefly outlined on an inscription over its south door, "Built A. D. 1751. Destroyed by fire 1751, and rebuilt by Mourning Richards, undertaker, William Copein, mason." It is made in the shape of a cruciform and surmounted by a curious tower or observatory. The church is in the Overwharton Parish, Stafford County, both of which have taken their names from places in England from whence some of the early settlers came. A handsome communion service of beaten silver was the gift to the church by the early minister of the parish, the Rev. Alexander Scott. He was succeeded by Rev. John Moncure, descendant of a Huguenot refugee, who fled from France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Westover Church in Charles City County is associated with the early history of the Byrd family, and the last known interment in the old churchyard was that of Mistress Evelyn Byrd in 1737.

Two churches stand in Bristol Parish, near Petersburg, Virginia—Old Merchant's Hope and Blandford Church. Old Merchant's Hope was built about 1657 and was called for its proximity to a plantation by that name which was named from a vessel that brought cargoes from the



POHICK CHURCH, BETWEEN ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA, AND WASHINGTON CITY

For twenty-two years George Washington was a vestryman in this church and was on its building committee. In 1929 the building committee of Pohick was able to put in effect the building of a vestry for the church that had been considered by Washington's committee. The same measurements were used.

OLD PARISH CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA

mother country and carried Virginia tobacco back to England. Blandford Church was built about 1635, and is one of the most picturesque of the colonial churches. It has stood in a region where the death struggles of two wars were determined. The York Peninsula lies to the east, on which were waged the campaigns which terminated with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

The original tract of land on which the two churches were built was partly owned by Richard Quincy, whose brother Thomas had married Shakespeare's daughter, Judith. The six-foot aisles of the Blandford Church led from the front and side doors and meet at the chancel. They are still covered with the original flagstones.

In the Isle of Wight County, near Smithfield, Virginia, is St. Luke's Church, the oldest building now standing in America, which was built by an Englishman. This church was built about 1631, and so well was it constructed, that from its location on a lowland marsh where swamps, creeks and rivers with their variable floods have made many buildings in that locality insecure, its castlelike tower still points heavenward after three hundred years of storm and sunshine.

Among the early colonial churches and their dates of erection are: Old St. John's Church in Accomac County, built about 1652; Old Donation Church in Princess Anne County, built about 1694; Old Eastern Shore Chapel in Princess Anne County, built in 1754; Old St. John's near Chuckatuck, built about 1755; Old St. John's in King William County, built about 1734; Old Christ Church in Middlesex County, built 1666; Old Vauter's Church in Essex County, built in 1731; Old Farnham Church in Richmond County, built 1737, or earlier; Old Yeocomico Church in Westmoreland County, built 1706; Old St. Paul's in King George, built about 1766; Old Fork Church in Hanover County, built 1735, and Old Fall's Church in Fall's Church, Virginia, built 1767.

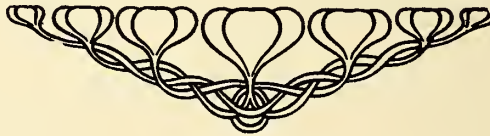
In the Library of Congress there has been placed in the print division a remarkable historical-pictorial collection of photographs, colored in oil, of the surviving parish churches in Virginia. The exhibit has been prepared and arranged by Francis Marion Wigmore, and consists of forty-two colored photographs and two hundred and fifty photographs in black and white. To each picture is attached the history of the church that it represents, and in this way valuable historical data is being preserved that would otherwise be lost.

A generation ago Bishop Meade, of Virginia, made a valuable contribution to history by compiling statistics, descriptions and legends of

OLD PARISH CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA

these old churches in the history that he wrote about the early Virginia parishes. Mr. Wigmore and Bishop Meade have produced valuable links that have connected the past with the present.

Each of the colonial churches preserves a story of the people to whom it ministered in crucial times, for they were the centers of the early religious, cultural and social life of the Colony. They are a tangible reminder of the faith and consecration of those who partook of the great adventure. The churches embody the personalities of the founders more fully than any material thing that has survived. Where the colonists builded their temples of faith they buried their dead, and each, in turn, came to lie down to rest in the shadow of the structures they had builded. The churches have become visible historians of people and communities, who, while holding fast to their faith, contributed a lasting corner-stone to the mighty structure of a Nation.





OLD BLANDFORD CHURCH IN BRISTOL PARISH, BUILT IN 1735

The quaint little colonial church stands near Petersburg, Virginia, and presents a picture of peace and seclusion, yet around it the death struggles of two wars raged.


Some Phases of the Pennamite-Yankee Controversy*

BY OSCAR JEWELL HARVEY, WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA

"You little know what a ticklish thing it is to go to law."—*Plautus*.

"The strictest law sometimes becomes the severest injustice."—*Terence*.

"He that will have a cake out of the wheat, must needs tarry the grinding."
—*Troilus and Cressida*, Act I, Scene I.

URING the progress of the Revolutionary War, from the beginning of the year 1776 until the close of 1781, both parties to the Pennamite-Yankee controversy had refrained as well from a discussion of their difficulties as from inimical activities; but promptly on the appearance of the Angel of Peace above the horizon, the Yankees in Wyoming began to experience gloom and darkness instead of clearing skies, and disquietude instead of tranquility.

Fifteen days after the surrender of Cornwallis, to wit, on November 3, 1781, a petition was presented to Congress "from the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, stating a matter in dispute between the said State and the State of Connecticut, respecting sundry lands lying on the East Branch of the Susquehanna, and praying a hearing in the premises, agreeable to the IXth Article of the Confederation." The State of Connecticut, through its Representatives in Congress, concurred in the application, but subsequently asked for delay "because that sundry papers of importance in the case are in the hands of counsel in England, and cannot be procured during the war."

During the ensuing winter and spring both parties made preparations for the proposed hearing, and at a meeting of the Representatives in Congress from Pennsylvania and Connecticut, held April 20, 1782, at

*This article forms Chapters XXI and XXII of the third volume of "A History of Wilkes-Barre, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania," by Oscar Jewell Harvey, A. M. Two volumes of this monumental work had been published at the time of his death in 1922, and the completion of the task was undertaken by Colonel Ernest G. Smith, president and editor of the Wilkes-Barre "Times-Leader." It is now about to appear in completed form from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., with whose permission these excerpts appear.

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the house of Attorney General Bradford in Philadelphia, a list was prepared containing the names of sixty-three gentlemen, drawn from the thirteen states of the Union, from whom, after due consideration, judges to try the cause were selected.

Finally, on August 12, 1782, the Representatives of Pennsylvania and Connecticut entered into a written agreement submitting to a Court of Commissioners, amicably chosen by themselves, but to be appointed and commissioned by Congress, "all the rights, claims and possessions" of the two states in and to the Wyoming lands. The gentlemen who were mutually agreed upon to constitute the court were as follows: Brig.-Gen. William Whipple, of New Hampshire; ex-Gov. John Rutledge, of South Carolina; Maj.-Gen. Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island; Lieut.-Col. David Brearley and Prof. William Churchill Houston, of New Jersey; Judge Cyrus Griffin and Joseph Jones, of Virginia.

The names of these gentlemen (together with a full report of the action taken by the Pennsylvania and Connecticut Representatives) were duly submitted to Congress; but a few days later a supplementary report was presented, setting forth that General Greene and Governor Rutledge would be unable to act as commissioners, and substituting in their stead the Hon. Welcome Arnold, of Providence, Rhode Island, and Thomas Nelson, Esq., of Virginia.

Congress, therefore, on August 28, 1782, issued commissions to William Whipple,¹ Welcome Arnold,² David Brearley,³ Prof. William

1. William Whipple was born at Kittery, Maine, January 14, 1730. He was in command of a vessel in foreign trade before he was of age; and, when nearly thirty years old, left the sea to engage in mercantile pursuits at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He was a member of the New Hampshire Committee of Safety in 1775; was elected a Delegate to the Continental Congress in 1775, '76 and '78, and was one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. Writing from Philadelphia June 24, 1776, to a friend in New Hampshire, Colonel Whipple said: "Next Monday being July 1 *the grand question* is to be debated, and I believe will be determined unanimously. May God unite our hearts in all things that tend to the well-being of the rising Empire."

He was a colonel of militia prior to 1776, was made a brigadier-general in 1777, and commanded a brigade at the battles of Saratoga and Stillwater. The next year he participated in the siege of Newport conducted by General Sullivan. In 1780-84 he was a member of the General Assembly of New Hampshire; in 1782-84 he was State Superintendent of Finances, and also judge of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. From 1784 until his death he was a justice of the peace and quorum. It is noteworthy that he emancipated his slaves, although earlier in life he had been a slave trader. He died at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, November 28, 1785.

2. Welcome Arnold was born at Smithfield, Rhode Island, February 5, 1745, the son of Jonathan and Abigail Arnold. He entered upon a business career at an early age, and in the Spring of 1773 became the partner of Caleb Green. With him Mr. Arnold continued in business until February, 1776, when he embarked alone in mercantile business, and soon became extensively concerned in maritime trade. It is said that of thirty vessels and their cargoes which were captured by the enemy during the Revolu-

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Churchill Houston,⁴ Cyrus Griffin,⁵ Joseph Jones and Thomas Nelson, authorizing and empowering any five or more of them to be a Court of Commissioners, with all the powers, prerogatives and privileges incident or belonging to a court; "to meet at Trenton, in the State of New Jersey, on Tuesday, the 12th day of November next, to hear and finally determine the controversy between the said State of Pennsylvania and State of Connecticut, so always as a major part of said Commissioners, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination."

Returning now to Wilkes-Barre, we find that early in October, 1782, a town meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland was held here, and that Obadiah Gore and Jonathan Fitch were duly elected to represent Westmoreland in the General Assembly of Connecticut at its semi-annual session, to be held in Hartford, on the second Thursday of October. These gentlemen attended the meetings of the Assembly and were present when an act was passed to enable The Susquehanna Company and The Delaware Company to collect certain taxes, or assessments, which had been laid on the proprietors, or shareholders of those companies.

The act in question set forth "that the purchasers of the native rights to a large tract of land within the limits of this State [Connecticut], and on the west side of the Delaware River, under the name of The Susquehanna Company and The Delaware Company, have, by the consent of this State, made their respective purchases." The act then declaring that

tionary War, Mr. Arnold was part owner of each of them. Notwithstanding these heavy losses and reverses he accumulated considerable wealth, especially from his connection with the West India trade.

In 1778 he was elected a member of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, and by successive reelections was continued in that capacity for a number of years. During the years 1780-95 he served as Speaker of the House five terms. He also took an active part in the State conventions held for the adoption of the State and Federal Constitutions. He was a trustee of Brown University from 1783 till his death, which occurred at Providence, Rhode Island, September 30, 1798.

3. David Brearley was born near Trenton, New Jersey, June 11, 1745. Admitted to the bar of New Jersey in 1767, he practiced law at Allentown, New Jersey, and shortly before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War was arrested for high treason against the King. A mob of his patriotic fellow-townsmen rescued him, however, from the hands of the authorities. He joined the Revolutionary Army and rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the 1st New Jersey Regiment, as noted on page 1175, Vol. II; but having been appointed Chief Justice of New Jersey June 10, 1779, he resigned his military commission while in camp at Wilkes-Barre, and repaired to Trenton soon thereafter, as noted on page 1189, Vol. II. (Since that page was printed the writer has seen two or three original signatures of Judge Brearley, and has learned that his surname was spelled "Brearley.") Major Joseph Brearley, a brother of Judge Brearley, served during the Revolutionary War as an aide on the staff of General Washington without pay.

With William Livingston, William Paterson and William Churchill Houston, all men of renown, Judge Brearley represented New Jersey in the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787. Later he presided over the New Jersey State Convention which

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"the proprietors of said rights in said purchases are scattered at great distances from each other, and it becoming necessary to raise monies on said rights for defraying the necessary expenses about the same, and no way being provided for enforcing the collection thereof," authorized and empowered the companies to sell, for unpaid taxes, the lands of the delinquent proprietors.

At this time the Continental Congress was in session at Philadelphia, and on October 18 it passed the following:⁶

Resolved, That the post at Wyoming be retained or withdrawn by the commander-in-chief, as he shall think it most for the benefit of the United States, any former resolution of Congress notwithstanding.

As noted on page 811, Vol. II, no meetings of The Susquehanna Company were held from May 24, 1774, till November 13, 1782—so far as can be learned now. On the last-mentioned date a considerable number of the proprietors of the company, having been "legally warned" and duly notified, assembled at Hartford. Col. Elizur Talcott, of Glastonbury, Connecticut, served as moderator of the meeting, and Samuel Graz, Esq., was clerk. The meeting continued throughout two days, and the business transacted was as follows:⁷

Voted, That Eliphalet Dyer, Esq., William Samuel Johnson, Esq., Jesse Root, Esq., Samuel Gray and William Judd be chosen Agents for this Company, jointly and severally to act and to make all preparations that are yet necessary to be made, and do any other thing necessary for the benefit of said Company.

ratified the Federal Constitution. In 1788 he was a Presidential Elector, and in 1789 was appointed Judge of the United States District Court of New Jersey, which office he held till his death. He was one of the compilers of the prayer-book published by the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in 1785. He was elected the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of New Jersey, December 18, 1786, and served as such until his death, which occurred at Trenton, New Jersey, August 16, 1790.

4. William Churchill Houston was born in Cabarrus County, North Carolina, in 1740, his father being a native of Ireland. He was graduated at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1768, and was forthwith appointed a tutor in the institution. In 1771 he was elected Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Princeton, which position he held till 1783, when he resigned. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War he and Dr. Witherspoon were the only professors in the college, and when Princeton was invaded in 1776, and the students scattered, Professor Houston commanded a scouting party organized at Flemington, New Jersey, and rendered important services in the counties of Hunterdon and Somerset. He was commissioned captain in the 2d Battalion of Somerset County, February 28, 1776.

In 1777, while still connected with the college, Professor Houston was elected a Representative from Somerset County to the General Assembly of New Jersey. In 1779 he was sent to the Continental Congress from Middlesex County, New Jersey, and served in 1779, 1780 and 1781. In 1783, after retiring from his professorship, he located at Trenton, was admitted to the bar, and immediately entered on an extensive practice of his profession. In 1784 he was again sent to the Continental Congress, and in 1787, with

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Voted, That Elizur Talcott, Esq., and Phineas Lewis be Collectors for the County of Hartford, Daniel Lyman, Esq., for the County of New Haven. Thomas Morgan of Killingworth and John Owen of New London for the County of New London, Nehemiah Depew for the County of Fairfield, Samuel Gray for the County of Windham, Abraham Bradley, Esq., and Jonas Lawrence, Collectors for the County of Litchfield, and Obadiah Gore, Esq., Collector of Westmoreland County.

Voted, That Col. Elizur Talcott shall have one full right in said Purchase for his extra services.

Voted, That the Committee of this Company, or either three of them, be and they are hereby appointed and fully authorized and empowered to make out proper and authentic Power of Attorney, or Commission, to the Agents appointed at this meeting, namely, the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Esq., William Samuel Johnson and Jesse Root, Esq., jointly and severally, or any number of them, to manage and transact all manner of business to be done and transacted on behalf of the said Company before the Commissioners appointed to hear and determine the right, title and jurisdiction, and such like, between the State of Connecticut and the State of Pennsylvania as to the lands west of the Delaware River (part of which land is claimed by this Company), and seal and authenticate such Power, or Commission, on behalf of this Company.⁸

WHEREAS, The trial of the right of the State to the Western lands is soon to be decided, and the interest of this Company is concerned therein, and it is uncertain whether the taxes already laid by this Company will raise monies sufficient to defray their proportion of the expense of the trial in season,

Therefore, Voted and Resolved, That the Committee of this Company be, and they are hereby, empowered to sell rights in said Company,

David Brearley, he was a Representative from New Jersey in the Federal Constitutional Convention. He died at Frankford, Pennsylvania, August 12, 1788.

5. Cyrus Griffin was born in Virginia in 1749. He was educated in England, where he married a lady of noble family. Soon afterward he returned to Virginia and began the practice of law. He gave early adhesion to the patriot cause and became a member of the Virginia Legislature. Early in 1778 he was sent as a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress and served in that position till 1781. In 1780 he was elected a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia, and in 1787 and 1788 he was again a member of Congress—serving as president of that body in the last-mentioned year. In 1789 he was United States Commissioner to the Creek Nation of Indians. He was president of the Supreme Court of Admiralty so long as it existed, and in December, 1789, he became Judge of the United States Court for the District of Virginia. This office he held till his death, which occurred at Yorktown, Virginia, December 14, 1810.

6. See "Journals of Congress," IV:97.

7. See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII:102.

8. The power of attorney thus authorized was executed at Hartford, November 15, 1782, by Samuel Talcott, Samuel Gray and William Judd, "a Committee of The Susquehanna Company," and constituted and appointed Eliphalet Dyer, William Samuel Johnson and Jesse Root "Agents and Attorneys for the Company before the Commissioners at Trenton." The original document is now among the "Trumbull Papers," mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

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not exceeding fifty shares, at such prices as they shall judge fit—in case in their opinion it becomes necessary to raise further sums of money than are already granted, or the taxes shall not be raised in season, to answer the necessary expenses in carrying on the trial of the Cause.

Voted, That the Collectors appointed at this meeting [be empowered] to collect of the proprietors of The Susquehanna Company the 4 dollars tax granted in March, 1774; and the said Collectors are hereby directed to collect the said tax, and to account with the Treasurer of the said Company for the same by the 30th day of December, 1782; and that the rights of all proprietors that neglect to pay their respective taxes by the 20th of December aforesaid to the Collectors appointed in the County where the said proprietors reside, will be sold in pursuance of an Act of the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut passed in October last; and that all Collectors, heretofore appointed to receive the taxes granted by The Susquehanna Company, be, and they are hereby, called upon to settle immediately with the Treasurer of said Company; and that all proprietors who have not paid their former taxes be directed to pay the same to the Collectors named in their vote, and that this vote be published in all the newspapers in this State as soon as may be.

Voted, That this Company do give and grant to the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, William Samuel Johnson and Jesse Root, Esq., to each of them, their heirs and assigns, one whole right, or share, in the Susquehanna Purchase of Land, as a gratuity to them; and that Samuel Gray, Clerk to this Company, give to each of said gentlemen a proper certificate therefor.

Voted, That a triangular tract, or piece, of land situate on the mountain on the west side of the East Branch of the Susquehanna River, abutting on the towns of Kingston, Plymouth, Bedford and Northmoreland,⁹ be, and the same is hereby, appointed and set out to Maj. William Judd, for such proportion of land in the Susquehanna Purchase as the Committee of Settlers, or either two of them, shall judge the same to be equal in value to, compared with the Susquehanna Purchase at large; and that the said Judd be debarred from any claim for such rights or parts of rights, belonging to him the said Judd in the Susquehanna Purchase, that may be esteemed equal to the grant aforesaid, and considered as laid upon the land aforesaid. That the said granted premises be, and the same are hereby, fully apparted from the general interests of the Company, and to be enjoyed by him the said Judd and his heirs, in severalty.

Voted, That the Committee, Samuel Gray, Esq., and Major Judd, be desired to address the Governor and Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, desiring them to furnish such documents and papers, to be found in the records and files of that State, which will reflect any

9. See the map facing page 468, Vol. I.

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light on the cause depending between the States of Connecticut and Pennsylvania and The Susquehanna Company; and inform them that, if the Commonwealth, on their behalf, should see fit, at their expense, to appoint any person to attend that trial, the Company have directed their Committee to furnish him with a Power of Attorney in behalf of the Company, and the Committee are empowered to do the same.

Two of the seven commissioners appointed by Congress to hear and determine the Pennsylvania-Connecticut controversy, to wit: Messrs. Brearley and Houston, met at Trenton November 12, 1782. Their commissions being formally read, they were duly sworn, and then adjourned from day to day till November 18. On that day Messrs. Whipple, Arnold and Griffin appeared, when, they having been duly sworn, the court was declared to be lawfully constituted, and General Whipple was elected president, and Col. John Neilson,¹⁰ of New Brunswick, New Jersey, was appointed clerk of the court.

Henry Osbourne,¹¹ Esq., appeared as "solicitor," and Col. William Bradford, Jr.,¹² Joseph Reed,¹³ James Wilson,¹⁴ and Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant¹⁵ appeared as "counsellors and agents," for Pennsylvania; while Col. Eliphalet Dyer,¹⁶ Dr. William Samuel Johnson¹⁷ and Jesse Root,¹⁸ Esq., were present as counsel and agents for Connecticut.

At Trenton, under the date of November 18, 1782, Attorney-General Bradford wrote to the Hon. John Dickinson, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, in part, as follows:¹⁹

10. John Neilson was born at New Brunswick March 11, 1745. He was educated in Philadelphia, and became a merchant in his native town. In August, 1776, he was appointed and commissioned colonel of the 2d Regiment of Middlesex County (New Jersey) Militia. He was a delegate from New Jersey to the Continental Congress in 1778 and '79. In 1800 and 1801 he represented New Brunswick in the State Legislature. He died at New Brunswick, March 3, 1833.

11. Henry Osbourne was a Philadelphia lawyer of peculiar ability, who gathered together the documentary evidence and marshaled the general facts for use in the case. He was a notary public in 1781 and later years, and in 1780 was judge advocate in the Pennsylvania militia.

12. William Bradford, Jr., was born in Philadelphia, September 14, 1755, the son of Col. William Bradford, printer and soldier, who established at Philadelphia, in 1742, the "Pennsylvania Journal." He assailed the pretensions of the British Government with respect to the American Colonies, and inveighed against the Stamp Act. (See page 588, *et seq.* Vol. I.) When the Revolutionary War began he joined, as major, the Pennsylvania militia, later being promoted colonel. He fought at the battles of Trenton and Princeton, being wounded at Princeton.

William Bradford, Jr., was graduated at Princeton in 1772; then studied law with Edward Shippen, and was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1779. During the war he served two years as Deputy muster-master general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1780 he was appointed Attorney-General of Pennsylvania. In 1784 he was married to a daughter of Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey. He was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania August 22, 1791, and by appointment of President Washington, January 8, 1794, he succeeded Edmund Randolph as Attorney-General of the United States. He died August 23, 1795.

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They [the Commissioners] have adjourned until tomorrow at ten o'clock, at which time we apprehend that the Agents for Connecticut will move that the trial be postponed until the settlers (who will be affected by the determination) can have notice. This strange idea seems to be suggested merely for the purpose of delay, and we conceive will not be adopted by the Court. Under this circumstance it is impossible for us at present to say when the witnesses will be wanted. We should, however, be extremely glad if the original Charter and the Indian deeds could be forwarded with all despatch. Some circumstances may occur that will render it necessary for us to be armed at all points, and to rely as little as possible on the hopes of indulgence. . . .

Upon the opening of the court on November 19 the counsel for Connecticut presented for consideration a document in the following words:²⁰

The Agents of the State of Connecticut, saving to themselves all advantages of other and further defense in said cause, beg leave to suggest, inform, and give the Court to understand, that there are many persons who are tenants in possession of the lands in controversy, holding, improving and claiming large quantities of said lands under titles from the States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut respectively (particularly the two large companies of Delaware and Susquehanna, consisting of more than 2,000 persons, many of whose people are in possession, improving and holding large tracts of said land in controversy, under title from the State of Connecticut); whose titles under said States, respectively, will be materially affected by the decision in this case, yet have not been cited or in any way legally notified to be present at said trial to defend their titles respectively—which, by the rules of proceeding

13. Joseph Reed was born at Trenton, New Jersey, August 27, 1741. He was graduated at Princeton College in 1757, and then, having studied law with Robert Stockton, was admitted to the bar of New Jersey in 1763. Later he went to London, where he spent two years as a law student in the Middle Temple. On his return to this country he practiced his profession at Trenton, but in the fall of 1770 removed to Philadelphia. In January, 1775, he was elected president of the Second Provincial Congress.

On the appointment of Washington to command the American forces (see page 821, Vol. II), Joseph Reed became his military secretary, and served as such until October, 1775. In January, 1776, he was chosen a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and June 5, 1776, was appointed adjutant-general of the American Army, with the rank of colonel. He was exceedingly active in the campaign that terminated with the battle of Long Island. Early in 1777 he was appointed brigadier-general, and was tendered the command of all the American cavalry; while on March 20, 1777, he was appointed Chief Justice of Pennsylvania—the first under the new Constitution of the State. He declined both these appointments, preferring to be attached to Washington's headquarters as a volunteer aide without rank or pay.

In December, 1778, Colonel Reed was chosen president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania (see page 881, Vol. II), and held the office for three years. During his term of office he aided in founding the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, and favored the gradual abolishing of slavery in the State, and the doing away of the proprietary powers of the Penn family. In 1781 he resumed the practice of his profession at Philadelphia. He died there March 5, 1785.

14. James Wilson was born near St. Andrews, Scotland, September 14, 1742. After receiving an education at the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Edinburgh, he

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in a court of justice, ought to be done before any further proceedings are had in said case.

And thereupon the said Agents move this honorable Court to cause said companies of Delaware and Susquehanna, and other tenants in possession, holding under title from either of said States, to be duly cited, in some proper and reasonable manner, to appear and defend at said trial, if they see cause, before any further proceedings are had in said cause. And of this they pray the opinion of this honorable Court.

After listening to arguments by counsel on the questions raised by the foregoing motion, the court adjourned until the next day, at which time the motion was overruled, on the ground that the same could "not be admitted according to the construction of the IXth Article of the Confederation," or compatibly with the tenor and design of the commission under which the court was acting. This commission, it should be explained, was founded on the *second* paragraph, or section, of the IXth Article. The determination by the court of the claims of private property, or right in the soil, would have been *coram non judice*—jurisdiction over such claims being derived from the *third* paragraph of Article IX.²¹ The two jurisdictions could not be blended.

Having failed in this matter the next move of the Connecticut counsel was to suggest that they might find it necessary to ask for an adjourn-

emigrated to this country about 1763. For some time he remained in New York City, and then, in 1766, removed to Philadelphia. There he studied law with John Dickinson (see a sketch of him in the ensuing chapter), and was admitted to the bar of Pennsylvania in 1767. He began to practice his profession in Reading, Pennsylvania, but soon removed to York (see page 725, Vol. II), and later to Carlisle, where he made a reputation as a lawyer before the War for Independence began.

He was a member of the Pennsylvania Provincial Convention which met at Philadelphia, January 23, 1775. An extract from an interesting speech on "Loyalty to Law," which Mr. Wilson delivered in that convention, in vindication of the colonies, will be found in the "Library of American Literature," III:260. In November, 1775, in July, 1776, and again in March, 1777, he was elected to the Continental Congress. He, John Morton and Benjamin Franklin were the only members of the Pennsylvania delegation in the Congress who voted for the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. (This sketch of James Wilson is curtailed because of lack of space here. It continues at length in the Harvey-Smith volumes.—Ed.)

15. Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant was born at Newark, New Jersey, in 1746. He was a grandson of Jonathan Dickinson, the first president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). He was graduated at Princeton in 1762, then studied law, and began its practice in New Jersey. He took his seat in the Continental Congress a few days after the Declaration of Independence was signed. He sat as a delegate in Congress in 1776 and 1777, and in July, 1777, became Attorney-General of Pennsylvania. In 1778, Congress having ordered a court martial for the trial of Gen. Arthur St. Clair, and other officers, in relation to the evacuation of Ticonderoga, Mr. Sergeant was appointed by that body, with William Patterson, of New Jersey, to assist the judge advocate in the conduct of the trial. In 1780 Mr. Sergeant resigned the office of Attorney-General, and settled in practice in Philadelphia.

When the yellow fever visited Philadelphia in 1793, Mr. Sergeant was appointed a member of the City Health Committee, and in consequence refrained from leaving

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ment or postponement of the hearing, in order—as they set forth in writing—to prosecute their efforts to obtain possession of (1) “a certain original deed from the Indians for a large parcel of the land in dispute, obtained from their chiefs and sachems at their council fire in Onondaga, in the year 1763, which is now in England, having been left there before the commencement of the present unhappy war, and which we have never since been able to obtain; and (2) other necessary evidence and proofs which, on examination, we find we are not at present possessed of, and which may be wanted in said trial.”

To this “suggestion” the counsel for Pennsylvania declared that they would oppose any postponement or adjournment after the introduction of evidence had been begun. The court took the papers submitted by counsel, and the matter rested there—not being brought up again during the progress of the case.

On the second day of the hearing (November 20, 1782) Attorney-General Bradford wrote from Trenton to President Dickinson of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, as follows:²²

I beg leave to inform your Excellency and the Council that the Court of Commissioners have at length proceeded to business. We, however, are still upon the threshold of the Cause, and whether we shall proceed any farther is still undetermined. The Agents for Connecticut seem determined to use every endeavor to prevent a decision of the Cause.

the city. He distributed large sums of money among the poor, nursed the sick, and was active in promoting and carrying out general sanitary measures. Unfortunately he fell a victim to the epidemic, and died at Philadelphia, October 8, 1793.

Two of the sons of Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant were: John, born at Philadelphia, December 5, 1779, and attained prominence as a lawyer. Thomas, born at Philadelphia, January 14, 1782, and became Attorney-General of Pennsylvania.

16. For a sketch and portrait of Colonel Dyer, see page 393, Vol. I.

17. For a sketch of Dr. Johnson, see page 478, Vol. I.

18. Jesse Root was born at Coventry, Tolland County, Connecticut, December 28, 1736, and was graduated at Princeton College in 1756. For several years following his graduation he served as a minister of the gospel, but having studied law meanwhile he was admitted to the bar of Connecticut in 1763, and settled at Hartford in the practice of his profession. In the year 1766 the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him by both Yale and Princeton colleges.

Early in 1777 he raised, and took command of, a company of Connecticut men, with which he joined Washington's army at Peekskill. Shortly afterwards he was appointed and commissioned lieutenant-colonel. He was a member of the Continental Congress from Connecticut in 1779-80, 1780-81, 1781-82, 1782-83, and 1788-89. In 1789 he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut, and held the office till 1793. He became chief judge in 1798, and continued as such till 1807. Subsequently he served as a member of the Connecticut Assembly. In 1800 Yale College conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL. D. He was a member of the American and Connecticut Academies of Arts and Sciences, and edited and published “Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Courts of Errors in Connecticut” (2 Vols.), Hartford, 1789-1802. He died at Coventry March 29, 1822.

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First, they demanded that the original petition which was presented to Congress should be produced; an argument ensued, and they were overruled. Next, they objected to the validity of our agency, and contended that we had no authority to appear before *that* Court. After argument the Court held our powers to be sufficient. After this, they contended that the Court could not proceed unless the *terre-tenants*, or others claiming lands in the contested territory, were summoned and made parties in the suit. This they warmly contended for, but were as unsuccessful as before.

At the next meeting of the Court we moved that the Court would proceed to hear the Cause. The Agents prayed for time to have a conference with us, which they alleged might prevent any further motions to delay the Cause. It was granted to them, and their proposal to us has been, that we will admit *ex-parte* depositions, and concede that there is in England a certain Indian deed, of part of the lands in question, fairly executed, made to The Susquehanna Company, and of which they have no copy. These proposals met with the answer that might have been expected, and, in consequence of our refusal, they propose to move that the Cause shall not be heard till they can procure the witnesses and the deed. We trust that they will not be gratified in this unreasonable request. If they can prove such a deed to have existed, and that it is in possession of the enemy, no doubt its contents may be given in evidence.

The spirit, however, which has been discovered on these occasions, induces us to wish for evidence the most legal and unexceptionable. If the Charter and Indian deeds cannot be procured, we could wish that the records of them were brought forward. . . .

19. See "Pennsylvania Archives," Old Series, XI:331.

20. See Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 444.

21. The second and third paragraphs of Article IX of the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" between the thirteen American States, adopted at Philadelphia November 15, 1777, reads, in part, as follows:

¶2—"The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners, or judges, to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine, names as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners, or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy; . . . and the judgment and sentence of the

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At Philadelphia, under the date of November 23, 1782, Joseph Reed, of the counsel for Pennsylvania at Trenton, wrote to Vice-President Moore of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, as follows:²³

. . . . I arrived this evening from Trenton, and am sorry to inform you that the proceedings of the Agents on the part of Connecticut manifest the utmost intentions to postpone the hearing of the cause and break up the Court without a decision on the merits. After objecting to our powers, to the non-production of the original petition, and want of notice to the settlers—in all which, after long arguments, they were overruled—they prayed that the Cause might proceed with a reservation of moving an adjournment of the Cause at any stage of it; at the same time adding that they had left sundry papers in England, essential to the merits, of which they gave a verbal detail. . . . Among the papers said to be in England, they lay great stress on the Indian deeds, which they allege to have been left in that Kingdom. . . .

At Trenton, under the date of December 3, 1782, Joseph Reed wrote to the Hon. George Bryan, a former vice-president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, in part, as follows:²⁴

The Agents of Connecticut have brought their testimony down to their Indian deeds; but here is a lamentable failure. Their best deed was carried to England, and a Welsh attorney carried it down with him to that country, and there it stands pledged for a Counsellor Gardiner's debts. The other was brought here, and has been lost since their arrival. Dyer having told us it was much blurred and blotted, but that they had a fair copy. We, you may be sure, have our suspicions. Sergeant just now asked him [Dyer] if he had looked in his breeches. I suppose you have heard the anecdote of the stockings.

Yesterday they attempted to read the proceedings of The Delaware Company on the Susquehanna [*sic*], that is, the work of the adventurers on the land in dispute. This point is now before the Court for consideration. Our cause at present stands fair enough, but I foresee it will be

court to be appointed in the manner before prescribed shall be final and conclusive; . . . the judgment or sentence, and other proceedings, being in either case transmitted to Congress and lodged among the Acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned. . . .

¶3—"All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions (as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants) are adjusted—the said grants, or either of them, being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction—shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States."

22. See Hoyt's "Brief of a Title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne," page 43.

23. See Hoyt's "Brief," previously mentioned, page 44.

24. See William B. Reed's "Life of Joseph Reed," II:388, 389.

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very tedious. Colonel Dyer will submit to no order; he speaks twenty times a day, and scarcely ever finishes one sentence completely. Dr. Johnson is the ablest man in the agency; he is a good speaker, and is a man of candor. Our Court, pretty well as courts go. When you write, be careful as to opportunities. I mean, don't trust suspicious hands.

P. S.—Since writing the above, the Court determined not to admit the copy, and soon after the miserable original [Indian deed] was found. What can we think of these folks!

At Trenton, under the date of December 13, 1782, Joseph Reed wrote again to George Bryan, in part, as follows:²⁵

We have now got to summing up the cause, and I think, without being too sanguine, we may justly expect a full decree in our favor. It was agreed to speak alternately. Mr. Root began, making use chiefly of [the Rev. Benjamin] Trumbull's Pamphlet²⁶ as a brief. It was very dull, and much said of the policy of taking off this grant for a new Colony, &c., &c. We expected that each would take up two days, as the evidence is multifarious and prolix, but he finished in two hours, or a little more. Mr. Sergeant followed him, and though he evidently abbreviated, he took up Wednesday and Thursday.

Mr. Wharton came up here to give evidence of the disclaimer of the Indians at Fort Stanwix, but the fear of offending the Delegates from Connecticut was remarkably visible the whole time he was here.

Today Colonel Dyer goes on, and we expect much amusement, though little information. Perhaps we may be surprised; as, indeed, we shall be, if he argues with ability or judgment. Thus we stand at present, and have now a reasonable prospect of dismissal next week, which is the least time that has ever been spent on such a cause. The dispute between New York and New Jersey took up three months. We all grow impatient, but I do not mean to leave this [place] till we have finished.

It will not be possible, in these pages, to give more than a brief account of the proceedings before the Trenton Court of Commissioners. For many of the details of the hearing—the “briefs,” or “notes,” of some of the counsel, certain of the official minutes recorded by the clerk of the court, and for interesting data of a technical and legal character—the reader is referred to “Pennsylvania Archives,” Old Series, IX:679-724, and “Brief of a Title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne,” by the Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, LL. D., sometime Governor of Pennsylvania.

The claim of Pennsylvania, set forth in the “Statement and Representation” filed with the court by the counsel for the State, is printed in

25. See William B. Reed's "Life of Joseph Reed," II:389.

26. Mentioned on page 803, Vol. II.

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Miner's "History of Wyoming," pages 70-72. In support of their claim the Pennsylvanians attacked the Connecticut charters, patents and deeds, so far as their alleged application or reference to lands within the claimed bounds of Pennsylvania was concerned. In brief, the Pennsylvanians held:

I. That in the time of Charles II, the geography of this country was little understood, and the breadth of the continent unknown; and that the King was mistaken and deceived when he used such general words in his charter to Connecticut as, if literally construed, would convey an extent of 3,000 miles.²⁷

II. That it was not the understanding, as appears from the state of the Colony when the charter was granted, that the boundaries of Connecticut extended westward far beyond the Connecticut River.

III. That Connecticut, on several occasions, had waived or, by admissions, estopped herself from asserting, her title to lands west of New York.

IV. That the long silence and non-claim of Connecticut, as to the western lands, had acted as a waiver of her charter right, or, rather, as an evidence of her want of such right.

V. That the charter ought not to be so construed as to include the land in question, because of the immensity of the country which would be embraced within the charter limits.

VI. That the charter gave no title west of New York, because of the interjacency of another province.

VII. That the title of The Susquehanna Company was defective on these grounds: (i) The company never had a formal grant from the Colony of Connecticut; (ii) Acts of Parliament are never used to grant lands—the alienation of lands being executive, not legislative; (iii) the Colony of Connecticut received nothing from the company as a consideration for those lands; (iv) Connecticut never passed any law granting lands to the company in the province of Pennsylvania; (v) the company made its purchase from the Indians, contrary to the laws of Connecticut; (vi) Connecticut never granted the land by any formal grant; (vii) the company never had a sealed patent.

VIII. That the King, in 1763, forbade the settling of this territory.²⁸

IX. That the Indian deed of July 11, 1754, to The Susquehanna Company was null and void—in fact, absolutely worthless—on these grounds: (i) the description of the land, and other material parts,

27. See pages 242-244, Vol. I.

28. In reply to this point the Connecticut agents averred that the order of the King referred to was procured upon *ex-parte* representations made by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and that the King himself, having granted the lands by charter, had no authority reserved to forbid the settlement. In this connection see pages 414 and 415, Vol. I.

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being written on erasures, and in ink different from that used in the major part of the deed; (ii) the deed having been executed at different times and before different subscribing witnesses; (iii) it not having been executed in the open, public, national manner in which the Indians were accustomed to sell and transfer their lands; (iv) it being clandestine, and deceptive in that the amount of the consideration is stated as £2,000, when it was only 2,000 dollars; (v) it being denied by the Six Nation Indians as an act of their confederacy.

Particular stress was laid by the Pennsylvanians on the slovenly and defective character of the last-mentioned deed,²⁹ and it must be admitted that it bears on its face every evidence of having been written and executed in a bungling and slipshod manner. The names of the grantors in the body of the deed, the amount of the consideration money, the description of the territory granted and the date of the execution of the document are all in a different handwriting from, and written with blacker ink than, the major part of the deed. In the list of grantees the name of John Henry Lydins has been carelessly erased, and that of Abraham Lansing substituted. The descriptive part of the deed begins at the top of page "II" of the document (see the photo-reproduction of the same facing page 276, Vol. I), and the lines from the third to the sixth, inclusive, are written on an erasure.

Undoubtedly, the principal proprietors of The Susquehanna Company early conceived the desirability—yea, the necessity—of having a more complete and perfect deed for their purchase, and so, in the summer of 1763, they obtained, from a number of the chief men of some of the tribes of the Six Nations, a brand-new deed for the Wyoming lands—as narrated on page 417, Vol. I.

This deed (with other important papers relating to The Susquehanna Company) was carried to London, in August, 1763, by Colonel Dyer, and when he returned to America, in October, 1764, he left the papers of the Susquehanna Company in the hands of John Gardiner, Esq., of the Inner Temple. The latter gentleman, it seems, later got into some kind of trouble, and "ran away from London without first turning over

29. This deed, the manner in which it was executed, and the opposition early made to it on account of its alleged spuriousness and invalidity, etc., are described at considerable length on pages 269-292, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 307, 332, 396, 400, 410, 411, 416, and 830.

In this connection we desire to correct an erroneous statement made on page 280, to the effect that the name of only one woman appears in the list of grantees in the deed. The names of two women appear—the second being that of "Rachel Millner," to be found in the third column on page 273, *ante*.

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to a representative of The Susquehanna Company, the deed and other papers belonging to the company which were in his hands."³⁰ Colonel Dyer subsequently made several attempts to regain possession of these papers—particularly the Indian deed—but without success.

The common belief of the chief men of The Susquehanna Company *circa* 1782, seems to have been that Gardiner had sent the papers to Colonel Dyer, but that they fell into the hands of a certain agent of the Pennsylvania land-claimers. This belief was plainly set forth years later by Col. John Franklin (see page 1227, Vol. II), in a communication printed in the Wilkes-Barre "Gazette" of September 23, 1800, and reading, in part, as follows:

The papers alluded to were left with Col. John Gardiner, of London, agent for the Susquehanna and Delaware Companies. Col. E. Dyer, who had left the papers with said Gardiner, sent for them a short time before the Revolutionary War. He received a letter from said Gardiner—or, at least, the cover of a packet—that had been gutted of its contents, except a few papers of little consequence. It is since in proof that the aforesaid Indian deed and many other important papers, by some means unknown to the Connecticut agents of The Susquehanna Company, fell into the hands of John Rome, of New York, some time in 1774, who delivered them to Col. Cornelius Cox,³¹ who then lived, and still lives, near Harrisburgh; that the said Cox, sometime in 1776, sent said papers to Col. [Turbutt] Francis³² and ——— Lukens,³³ Esq., of Philadelphia—the said Francis and Lukens being principally concerned for the Pennsylvania Proprietaries; that after the decease of Colonel Francis in [1777] said papers fell into the hands of Tench Coxe, then of Philadelphia and now of Lancaster, Pennsylvania [and Secretary of the Land Office of Pennsylvania]. It is also in proof that the said Tench Coxe has said that he "delivered the said papers to one of the Pennsylvania agents (to wit: the late Judge Wilson) a short time before the Trenton trial." Neither the State of Connecticut nor The Susquehanna Company has ever yet been able to procure them.

Further, with respect to the Indian deeds of 1754 and 1763, we have the testimony of the Rev. Jacob Johnson (see page 744, Vol. II), given in January, 1787, to Col. Timothy Pickering, and recorded by him at that time in his diary,³⁴ as follows:

He [Johnson] believed the Charter of Connecticut was better than

30. See pages 440, 443, and 504, Vol. I.

31. See note, page 1192, Vol. II.

32. See page 489, Vol. I, and 664, Vol. II,

33. John Lukens, sometime Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania. See notes on pages 654 and 861, Vol. II.

34. See the original MS. diary of Colonel Pickering among the "Pickering Papers" (LVII:39), mentioned on page 29, Vol. I.

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that of Pennsylvania; that the Indian deed was a good one; that the original produced at Trenton was not *the fair one*, and was only kept by the Company, but not intended to be used. That after receiving that [one] of the Indians, the Company got another, in a fuller assembly of the Indians, and *this* was perfectly fair. That this had been sent to England. That it had been returned, and fell into the hands of the Pennsylvanians, who kept it and would not produce it at the Federal Court, and they still had it.

Still further, with respect to the disappearance of the deed of 1763, we have the following, to be found in a memorial³⁵ presented to the General Assembly of Connecticut, at Hartford, May 10, 1787, by Col. John Franklin, "in behalf of himself and the rest of the inhabitants settled upon the rivers Delaware and Susquehanna":

That the Penns, by their agents having by mere accident possessed themselves of the Indian Deed to the purchasers, and many other important papers—evidences of the title of this State to the lands aforesaid—applied to the Congress of the United States for the constituting of a Federal Court for the settlement of the jurisdiction, &c. . . . Your memorialists are now able to prove beyond contradiction that the aforesaid deed and evidences of title were actually in the hands of the agents of the State of Pennsylvania before that State made their application to Congress for the establishment of said Federal Court, and that they secreted them until after the aforesaid decree, and now have them in their power and custody.

With respect to the missing deed of 1763, Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 101):

The deed was left by Colonel Dyer in the hands of an agent in England, from whom it was, as is alleged, unfairly obtained by the opposite party, who had it in possession in Philadelphia in 1782, and could and would have produced it at the Trenton trial if it had been vitiated by interlineation; and as they did not, the presumptions were all in favor of its fairness.

What ultimately became of the missing Indian deed of 1763, we are unable now to learn.³⁶

The counsel for Connecticut were well convinced, some time before the trial at Trenton began, that, in the absence of the deed of 1763, they

35. The original is "No. 172" in the collection of documents mentioned in paragraph "(3)," page 29, Vol. I.

36. At Wilkes-Barre, under the date of June 13, 1801, Judge Thomas Cooper and Gen. John Steele, commissioners under the "Compromise Act" of April 4, 1799, and its supplements, wrote to the Hon. Tench Coxe, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Land Office, in part, as follows: "You are also of opinion that, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the seventeen townships are all within the bounds of the purchase of The Sus-

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would have to rely on their deed of July 11, 1754; and so, in the summer of 1782, they had this deed duly recorded among the archives of The Susquehanna Company at Windham, Connecticut, and then, on October 26, 1782, in the office of the Secretary of State of Connecticut—as related on page 289, Vol. I. At the same time the deed from the Indians to The Delaware Company was recorded in the office of the Secretary of State—as mentioned on page 294, Vol. I.

Also, in preparation for the trial at Trenton, the agents of Connecticut obtained in October, 1782, the affidavits of the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Lieut.-Col. Thomas Dyer, Capt. Vine Elderkin, Allen Wightman, Cyprian Lothrop and Capt. William Gallup, hereinbefore printed.³⁷ But whether or not these affidavits, as well as the deposition of the Earl of Stirling³⁸ (taken at the instance of the agents for Pennsylvania), were admitted as evidence by the Trenton Court, we are not able now certainly to determine; but presumably and undoubtedly they were.

The hearing of the cause, including the arguments of counsel, continued until December 24, 1782, when the closing argument was made by Mr. Root. The court then took possession of the various briefs, records and exhibits which had been filed in the case, and proceeded to consider them in secret. On Monday, December 30, 1782, the court reconvened, and pronounced the following decree:³⁹

This Cause has been well argued by the Learned Council on both sides.

The Court are now to pronounce their Sentence or Judgment.

We are unanimously of Opinion that the State of Connecticut has no right to the Lands in Controversy.—

We are also unanimously of Opinion that the Jurisdiction and Pre-emption of all the Territory lying within the Charter boundary of Pennsylvania and now claimed by the State of Connecticut do of Right belong to the State of Pennsylvania.—

[Signed] WM. WHIPPLE
WELCOME ARNOLD
DAV'D BREARLEY
CYRUS GRIFFIN
WILLIAM C. HOUSTON.

Trenton, 30th, Dec'r, 1782.

quehanna Company, we ought to demand inspection of the Indian Deed. We believe that Mr. [John] Franklin has lately [within these two months] procured from a Mr. Pepoom, of Albany, the original deed; but we are persuaded he would not entrust us with it, nor do we know upon what fair plea to insist upon it."—"Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII:455.

37. See pages 291, 475 and 477, Vol. I, and page 630, Vol. II.

38. See pages 288 and 289, Vol. I.

39. See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII:629.

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In forwarding to the Hon. John Dickinson, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, a copy of their decree, the commissioners sent a letter⁴⁰ (written by President Whipple) reading as follows:

TRENTON, 31st December, 1782.

Sir: We take the liberty to address your Excellency, as private citizens lately honored with a Commission to hear and determine the controversy between the State of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, relative to disputed Territory.

In the course of executing this Commission we have found that many Persons are, or lately have been, settled on the lands in Question. *Their individual claims could, in no Instance, come before us*, not being within the line of our appointment. We beg leave to declare to your Excellency that we think *the situation of these People well deserves the notice of Government*. The dispute has long subsisted. It may have produced Heats and Animosities among those living in or near the Country in Contest, and some Imprudences may take place and draw after them the most unfavorable consequences.

With all deference, therefore, we would suggest to your Excellency and the Council, whether it would not be best to adopt some reasonable measures to prevent any, the least, Violence, Disorder or misunderstanding among them; and to continue things in the present peaceable posture until proper steps can be taken *to decide the Controversies respecting the private right of soil*, in the mode prescribed by the Confederation. We doubt not an early Proclamation from the Executive of Pennsylvania would have all necessary good Effects, and we feel ourselves happy in the fullest confidence that every means will be adopted, or acquiesced in, by the State to render the settlement of this dispute complete and satisfactory, as far as may be, to all concerned.

We have the Honour to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient,
And very humble Servants.
To His Excellency JOHN DICKINSON, Esqr.

[Signed] WM. WHIPPLE
WELCOME ARNOLD
W. C. HOUSTON
C. GRIFFIN
DAVID BREARLEY

The foregoing letter was received by President Dickinson, and was filed by him with the Supreme Executive Council January 2, 1783, but no publicity was given to it. Subsequently the letter passed into the pos-

40. See Hoyt's "Brief of a Title in the Seventeen Townships in Luzerne County," page 45.

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session of President Dickinson⁴¹ himself. On February 18, 1790, Col. Timothy Pickering (then living in Wilkes-Barre), having heard that such a letter had been written and signed by the commissioners, wrote to Judge Brearley, inquiring about it and asking for a copy of it. At Trenton, under the date of March 4, 1790, Judge Brearley wrote to Colonel Pickering as follows:⁴²

My first letter to Colonel Neilson⁴³ by some means miscarried. However, I have now got his answer, which is, he has "not got a copy of the letter which is wanted." I am apprehensive it is not to be found. We had *very strong reasons* for writing to the President of Pennsylvania. We were fully acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the New England settlers. We knew that many of them had honestly paid for their possessions; that they verily believed the title, under which they claimed, to be perfectly good; that they had cleared, built upon and improved the lands; that in doing this they had encountered many dangers and suffered innumerable hardships; and beyond all these things—and what cannot be estimated—many of their nearest connections had spilt their blood in defense of their possessions.

Thus circumstanced, it was manifest that they had become enthusiasts for the land; that the reasoning of legislators and statesmen would have but little weight with them; that if the State should attempt to dispossess them, they would become desperate, and a civil war would be the consequence. On the contrary, if the State should quiet them in their possessions, they would become peaceable, good citizens, and that the State would compensate those who held under Pennsylvania title by giving them an equivalent in lands or money at a less expense than that of dispossessing the New England settlers. That, therefore, the interest of humanity and the policy of the State would be to lead them to adopt the measures that we recommended.

The letter bore no official authority. We subscribed it as private citizens. Nevertheless we did conceive that it would have some weight, as it would be apparent that our means of information had been better than those of any other persons who were disinterested.

The following brief but cogent statement of The Susquehanna Com-

41. Surmising that Mr. Dickinson had this letter in his possession, Colonel Pickering wrote concerning it to him at Wilmington, Delaware, March 25, 1793, and a few days later received a reply, in part, as follows: "It gives Me very particular Pleasure, that I have found the Letter from the Commissioners. Confiding that it will be immediately delivered to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, it is enclosed." According to Mrs. Murray's "Old Tioga Point and Early Athens" (page 228) the letter in question is now in possession of the heirs of Edward Herrick, Jr., at Athens, Pennsylvania.

42. See Hoyt's "Brief," page 103.

43. Col. John Neilson, who had been clerk of the Trenton Court. See (†) note page 1296.

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pany's case, as developed at the Trenton trial, is from a letter⁴⁴ written at New York, March 6, 1790, to Col. Timothy Pickering, by Dr. William Samuel Johnson, previously mentioned:

I have just now received your favor of the 3d *inst.*, and as I shall have no time seasonably to answer it, except a few minutes this evening, I instantly sit down to acquaint you that the Susquehanna settlers had *no formal grant from Connecticut*. The reason for which was that their original plan was *to establish a new Government or Colony* in that part of the country, under the Crown of Great Britain. They, therefore, with the approbation of the then Governor of Connecticut, first purchased of the Indians, and then obtained from the General Assembly of Connecticut an approbation of their proceedings and a recommendation of them to the Crown, for the purpose of their being created into a Government.

Application was accordingly made to the Crown for that purpose. But, meeting with many delays at the Court of Great Britain, they again applied to the Assembly of Connecticut, who having, by that time, determined to vindicate their claim to the whole western part of their Patent, they, by several Acts of the Legislature, took the Susquehanna settlers under their protection, extended the jurisdiction of the Colony over them, and established government amongst them.

This was considered by the Colony and the settlers as so full a ratification of all their proceedings, and especially of their Indian purchase, as rendered any formal grant (which at most could amount only to a right of preëmption, or a liberty to purchase of the natives) altogether unnecessary, and therefore none was ever applied for—those Legislative approbations being considered as securing their titles under the Colony more effectually than any grant or deed could do. In fact, by the law of Connecticut the Susquehanna settlers were (previous to the Trenton trial), in holding those lands, regularly under the Colony of Connecticut; and had she been able, at that trial, to have established her title, no question would or could ever have been made but that the said settlers had as good a title to their lands as any settlers in North America.

Concerning the Decree of Trenton, Judge Cyrus Griffin (who had been a member of the Trenton Court) wrote under the date of September 15, 1796,⁴⁵ to Barnabas Bidwell, Esq., of Massachusetts, sometime counsel for The Susquehanna Company, as follows:⁴⁶

Being upon a tour of duty in the line of my office, I had not the pleasure of reading your letter until yesterday.

44. See the "Pickering Papers," LVIII:221.

45. At this time Judge Griffin and Welcome Arnold were the only surviving members of the court.

46. See the "Pickering Papers," LVIII:350, and Hoyt's "Brief," page 46.

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Before the Commissioners determined that important contest between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, it was agreed:

- 1st. That the reasons for the determination should never be given.
- 2d. That the minority should concede the determination as the unanimous opinion of the Court.

No doubt sufficient reasons appeared to us to adopt these preliminary points. Whether strictly justifiable, or at present would be adopted, I will not undertake to say. Perhaps a different course might be pursued; but this I will undertake to say, that no Court ever met and decided a great question less subject to partiality or corruption, or in which more candor and freedom of debate were exercised.

As you seem to suppose, I do not know in what manner the jurisdiction might be considered if tried again; and especially since a number of important discoveries have been made, and a mass of evidence can now be produced which was not known at that time. But I can assure you, Sir, that the Commissioners were unanimously of opinion that *the private right of soil should not be affected by the decision*. The decision was not to reach the question of property in the soil.

We recommended, very strongly—derived from legal and political grounds—that the *settlers should be quieted in all their claims* by an Act of the Pennsylvania Assembly; and that *the right of soil* (if I recollect truly), as derived from Connecticut, *should be held sacred*. Such, however, *I am certain*, was the opinion of the individuals who composed that Court.

The people of Wyoming, generally, viewed the proceedings of the Trenton Court with comparative indifference at first, assuming that the question at issue before the court was as to political jurisdiction only. But, very quickly after the decree had been extensively promulgated and thoroughly discussed by the people, there came a change of opinion. Colonel Pickering recorded in his diary,⁴⁷ under the date of January 24, 1787, at Wilkes-Barre, that he had often heard, previous to that time, that the judges of the Trenton Court had been bribed; and that it was *then* charged “that Colonel Dyer (the most zealous agent on behalf of Connecticut, and one deeply interested in The Susquehanna Company) was also bribed by Pennsylvania to betray the cause of Connecticut and the Company.”

Charles W. Upham, in his “Life of Timothy Pickering” (II:232), says, referring to the Decree of Trenton:

Thus ended the Wyoming controversy between the two States. It ought to have ended strife, and given peace at once and forever to the

47. See the “Pickering Papers,” LVII:39.

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unhappy valley; but it did not. The Government of Pennsylvania ought instantly to have quieted the Connecticut settlers in the possession of their farms with their improvements. The affections and allegiance of such a people would have been worth more than all their lands. But other counsels prevailed, and a new chapter of disorders and troubles was opened.

The following editorial, printed in the "Wyoming Republican and Farmer's Herald" (Kingston, Pennsylvania), August 23, 1837, sets forth briefly an opinion with reference to the Decree of Trenton, which early found lodgment in the minds of the Connecticut settlers in Wyoming, and which continued to strengthen as time went on:

The fact is notorious. I need not argue it now. If called on I will, however, do it, and show conclusively that Wyoming and this western part of Connecticut was, by the Trenton Decree, transferred to Pennsylvania, *not on legal principles*, but on grounds of *National and State policy*, to which Connecticut made only a seeming, not a real, objection; that it was done to consolidate the union of the State—to promote harmony—to *conciliate Pennsylvania*.

Miner, in his "History of Wyoming," page 448, commenting upon the letter of Judge Griffin to Barnabas Bidwell (previously mentioned), declares:

I assume again with the utmost confidence, that my proposition is well established, *viz.*: That the Decree of Trenton, adjudging the jurisdiction to Pennsylvania, was a decision of *policy* and not of *right*; that it could not, and did not, affect the right of soil.

The following paragraphs, relating to the Decree of Trenton, are from an address⁴⁸ entitled "Wyoming; or Connecticut's East India Company," delivered before the Fairfield County Historical Society, Bridgeport, Connecticut, April 21, 1893, by Henry T. Blake, Esq., of New Haven, Connecticut:

There are grounds to believe that this decision was not entirely unexpected, or even disagreeable, to Connecticut, for reasons which do not appear on the surface. So many States had conflicting claims to western territory that there was every prospect of inextricable confusion and controversy, and possibly a disruption of the Confederacy, unless there could be mutual adjustment and compromise on this subject. That there was some secret understanding between Connecticut and Pennsylvania is indicated by the fact that, immediately after the Trenton Decree

48. See "Reports and Papers, Fairfield County Historical Society, 1896-97," page 45.

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Connecticut ceded to Congress all her lands lying west of Pennsylvania—reserving, however, a certain tract in Ohio, since known as the Western Reserve.

These Ohio lands were also claimed by Virginia, and if the title of Connecticut was bad to the Wyoming Valley, it was bad, for the same reasons, to all land west of it. Yet, on the question whether Congress would accept the cession and recognize the right of Connecticut to keep the Western Reserve (a question which gave rise to much debate), Pennsylvania always voted with Connecticut, and, in one instance, in opposition to all the other States.

The Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, in his scholarly and admirable "Brief of A Title in the Seventeen Townships in Luzerne County," makes some "personal reflections" on the facts relating to the trial at Trenton, and the "decree," in part, as follows:

The Connecticut Charter of 1662 fairly included the territory described in its limits, as contended for by its partizans.

No action was ever taken by the Crown to vacate it or modify its bounds.

No legal necessity existed to purchase the Indian title; and what is called "the right of preëmption" is unmeaning and insignificant as between Colonies. The Indian title and possession was a lien, or incumbrance, which was to be extinguished or not, at the option of grantees. The charters were not granted subject to Indian titles.

One cannot well escape a sort of general intuitive conviction that the Court at Trenton worked out the correct result. There is, it is true, no defect in the technical legal title of the Colony of Connecticut. The difficulty is, therefore, to account for this instinctive conclusion against it. Throwing the settlers and their private rights out of the case, I think the weak link in the chain lies here: From the date of Penn's charter, in 1681, to the year 1773, Connecticut had not definitely "asserted title," either by legislative enactment or popular movement. Neither the Colonial authorities nor the leading men had, evidently, set any great store by, or taken any action based on, their possessions west of New York. . . .

The movement of The Susquehanna Company was in accordance with the genius of the whole northern colonization scheme.

In *Carkuff vs. Anderson*, 3 Binn., 10, Justice Brackenridge said: "The appearance of right which The Susquehanna Company, a people of Connecticut, had to advance a claim to this district of country, is in my mind in considering the case before me. I do not view them in the light of trespassers, with a full knowledge of their want of title. At all events, the bulk of them do not appear to have been apprised of their want of title, and I make a great distinction between trespassers knowing, or having good reason to know, their defect of title, and such as may rea-

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sonably be supposed to be ignorant of what they are about. Before the Decree of Trenton, the most intelligent and the best informed might have been led to believe that the part of the country in question *was settled under a good title* from the State of Connecticut. But, in favor of those who had settled under the idea of a good title, and with an expectation of enjoying the land which they were *improving and defending*, at a great risk and with much loss, from the common enemy during the Revolutionary War, *there is a claim* which ought not wholly to be disregarded. I do not call it a *right*, but a claim on the ground of moral obligation."

Connecticut, at Trenton, did not insist on her *historical* claim to all lands in Pennsylvania north of Latitude 41 North, nor even to all the lands comprised within the Indians' deed of 1754 to The Susquehanna Company. Her final stand was made on the settlements and improvements made in the county of Westmoreland. There would seem to be no doubt that proof was offered, and successfully, before the Court, of actual settlements under Pennsylvania, and under rights derived from the Proprietaries in 1730, 1732 and 1740—thus prior to any others. . . .

At the time of the Decree of Trenton the Colonies, grown into States, had hardened and settled into definite and reasonable municipal limits, and that Decree was correct, both *in right and policy*; saving, as it did, "the private right of soil." The problem came now between them and the actual *bona fide* warrantees of a Pennsylvania title. It was a question of real difficulty and delicacy. The land speculators, not numerous, but influential, were reckless and clamorous. The people, the best publicists and the ablest lawyers gave long and anxious consideration over some device by which a sovereign State might protect its own grantees, and deal justly with the claimants under another sovereignty.

The Connecticut settlers had, unquestionably, the sympathy and best wishes of the real population of Pennsylvania. Of late years they had felt no great interest in the Proprietaries. The Yankees had borne themselves patiently, defiantly it may be, but heroically, without the assertion of any title except to the land under their feet, which they had dug out of the forests and wilderness. They had been a sober, steady people, attending faithfully to the serious affairs of life; they had been efficient promoters of churches and schools; they were no bandits or border ruffians; they brought with them as high views and lofty purposes in American citizenship as the most chivalrous and scholarly entertained.

There were, doubtless, adventurers among them; but, in war or peace, they illustrated the best results of the bold, free tendencies of Americans. They were a brave, hardy and proud community. They had, of their own resources, defended themselves and the frontier of the State of Pennsylvania. The overruling supreme equity of the case, enforced by the unyielding attitude of the settlers, led to the adoption of the final legal device, and the acquiescence of all in it—open, as it may be, to some constitutional criticism.

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It will surprise us to find that, in fact as finally adjusted, no fully litigated case ever arose out of the whole unhappy business. There were bluster, threats, vexation and outrage, but the heart of the settler's title was never pierced. Of the men sent to execute the unsettled and unsteady purposes of Pennsylvania, it may be said that, notwithstanding the estimate, in which they and their memories are held, deservedly or not, they must be credited with the supposition that they were acting in the line of duty.

With the advent of the year 1783 "Peace, which waved its cheering olive branch over every other part of the Union, healing the wounds inflicted by ruthless War, soothing the sorrows of innumerable children of affliction, and kindling the lamp of Hope in the dark chamber of Despair, came not to the broken-hearted people of Wyoming."

By the Decree of Trenton, Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley, as part of the territory which had been in controversy between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, were—for the first time since Wilkes-Barre was founded, more than thirteen years before—formally declared by unbiased competent authority to be actually and legally within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania. Furthermore, as a result of this decree the settlers in Wyoming, under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company, were left, single-handed, to manage their own case. "The State of Connecticut had never, in fact, done anything for the Wyoming settlers. They 'recognized' them, but in a way that the 'recognition' cost nothing. They levied large taxes upon them, but they returned nothing for their defense. *They dropped them, incontinently, after the Decree of Trenton.*"⁴⁹

Immediately upon the receipt at Wyoming of definite information as to the decision of the Trenton Court, the Yankee settlers here got busy—as we learn from the following paragraph gleaned from the unpublished "Historical Sketches of Wyoming,"⁵⁰ by Col. John Franklin:

On the 4th of January, 1783, an Express arrived at Wyoming from Trenton, by whom we had information that the Court of Commissioners, appointed by Congress for the purpose of determining the right of jurisdiction over the territory of country then in controversy between the States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, had determined the same in favor of Pennsylvania. January 6th a meeting of the inhabitants of Wyoming was held at Wilkes-Barre to advise on measures necessary to

49. The Hon. Henry M. Hoyt in "Brief of a Title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne," page 53.

50. The original MS. of these "Sketches" was, in 1874, in the possession of O. N. Worden.

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be taken. Captain John P. Schott⁵¹ was appointed Agent for the settlers, with directions to repair immediately to Philadelphia to consult with the Agents from Connecticut [Messrs. Dyer, Johnson and Root], supposed to be at that place, and to petition the Assembly, then sitting at Philadelphia, in such manner as should be thought most proper and beneficial for the inhabitants at Wyoming.

On the same day that the town meeting of Wyoming Yankees was held at Wilkes-Barre the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania convened at Philadelphia. The Decree of Trenton, and the accompanying documents forwarded by the late Court of Commissioners, having been duly filed, the Council resolved "that a proclamation be issued giving notice of the said decree, and also for preserving peace and quieting the minds of the people settled on the lands lately disputed between this State and Connecticut, and requiring the settlers to pay their obedience to the laws of this Commonwealth."⁵² Whereupon, the same day, a proclamation, signed by John Dickinson, President, and attested by Timothy Matlack, Secretary, was duly prepared, and, a few days later, having been printed, was carefully disseminated.

This proclamation,⁵³ setting forth, first, the "judgment" of the Trenton Court of Commissioners, continued as follows:

We have thought fit to make known and proclaim, and do hereby make known and proclaim, the same; and we do hereby charge, enjoin and require all persons whatsoever, and more especially such person and persons who, under the authority or countenance of the late Colony, now State of Connecticut, either before or since the Declaration of Independence, have entered upon and settled lands within the bounds of this State, to take notice of the said judgment, and pay due obedience to the laws of this Commonwealth.

AND WHEREAS, There is reason to fear that the animosities and resentments which may have arisen between the people who, under the authority or countenance of the said late Colony, now State, of Connecticut, as aforesaid, have made settlements within the bounds of this State, and the citizens of Pennsylvania who claim the lands whereon such settlements have been made, may induce some of the latter to endeavor to gain possession of the said lands by force and violence, contrary to

51. In fact, the settlers appointed at this time Col. Nathan Denison, Hugh Forseman, Obadiah Gore, Samuel Shippard and Capt. John Paul Schott to act as their agents; and it was voted that one or more of these agents should repair to Philadelphia without delay to "consult," "petition," &c. Captain Schott was subsequently selected by his co-agents as the one to perform this service. (For a sketch of the life of Captain Schott, and his portrait, see page 1163, Vol. II.)

52. See "Pennsylvania Colonial Record," XIII:474.

53. See "Pennsylvania Archives," 4th Series, III:873.

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law, whereby the peace of the State may be endangered and individuals greatly injured, we do hereby strictly charge and enjoin all persons whatsoever to forbear molesting, or in any wise disturbing, any person or persons who, under the authority or countenance of the late Colony, now State, of Connecticut, as aforesaid, have settled lands within the bounds of this State, until the Legislature or courts of justice shall have made laws or passed judgment in such case, as to right and justice may appear to belong, as such person offending therein shall answer the contrary at their peril.

And we do hereby charge, enjoin and require all judges, justices, sheriffs, and other peace officers, to use their authority to prevent offenses and to punish, according to law, all offenses committed, or to be committed, against any of the people so, as aforesaid settled under the authority or countenance of the said late Colony, now State, of Connecticut, as aforesaid, on lands within this State, and who pay due obedience to the laws thereof, as in case of like offenses against any of the citizens of this State.

Captain Schott, who, as previously related, had been appointed one of the "Agents" for the Wyoming settlers, repaired to Philadelphia as soon thereafter as possible. Whether or not he found there the "Agents from Connecticut," we are unable to state; but he found some one of ability, and with fair command of the English language (which *he* had not), who prepared a petition, or memorial, to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, which was signed by Captain Schott, at Philadelphia, January 18, 1783, and was presented to the House, the same day.

This document,⁵⁴ deserving of the reader's special attention, was worded as follows:

To the Honorable the Representatives of the freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met

The memorial and address of Nathan Denison, Hugh Forseman, Obadiah Gore, Samuel Shippard and John Paul Schott, inhabitants, set-

54. See Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 311. Commenting on this memorial Miner says: "The style is markedly peculiar. We pronounce with great confidence, from internal evidence, that it could not have been written in Wyoming. It exhibits in no particular the peculiar characteristics of the style either of [John] Franklin or [John] Jenkins, the ready writers of the settlers. From all which we infer that the petition was prepared below the mountains, probably by the Connecticut Agents at Trenton."

Concerning this document the late Steuben Jenkins, Esq., in an address delivered before The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, February 11, 1881, and published in the "Proceedings" of the society for 1881 (Vol. I, page 32), said: "John Paul Schott, who signed the memorial of submission for the settlers, had permitted the friends of the Pennsylvania Government to draw the memorial; and they had injected into it such a display of weakness and pusillanimity that the Pennsylvania land-sharks thought they had the settlers fully in their toils, and could play with them at their pleasure, as cats frequently play with their victims before putting them to death and devouring them."

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tlers and proprietors of a territory of country situated on the waters of the Susquehanna River, under the claim of the State of Connecticut, on behalf of themselves and others of the inhabitants, settlers, etc., of the said country—

Most respectfully sheweth: That in the year 1754 a number of the inhabitants of Connecticut, finding all the lands eastward of the line of the State of New York settled and appropriated, proceeded to purchase of the Six Nations a large territory of country, extending from the Delaware westward about one hundred and sixty miles, and in breadth the whole forty-[second] degree of North latitude; and gave a valuable consideration, supposing that, without dispute, the aforesaid territory was included in the Charter granted them by King Charles II, April 3, 1662; and formed themselves into a company of proprietors, by the consent of the Legislature, and regulated by the laws of said State, and proceeded to locate the valuable lands situated on the Eastern Branch of the Susquehanna River, the full breadth of the forty-second degree, extending six miles east and twenty miles west of said river.

Having no apprehension that any royal grant covered the same, either previous or subsequent to the aforesaid Charter of Connecticut, they proceeded to plant themselves through said territory and cultivate the same (among which number of settlers are your petitioners, and those whom they represent), in full confidence of the justice of our title under Connecticut. With the most honest intentions we uniformly maintained our supposed right, by opposing persons claiming under the Pennsylvania Proprietary, who frequently interrupted us in what we esteemed our lawful business.

Constantly wishing for an absolute decision between the two States, concerning jurisdiction, we used every effort to expedite such decision, resolutely determined to maintain the title which we had acquired, until a more equitable one could be established. In the year 1763, and a number of successive years, appeals were made to the Crown by one and the other State, for a final decision, which were yet depending when the commencement of the present war put a period to all appeals to the Crown. In the course of which appeals the opinion of counsel, most eminent and learned in the law, was taken, who advised (as we apprehended) fully in favor of the claim of Connecticut. This greatly encouraged your memorialists that they were right in supporting their claim.

In 1774 the Legislature of the State of Connecticut asserted their claim, and erected civil jurisdiction and complete civil and military establishments according to the laws and usages of said State; which led your memorialists into a greater confidence of their security under said State, and induced them to build houses and mills for their convenience, and to cultivate a country which we esteemed our own. Since that time attempts have been made to dispossess us in a hostile manner, which the law of

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self-preservation obliged us to oppose—in the course of which there were faults on both sides, which we hope may be canceled, and buried in oblivion.

The right of jurisdiction was always esteemed important to the claiming State, and more especially to the settlers and tenants who have ventured their all there, and who were combating difficulties and dangers in every shape.

After recourse to Great Britain was cut off, it was provided that, in all disputes concerning boundaries, jurisdiction, etc., the United States, in Congress, should be the last resort and appeal. That judges be appointed to hear and determine the matter in question; and that the sentence of the Court be decisive between the parties. And also in all controversies—the private right of soil being claimed under different grants of two or more States, etc.,—said grants, etc., shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, pursuant to this provision.

The Honorable Congress established a Court; both States were cited, and appeared; the cause was heard for more than forty days; the grounds were stated on which each State asserted their right of jurisdiction. On which the Court finally adjudged in favor of the State of Pennsylvania, by which the jurisdiction of the disputed territory, on which your memorialists live, is adjudged yours. By this adjudication we are under your jurisdiction and protection. We are subjects and free citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, and have to look up to your Honours as our fathers, guardians and protectors, entitled to every tender regard and respect as to justice, equity, liberty and protection, on which we depend, and which we are warranted to do by the impartial treatment that all, even strangers, have received when once they became inhabitants and citizens of this great and flourishing State.

Thus have we stated the grounds on which our title was established; which, though determined to be ill-grounded by the Honorable Court, appeared to be founded in the highest reason, and we verily thought it our duty to do as we did. If we have committed faults, we pray for mercy and forgiveness. If we have deserved anything, we hope for something from the gratitude of our country.

We have settled a country, in its original state but of little value; but now, cultivated by your memorialists, is to them of the greatest importance, being their all. *We* are yet alive, but the richest blood of our neighbors and friends—children, husbands and fathers—has been spilt in the general cause of their country, and *we have suffered every danger this side death!* We supplied the Continental army with many valuable officers and soldiers, and left ourselves weak, and unguarded against the attacks of the savages and others of a more savage nature. Our houses are desolate—many mothers childless—widows and orphans mul-

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tiplied—our habitations destroyed—and many families reduced to beggary—which exhibits a scene most pitiful and deserving of mercy.

If the greatest misfortunes can demand pity and mercy, we greatly deserve them. That the country, twenty-six miles in breadth and the length aforesaid, when compared with the extended territory of the State of Pennsylvania, is trifling indeed. That the present population is of far more consequence to this State than the [Wyoming] country could have been in an uncultivated state. We are yet entitled to another trial for our particular possessions, according to the IXth Article of the Confederation; but, reduced in every respect, we are unable to maintain a trial against an opulent State. We therefore present a request, which the laws of justice and policy suggest, and which the dictates of humanity demand.

That your Honours, of your abundant goodness and clemency, would be pleased to grant and confirm to your memorialists, and those whom they represent, the inconsiderable part of the claim contested, extended as above, to be apportioned [held?] as they were before the decision. Thus will you increase the inhabitants of this flourishing State, will add to its wealth and strength, will give joy to the widow and fatherless. Sure these must be irresistible motives to a just, generous and merciful Assembly. Our only resource is in your decision. If that is unfavorable, we are reduced to desperation. Unable to purchase the soil, we must leave our cultivations and possessions, and be thrown into the wide world, our children crying for bread which we shall be unable to give them.

It is impossible that the magnanimity of a powerful and opulent State will ever condescend to distress an innocent and brave people that have unsuccessfully struggled against the ills of fortune. *We care not under what State we live*, if we can be protected and happy. We will serve you—we will promote your interests—will fight your battles; but in mercy, goodness, wisdom, justice and every great and generous principle, do leave us our possessions, the dearest pledge of our brothers, children and fathers, which their hands have cultivated and their blood spilt in the cause of their country—has enriched.

We further pray, that a general *Act of oblivion and indemnity* may be passed, and that Courts of Judicature be established according to the usages and customs of this State, that we may be not only a happy but a well-organized and regulated people; and that all judicial proceedings of the prerogative courts and the common law courts, held by and under the authority of the State of Connecticut, be ratified and fully confirmed. And they, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

About the time the foregoing memorial was presented to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, a petition was presented to it signed by Simon Spalding, Stephen Fuller, Nathaniel Davenport, Daniel Whit-

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ney, Solomon Perkins, Isaac Baldwin, the heirs of Christopher Cartwright, Joseph Elliott, Joseph Hageman, Asahel Burnham, Conrad Lyons, Preserved Cooley, William Stark, Lawrence Myers, Samuel Shippard,⁵⁵ and others, inhabitants of Wyoming, praying for a grant of lands in lieu of those they had lost (?) by the Decree of Trenton. This petition was duly referred to a committee of the House.

On January 23, 1783, President Dickinson of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania formally addressed the House of Representatives on "various matters of State policy." The second matter to which he referred in his address was the Decree of Trenton, and concerning it he said:⁵⁶

The second is highly interesting in every point of view. The peaceable and conclusive settlement of a dispute between two such powerful sovereign States, concerning a large and valuable territory, and the jurisdiction over it, casts a light upon the American character (the *martial* spirit of which has been fully and recently displayed) that must attract the attention and esteem of the world.

This uncommon occurrence will furnish to the good and wise a pleasing page in the mournful history of human discords; and we fervently wish, for the repose of mankind, it may be deemed worthy of imitation. It reflects great honor, also, on the Confederation, by yielding a memorable proof of its political energy—having been accomplished in the mode thereby prescribed—and strengthens the bands of the Union, by evincing that it is the best protection against internal mischiefs, as well as against external dangers. Thus the fears of the apprehensive who expected, and the hopes of the disaffected who wished for, confusions, are dissipated, and an agreeable presage is formed of the like salutary effects attending similar contests in the future, which cannot fail of giving the firmest stability to the whole system of our affairs. . . .

This determination will be of the utmost importance to the prosperity of Pennsylvania, if all the benefits are derived from it that probably may be obtained by a prudent management. We have issued a proclamation for preserving peace and for quieting the minds of the people on the lands lately disputed, a copy of which, together with other papers relating

55. Col. John Franklin, in a "Plain Truth" article printed in "The Luzerne Federalist" (Wilkes-Barre), September 21, 1801, referred to this petition in these words: "A petition was started by Samuel Shippard, a New Jersey man, a lieutenant in the Jersey Line, in Captain Mitchell's company, which company had been stationed at Wyoming some time in the beginning of the year 1781 (as near as I can recollect), and continued there until after the Trenton Decree. Lieutenant Shippard resigned his commission when the company was called out to join the army. Shippard remained at Wyoming some time after. He never owned a foot of land at Wyoming under the Connecticut title."

56. See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III :876.

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to the affair, shall be immediately sent to you. We rely on the Legislature that such further measures will be adopted as shall be most advisable for improving to the best advantage the decision that has been made.

A large number of the inhabitants of Wyoming, who had come hither among the earliest settlers under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company, were discouraged and disheartened by the Decree of Trenton. In consequence, after a considerable discussion of the situation of affairs, the following agreement⁵⁷ was drawn up and signed at Wilkes-Barre:

We the subscribers hereby covenant and agree to and with each other, and jointly petition the Assembly of the State of New York for a tract of land situate on the waters of the Susquehanna and within the limits of said State, sufficient for us the subscribers, our families, and those who were Distressed and Drove from here by the savages in 1778; and also do hereby appoint Obadiah Gore our agent, with full power and authority to apply to the Governor and Senate of said State, or to the General Assembly, or to any Board within and for said State, proper to make application to for lands as aforesaid; and in our names and behalf to petition, &c., according to his best Discretion.

In Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands at Westmoreland, this 12th day of February, 1783.

Armstrong, Sarah
Andrews, Samuel
Aylsworth, Philip
Alden, Prince
Alden, Prince, Jr.
Alden, Andrew S.
Alden, Mason F.
Alden, Lydia
Ayles, Samuel
Ayles, Wm.
Atherton, James
Atherton, James, Junr.
Atherton, Asel
Atherton, Wm.
Atherton, Cornelius
Avery, Wm.
Avery, Jonathan
Avery, Solomon
Avery, Richardson

Avery, Richardson, Junr.
Avery, Christopher
Allington, Thos.
Annis, Charles
xAlden, John
xAlden, Daniel
xAyres, Dan'l
Bullock, Nathan
Bullock, Elias
Burnham, Asel
Barnum, Richd.
Bennet, Solomon
Bennet, Andrew
Bennet, Sarah
Bennet, Thomas
Bennet, Asa
Bennet, Ishmael
Bennet, Ishmael, Junr.
Benjamin, Isaac

57. The original agreement was written by Obadiah Gore, Jr. The names of the subscribers to it having been secured, they were arranged alphabetically by Mr. Gore, and the names of all minors were indicated thus: "x." In March, 1907, this document came into the possession of Mr. Samuel N. Rhoads, of Philadelphia.

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| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Brockway, Sarah | xCary, Comfort |
| Bark, Thomas, (? Buck) | xCary, Benjn. |
| Beach, Zerach | Cooper, Price |
| Blanchard, Mary | Cook, Reuben |
| Blanchard, John | Cooke, Nathaniel |
| Blanchard, Peggy | Cady, Manasseh |
| Blanchard, Andrew | Cooley, Preserved |
| Bidlack, James | Cole, Benjn. |
| Bidlack, Benjn. | Cole, James |
| Bidlack, James, heirs | Cole, John |
| Bidlack, Shubael | Comstock, John |
| Bingham, Augustus | Clark, Benjn. |
| Billings, Matthew | Clark, Joseph |
| Brockway, Richd. | Clark, Elias |
| Baldwin, Isaac | Carpenter, Benjn. |
| Baldwin, Waterman | Cuysar, Benjn. (or Cussar) |
| Baldwin, Thomas | Carr, John |
| Baldwin, Isaac, Junr. | Crow, Roger |
| Budel, Frederick | Chapman, Abigail |
| Bigelow, Oliver | Church, Gideon |
| Bickford, Jeremiah, heirs | Church, Jonathan |
| Buck, William | xChurch, Joseph |
| Buck, Elijah | xChurch, Almon |
| xBuck, Asahel | Drake, Elisha |
| Brown, Moses | Denison, Nathan |
| Brown, Thomas | xDenison, Lazarus |
| xBrown, Ezekiel | xDrake, Eliphalet |
| Bailey, Benjn. | Decker, Henry |
| Butler, Lord | Decker, Andrew |
| Butler, Zebulon | Draper, Amos |
| Bates, Caleb | Draper, Simeon |
| Brokaw, Abraham | Draper, Simeon, heirs |
| Coe, Samuel | Dorrance, John |
| Corey, Joseph | Dorrance, Widow Betty |
| Corey, Gabriel | Durkee, Robert, heirs |
| Corey, Jonathan | Dyer, Eliphalet |
| Corey, Jenks, heirs | Eveland, Frederick |
| Cary, Elnathan | xEveland, Frederick, Junr. |
| Cary, Barnabas | Evans, Nathaniel |
| Cary, John | xEvans, Luke |
| xCary, John | Elliott, Joseph |
| Cary, Nathan | Elliott, Henry |
| Cary, Elihu | Franklin, Roasel |
| Cary, John | Franklin, Sam'l. |
| xCary, Baranabas, Junr. | Franklin, John |

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Fairchild, Ebenezer
 Forsyth, Jonathan
 Fish, Jabez
 Fitch, Elnathan
 Fish heirs (Jehn or John)
 Fry, heirs, Nathaniel
 Fuller, John
 xFuller, Reuben
 Fitzgerald, Robert
 Frisbie, James
 xFrisbie, Jonathan
 Forseman, Alexander
 Forseman, Hugh
 Gore, Obadiah
 Gore, Silas, heirs
 Gore, Asa, heirs
 Gore, Daniel
 Gore, Samuel
 Gore, John
 Gore, Avery
 xGore, Welthy
 xGore, Annah
 xGore, Sarah
 xGore, Asa
 xGore, Daniel, Junr.
 xGore, George
 xGore, Hannah 2d
 Gardner, Benjn.
 Gardner, Peregrine
 Goss, Nathl.
 Goss, Solomon
 Gibson, Alexander
 Gibson, Thomas
 Gallup, Thomas
 Gordon, Samuel
 Gregory, Jehiel
 Grimes, James
 xGrimes, Shawne
 xGreen, Willard
 Hollenback, Math.
 Hollenback, John
 Harris, Elijah
 xHarris, Charles
 xHopkins, Joseph
 Hopkins, Timothy

Hawks, Thomas
 Houk, Wm.
 Heberd, Ebenezer
 Hamilton, Gurden
 Hartsoff, Zechariah
 Hurlbutt, John
 Hurlbutt, Christopher
 Hurlbutt, Naphthali
 Hover, Samuel
 Hallet, Samuel
 Hewlet, Samuel
 Holister, Samuel
 Halstead, Richard
 Halstead, Richard, Junr.
 Harding, Henry
 Harding, Thos.
 Harvey, Benjn.
 Harvey, Elisha
 Harvey, Lucy
 Hammond, John
 Hammond, Joseph
 Hammond, Isaac
 Hammond, Lebbens
 Hammond, Oliver
 Hammond, Josiah
 Ingersoll, Daniel
 xIngersoll, Francis
 Inman, Richard
 Inman, Elijah
 xInman, Edward
 xInman, Elijah, heirs
 Johnson, Rev. Jacob
 xJohnson, Jehoida
 Johnson, Wm.
 Johnson, Turner
 Johnson, Sabin
 Johnson, Saml. Wm.
 xJohnson, Jacob, Junr.
 xJohnson, Nehemiah
 xJohnson, Wm.
 Jameson, Alexander
 Jameson, Abigail
 Jacobs, John
 Jewel, Joshua
 Jackson, Frederick

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Joslan, Thos.
 xJoslan, Thos., Junr.
 Jenkins, John
 Jenkins, Benjn.
 Judd, Wm.
 Kelsey, Abner
 Kingsley, Nathan
 Kingsley, Wareham
 xKingsley, Roswell
 xKingsley, Chester
 Kinne, Joseph
 Kerney, Samuel
 Kenedy, John
 xLane, Daniel
 Lane, Nathan
 xLane, Nathan, Junr.
 xLane, David
 Landon, Nathaniel
 Leonard, Joseph
 Lewis, Benjn.
 Lester, Betty
 Louterman, John
 Lewis, Mary
 Leffingwell, Elisha
 Leffingwell, Andrew
 McClure, Thomas
 xMcClure, Thomas, Junr.
 McClure, Wm.
 xMcClure, John
 Minor, John
 Myers, Lawrence
 McDaniel, James
 McDowel, Robert
 McDowel, Dan'l.
 Marcy, Zebulon
 Marcy, Ebenezer
 Murphy, John, heirs
 Northrop, Nathan
 Nelson, William
 Nash, Phinehas
 Nash, Asel
 Nisbitt, James
 Nisbitt, Abraham
 Nobells, James
 Nobells, John

Nobells, Timothy B.
 Nobells, Jedediah
 Neill, Thos.
 O'Neal, John
 Pell, Josiah
 Phillips, John
 Phillips, Francis
 Pike, Abraham
 Prichard heirs, Jonathan
 xPrichet, Abel
 Pierce, Pelatiah
 Pierce, Phinehas
 Pierce, Chester
 Pierce, Timothy, heirs
 Pettebone, Phebe
 Pettebone, Noah
 Phelps, Joel
 Park, Darius
 Park, Ebenezer
 xPark, Benjn.
 Perkins, Solomon
 xPreston, Joseph
 Ryon, John
 Ransom, Sam'l, Junr.
 Ransom, Sam'l, heirs
 Roath, Robert
 Randall, Joseph
 Reed, Thos.
 Reed, Widow
 Roads, Isaac
 Roases, Dan'l
 Reynolds, Eli
 Reynolds, Eli, Junr.
 Richard, Henry
 Richard, Casper
 Rogers, Jonah
 Rogers, Josiah
 xRogers, Jonah, Junr.
 xRogers, Joseph, Junr.
 xRogers, Joze
 xRogers, Elihu
 xRogers, Joel
 Ross, Wm.
 Root, Jesse
 Stark, Henry

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xStark, Wm. Junr.
 xStark, Nathan
 Stark, James
 xSlocum, Ebenezer
 xSlocum, Benjn.
 Slocum, Wm.
 Slocum, Jonathan, heirs
 Smith, Benjn.
 Smith, Abel
 Smith, Frederick
 Smith, Oliver
 Smith, Oliver, Junr.
 Smith, Lockwood
 Sutton, James
 Stevens, Uriah
 Stevens, Uriah, Junr.
 Stevens, John
 Stevens, Phinehas
 Stoddard, Thomas
 Sweet, Lois Harvey
 Sheldon, Stephen
 Satterlee, John
 Satterlee, Elisha
 Sullivan, Dan'l
 Sawyer, Thos. heirs
 Sheppard, Stephen
 Shippard, Sam'l.
 Stewart, George
 Spencer, Edward
 Spencer, Walter
 Spencer, Caleb
 Sprague, Joseph
 Sanford, David
 Sanford, Ephraim
 Stanbury, Josiah
 Spalding, Simon
 Spalding, John
 Stafford, John
 Smith, James
 Smith, John
 Smith, Wm.
 Terry, Parshal
 Tilbury, Abraham
 Tyler, Ephraim
 Tyler, Joseph

Thomas, Joseph
 Tubbs, Samuel
 Tubbs, Lebbens
 Tubbs, John
 Tuttle, Benjn.
 Terril, Matthew
 Treadway, Sam'l
 Travis, Absalom
 Tripp, Job
 xTripp, John
 xTripp, Wm.
 Trucks, Wm.
 Upson, Asa, heirs
 xUpson, Dan'l.
 Utley, Oliver
 Underwood, Isaac
 Underwood, Timothy
 Van Campen, Isaac
 Van Norman, Isaac
 Van Norman, Ephraim
 Van Gorden, Jeremiah
 Woodward, Park
 Woodworth, Jonathan
 Williams, Nath'l.
 Williams, Asher
 Williams, Wm.
 Walker, Ed., heirs
 Walter, Ashbel
 Waller, Nathan
 Westbrook, Abraham
 Westbrook, Richard
 Westbrook, James
 Westbrook, Leonard
 Watrous, Walter
 Winship, Jabez
 West, Eleazer
 West, Clement
 West, Richard
 Warner, William
 Whitney, James
 Young, John
 Young, Robt.
 Yarrington, Abel
 [Total, 396.]

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With this document in his possession Mr. Gore⁵⁸ proceeded to Kingston, Ulster County, New York, where the New York State Legislature was then sitting. (Kingston is some thirty miles up the Hudson from Newburgh, where, from April, 1782, until August, 1783, General Washington had his headquarters.) There Mr. Gore drew up the following petition:⁵⁹

To the Honble. the Legislature of the State of New York. In Senate and Assembly met:

The petition of Obadiah Gore, in behalf of himself and a number of Inhabitants of Wyoming on the Susqh. river, humbly Sheweth that your honours memorialist and those he represents have been at Great Expense and Trouble in settling an Extent of Territory on sd. Susquh. under the claim of Connecticut with the most honest Intentions, &c., but being a Frontier and upward of Two hundred of our ablest men Engaged in the Service of the United States, either for During the war or three years, whereby our settlements were left weak against the Unexpected attacks of the Savages and Others of more Savage Natures. Whereby we have suffered almost a Total loss of our property by the calamity of War, and the Hon'ble board of commissioners appointed to Settle the Controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania have given their Opinions in favour of the latter, which renders us still more miserable, having to leave the premises in about one year.

AND WHEREAS there is an Extent of Territory lying on the waters of the said Susqh. river and within the limits of the State of New York the most Easy of access to us, which is not yet appropriated or located;

These are therefore to pray your honours of your abundant goodness to take the matters aforesaid into consideration, and grant that the lands on the Susqh. river beginning near the mouth of Owego Creek, or where the Pennsylvania line crosses the said Susqh. river, and extending up said river (and including the waters of the same) to Onoquaga,⁶⁰ be appropriated and surveyed, and a grant thereof of five hundred acres to each of your honours memorialists for an Encouragement to make an Immediate settlement so soon as the situation of the times will permit (with restrictions of the like nature to enforce compliance on the part of your honours memorialists) as an Immediate settlement of those lands will open a Door for a large Increase of Inhabitants into this flourishing State. It will add to its wealth and strength, and Inhance the value of the other Unappropriated lands, &c.

58. At this time Obadiah Gore was clerk of the County Court of Westmoreland, and shortly after his departure for Kingston John Jenkins, Sr., was appointed clerk *pro tem.*, "and sworn to serve only until the Return of Obadiah Gore, who is now absent."

59. The original became the property of Samuel N. Rhoads, of Philadelphia, in March, 1907.

60. Oghwaga. See pages 257 and 667.

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Or, we pray that land may be granted us in such Quantitys and on such Terms as your honours in your wisdom shall think fit.

And your memorialist as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

[Signed] OBADH. GORE, in behalf of the
inhabitants of Wyoming.

Dated at Kingstown, March 10th, 1783.

This petition and the agreement signed by the Wyoming inhabitants (as previously mentioned) were presented to the Senate of New York on March 12, 1783, and, having been read, were referred to a committee composed of Senators Scott, Schuyler and Duane. Friday morning, March 21st, 1783, the Senate met pursuant to adjournment, when Senator Scott, from "the Committee on the petition of Obadiah Gore and others, delivered a report, which was read, etc., and then the Senate resolved":

WHEREAS, It appears that the tract of country on which the inhabitants of Wyoming are settled has furnished a quota of fighting men, who have served in the United States Army; that they suffered a great loss of property during the war; that their settlement was made under the government of Connecticut Colony; that it now appears the land is not within the jurisdiction of Connecticut; that the inhabitants *are directed to remove from the land within one year.*

AND WHEREAS the said settlers have asked for the grant of a suitable tract of land to which they may remove, and have pointed out the desirability of the waste and unappropriated lands north of the division line between New York and Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That Obadiah Gore and his associates shall be permitted to locate on any of the waste and unappropriated lands within this State on the like terms and conditions as the immediate citizens of this State may be entitled to, *whenever the Legislature shall determine to grant the lands*; and that in the meantime O. Gore and his associates, or any of them, may explore the said lands in order to determine their future choice.

Ordered, That Mr. Duane carry a copy of the preceding resolution to the House of Assembly, and request their concurrence.

The same day the Assembly resolved to "concur with the Honorable the Senate" in its action on the Gore petition.

At Philadelphia, February 20, 1783, the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, acting upon the petition which had been presented a month previously by Capt. John Paul Schott, in behalf of the inhabitants of Wyoming, passed the following preamble and resolutions:⁶¹

61. See "Pennsylvania Archives," Old Series, IX:754.

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. . . . That the persons now settled at or near Wyoming, yielding due obedience to the laws, are undoubtedly entitled, in common with other citizens of the State, to the protection and the benefits of civil government. That the new and extraordinary circumstances in which they stand, renders it expedient for this House to take proper measures therein, without loss of time. And they having declared the appeal which they have made to this House their only resource, it becomes the dignity of this House to be very circumspect in its conduct towards them, and to act upon the best information.

Therefore, Resolved, That Commissioners be appointed to make full inquiries into the cases respectively, and report to the House.

Resolved, That in order to make the inquiry effectual, the Commissioners have authority to send for persons, papers and records.

Resolved, That they be instructed to confer with all or any of the claimants under Pennsylvania of any land now in the possession of, or claimed under, the State of Connecticut, by persons now being actual settlers, as well as with the said settlers, or any of them; and to endeavor, as much as possible, by reasonable and friendly compromise between the parties claiming (and where this cannot be done, to consider of and report such plans of accommodation as may be most advisable), for accomplishing an equitable and final adjustment of all difficulties.

Resolved, That as soon as may be, after the Commissioners shall report, an Act be passed providing fully for the cases of the inhabitants of the said country—more especially for the extending to them of the advantages of civil government; for authorizing and directing the choice of Justices of the Peace; for appointing places for holding their annual elections; for giving time for entering their slaves, if any, according to the spirit of the Act of Assembly for the gradual abolition of slavery; for consigning to oblivion all tumults and breaches of the peace—by whatsoever name they may be called—which have arisen out of the controversy between the Colony, or State, of Connecticut and the settlers, on the one part, and the Province, or State, of Pennsylvania and the inhabitants thereof, or any of them, on the other part; and for such other purposes as circumstances shall appear to require.

Resolved, That an act be immediately passed for staying proceedings at law, during said inquiry, against the settlers, for dispossessing them by writ of ejectment or otherwise, until this House shall decide upon the report so to be made by the said Commissioners.

And as the guard of Continental troops, which has been stationed at Wyoming, is about to be withdrawn, it is necessary, for the protection of the said settlement against the savages, to replace the guard immediately with the two companies of Rangers commanded by Captains Robinson and Shrawder.

Two days later (to wit: February 25, 1783) the House elected by

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ballot William Montgomery,⁶² Moses McClean⁶³ and Joseph Montgomery⁶⁴ to serve as Commissioners under the foregoing resolutions.

Miner, referring to the matters covered by these resolutions, says ("History of Wyoming," page 318): "Notwithstanding the recall of the Continental guard, and the doubtful measure of sending the companies of Robinson and Shrawder to Wilkes-Barre, the proceedings were received at Wyoming by many with no little satisfaction; by the sanguine, with joy; by a few, with misgivings and distrust, for the two military companies—as the war with Great Britain was regarded at an end, and the danger of Indian incursions no longer existed—awakened the jealousy of the more sagacious old men, who remembered the invasion of Plunket, and who saw, or thought they saw, in this array, not protectors, but agents of a hostile interest experience had shown them they had great reason to dread. But the highly respectable names of the Montgomerys were pledges of honor and fairness, that on the whole inspired confidence, and hope of an honorable adjustment."

Col. Timothy Pickering, commenting on the sending of the companies of Robinson and Shrawder to Wilkes-Barre, wrote:⁶⁵ "Early in the year 1783 Council ordered two companies of Rangers to repair to Wyoming. Whether really to protect that country against the Indians, or to curb the Connecticut settlers, may perhaps admit of a question. If

62. William Montgomery was born in Londonderry Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, August 3, 1736, the third child of Alexander and Mary (*Nevin*) Montgomery. Alexander Montgomery (born about 1700 and died in 1746) was a descendant of Alexander Montgomery (born in 1666) who was an officer under William of Orange, and who, for bravery displayed at the battle of the Boyne, was promoted a major in the British Army.

William Montgomery was between ten and eleven years of age when both his parents died. He grew to manhood on the family plantation in Londonderry, and soon came to be recognized as a man of character and ability. When the difficulties with the mother country became serious, Mr. Montgomery was at a large county meeting held at Chester, December 20, 1774, appointed a member of a committee "to aid in organizing an acceptable Government" to supersede the old provincial establishment.

January 23, 1775, he was one of the ten delegates from Chester County in the convention which assembled at Philadelphia, which substantially took charge of the affairs of the province, and which in the spring of 1776 appointed members of Congress from Pennsylvania who had nerve enough to vote for the Declaration of Independence. In June, 1776, Mr. Montgomery was commissioned colonel of the 4th Battalion of Chester County Associators, composed of about 450 men, rank and file. During his absence in the field his place in the convention was filled by his brother-in-law, Thomas Strawbridge. After the battle of Long Island—in which Colonel Montgomery's battalion participated—the battalion was attached to the "Flying Camp."

Early in 1773 Colonel Montgomery had been induced to visit Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, to look over some land concerning which he had heard favorable reports. He purchased 180 acres of this land from J. Simpson, November 26, 1774. It lay along Mahoning Creek, on the north side, or right bank, of the North Branch of the Susquehanna River, some twelve and a half miles northeast of the village of Northumberland. (For a better understanding of the location of these lands, see page 1090, Vol.

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for the latter purpose, it will not be difficult to guess at whose instance those troops were sent thither. Certain is it that *the Connecticut settlers did not send for them* for one purpose or the other. But these Rangers were enlisted *only during the Indian war.*"

At Philadelphia, under the date of March 4, 1783, the Supreme Executive Council wrote to Capt. Philip Shrawder and Captain Thomas Robinson, in part, as follows:⁶⁶

As the Continental troops have lately been withdrawn from Wyoming, . . . you will each of you, directly march with your respective companies to that Fort, and take every proper measure for maintaining the Post there, and for protecting the settlements. . . .

As we confide very much in your prudence, we trust that your conduct will enforce our wishes on a point of great importance. It is our earnest desire that the inhabitants settled at or near Wyoming should be in all respects treated with kindness. This we know to be the desire also of the Legislature—it being the unanimous sense of both Branches of the Government that all differences should be equitably and finally adjusted. We therefore expect that you will separately and together employ your best exertions to prevent any injury being done to the inhabitants before mentioned, and even any quarrels being entered into with them by the officers and soldiers under your command, and that you may convince them by your care and attention to them that they are

II, and the "Map of Luzerne County" in Chapter XXIII, *post.*) Having disposed of his property in Chester County, Colonel Montgomery removed with his family in 1777 to his Northumberland lands; but about the time of the battle of Wyoming he was obliged, owing to fear of Indian incursions, to seek refuge with his family at Fort Augusta, Sunbury.

As soon as he deemed it safe to return to his home at Mahoning Creek, he did so, and immediately began to clear more land and make various improvements. Other people settled near him, and, as early at least as 1778, the settlement was known as "Montgomery's Landing" and as "Montgomery's."

Colonel Montgomery soon became known in Northumberland County as an enterprising and energetic man, and ere long became one of the leading citizens of the county. In 1779 and 1780 he represented the county in the Pennsylvania Assembly. In September, 1783, the Assembly appointed William Maclay, Gen. James Wilkinson (Adjutant-General of the State) and William Montgomery, Commissioners, to examine the navigation of the Susquehanna, and also ascertain where the northern boundary of Pennsylvania would fall, and "particularly whether any part of Lake Erie is within the State"—as noted on page 759, Vol. II. In October, 1783, Colonel Montgomery was elected a member of Pennsylvania Council of Censors, and in November, 1784, he was elected by the Assembly a delegate to the Continental Congress, in which body he served until February 7, 1785, when he resigned. He was at once appointed President Judge of the Courts of Northumberland County.

In 1787 Colonel Montgomery was appointed by the Assembly one of the commissioners to carry into effect the Confirming Law—referred to at length in Chapter XXV, *post.* In 1791 he was appointed a justice of the peace in and for Northumberland County, and in the Autumn of the same year was elected a State Senator from the county, under the new Constitution of the State. In 1792 he was elected a Representative to the 3d Congress of the United States, and served in that capacity for two years. April 17, 1793, he was commissioned major-general of the Division of Pennsylvania Militia composed of

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regarded as fellow citizens whose welfare and happiness you sincerely and affectionally desire to promote. . . .

At this time Captain Shrawder and his company were on duty in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, while Captain Robinson and his company were stationed at Northumberland, Pennsylvania (as mentioned in [||] note on pages 1243 and 1244). As soon as possible both companies were marched to Wilkes-Barre, where they took possession of Fort Wyoming and renamed it "Fort Dickinson," in honor of the president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, on March 11, 1783, the Pennsylvania Assembly resolved that the commissioners appointed on the 25th of February should attend at

the militia of the counties of Northumberland, Northampton and Luzerne. His commission expired in 1800, whereupon he was recommissioned for a further term of seven years.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, in the journal of his travels through the United States in 1795, '96 and '97, states under the date of Monday, May 18, 1795: "We halted at Mr. Montgomery's, twelve miles from Northumberland. Mr. Montgomery is a surveyor. He does not keep an inn, but supplies both men and horses with food and provender for money."

In 1801 General Montgomery was appointed and commissioned by Governor McKean an Associate Judge of the Courts of Northumberland County, and this office he held until 1813. In 1808 he was a Presidential Elector on the Republican ticket in Pennsylvania. When, in 1806, the first post office was established at Danville, Pennsylvania (see below), General Montgomery was made postmaster, and, with the assistance of his son Daniel, conducted the office until 1813. He was the first man at Danville to use anthracite coal. This was as early as the year 1813.

General Montgomery died at Danville May 1, 1816, in his eightieth year. He had been married three times, and had eleven children. His sixth child and third son was Daniel Montgomery, born in Londonderry Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1765. In 1790 General Montgomery started a store at his "Landing," which was managed for a number of years by his son Daniel.

In 1792 Daniel Montgomery laid out on his father's lands at "Montgomery's" a town-plot, which was named, after him, "Danville" (now the county seat of Montour County, Pennsylvania).

In 1800 Daniel Montgomery was sent to the Pennsylvania Legislature as one of the Representatives from Northumberland County. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia in 1805, and July 27, 1809, was commissioned major-general of the 9th Division, Pennsylvania Militia (comprising the militia of the counties of Northumberland and Luzerne), to succeed his father. His commission was renewed July 4, 1814, and, in the rearrangement of the State Militia, his division became the 8th—comprising the militia of the counties of Northumberland, Union, Luzerne, Columbia, Susquehanna and Wayne. In 1807 Daniel Montgomery was elected a Representative to Congress from the District which comprised the counties of Northumberland and Luzerne.

Daniel Montgomery was married, November 27, 1791, to Christiana Strawbridge (born in 1770) of Chester County, Pennsylvania, and they became the parents of nine children. General Montgomery died at Danville, December 30, 1831.

63. Moses McClean was born in Upper Dublin Township, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, January 10, 1737, the son of William and Elizabeth McClean. He was elected major of the 2d Battalion, York County (Pennsylvania) Associators, July 28, 1775. Under authority of a resolution of Congress passed January 4, 1776, the 6th Pennsylvania Battalion was raised in the counties of Cumberland and York. William Irvine, of Carlisle, was commissioned colonel January 9, 1776, and the same day Moses McClean was commissioned captain of the 6th Company. Thomas Hartley (see pages 1107 and 1108, Vol. II) was the original lieutenant-colonel of this battalion.

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Wyoming on April 15, 1783; and that Surveyor-General John Lukens, or a deputy under him, "be directed to attend the Commissioners with the necessary papers on that day." On March 13, the Assembly passed an act which, after first referring to the Decree of Trenton, contained the following paragraphs:

AND WHEREAS, This House, taking into consideration the situation of the present settlers under the late claim of the State of Connecticut, at that part of Wyoming eastward and northward of Nescopeck Falls, on the East Branch of Susquehanna, have agreed to send Commissioners to make inquiry into the cases of the said settlers, and to encourage, as much as possible, reasonable and friendly compromises between the parties claiming, and, therefore it is highly improper that any proceed-

In May, 1776, the 6th Battalion was at Albany, New York, forming a part of the forces commanded by General Sullivan; and, as stated in the note on page 1108, it took part in the attack on Three Rivers, June 8, 1776. Eleven days later the "6th" was encamped with other Pennsylvania battalions on the east side of Isle Aux Noix, at the upper end of Lake Champlain. On June 21, Captain McClean, seven other officers and four privates of the "6th," went over from the island to the western shore of the lake, about a mile from camp, to fish. Captain McClean prudently proposed that they should take arms with them, but was overruled by the others of the party. Some Indians observed their movements, and, while they were at a house drinking some beer, the savages surrounded them, killed two of the officers and two of the privates, and carried off as prisoners Captain McClean and the other members of the party.

Captain McClean was held by the enemy until March 20, 1777, when he was paroled, and a week later was exchanged. Meanwhile, the 6th Battalion had been reenlisted for three years, or the war, as the 7th Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line.

Captain McClean was elected and commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the 2d Battalion of York County (Pennsylvania) Militia, June 17, 1779. During the years 1780, '81, '82 and '83 he represented his county in the Pennsylvania Assembly. He was married to Sarah Charlesworth, and their daughter, Margaret McClean, became the wife of Abram Scott, the son of Hugh Scott, who was born in Ireland in 1726 and came to America in 1730 with his parents, who settled in Donegal, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Colonel McClean died at Chillicothe, Ohio, August 25, 1810.

64. Joseph Montgomery was born in Paxtang Township, in what was then Lancaster, but later became Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, October 3, 1733. He was graduated at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1765, and then became master of the grammar school connected with that college. Meanwhile he studied theology, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1760. The same year he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from his *alma mater*, Yale College, and the College of Philadelphia (afterwards the University of Pennsylvania).

Mr. Montgomery held various pastorates in Pennsylvania until 1769, in which year he was installed pastor of the congregations of Christiana Bridge and New Castle, Delaware, where he remained until 1777. Subsequently he served as chaplain of Colonel Smallwood's regiment of Maryland troops in the Continental Line. In 1780 he was chosen by the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania as one of the State's Representatives in the Continental Congress, and in this office he served two terms. He was elected to the State Assembly in 1782, and was a member of that body when elected to serve as a commissioner to conduct the investigations at Wyoming. As stated in the note on page 759, Vol. II, he succeeded William Montgomery in 1784 as a member of the New York-Pennsylvania Boundary Line Commission.

In March, 1785, when the county of Dauphin, Pennsylvania, was erected, Joseph Montgomery was appointed and commissioned Recorder of Deeds and Register of Wills in and for the new county; and these offices he held until his death, which occurred at Harrisburg October 14, 1794.

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ings at law shall be had for the recovery of any lands or tenements during the said inquiry;

Be it therefore enacted, That every writ and process whatever, granted or issued, or which may hereafter be granted or issued for any owner or owners, claimant or claimants, against any person being now an inhabitant on said lands at Wyoming, in order to dispossess any of the said inhabitants or settlers of the lands or tenements in his, her, or their occupancy, shall be and the same are hereby declared to be stayed; and on motion, all further proceedings thereon shall be quashed by the Court to which such writ shall be returnable, until the report of the said commissioners shall be laid before this House, and order shall be taken thereupon.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this Act shall be and continue in force until the end of the next sitting of General Assembly, and no longer."

At Wilkes-Barre, under the date of March 26, 1783, Captain Thomas Robinson⁶⁸ wrote to President Dickinson of the Supreme Executive Council, in part, as follows:⁶⁹

65. See Hoyt's "Brief" (previously mentioned), note on page 56.

66. See "Pennsylvania Archives," Old Series, IX:761.

67. John Dickinson, known as the "Penman of the Revolution," was born in Talbot County, Maryland, November 13, 1732. General Philemon Dickinson, mentioned on page 903, Vol. II, was his younger brother, having been born in Talbot County, April 5, 1739, and dying near Trenton, New Jersey, February 4, 1809. Their parents were Samuel D. and Mary (Cadwalader) Dickinson—Samuel D. Dickinson having located in 1740 in Delaware, where he became Chief Justice of Kent County, and died July 6, 1760, aged seventy-one years.

John Dickinson studied law in Philadelphia from 1750 to 1753, and then went to London, where he entered the Middle Temple and spent three years. On his return to America in 1757, he began the practice of his profession in Philadelphia. In 1760 he became a member of the General Assembly of Delaware, and in 1762, at the age of thirty years, was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly, where he served with great distinction until 1765.

The imposition of the Stamp Act on the American Colonies in 1765, as related on pages 584 and 585, Vol. I, produced great activity on the part of the press. The chief writer was John Dickinson, who acquired great distinction at this period in his published articles against the policy of the British Government. In September, 1765 (as noted on pages 587 and 589, Vol. I), he was appointed a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, and, as a member of that body, formulated what was a genuine Bill of Rights.

The Stamp Act having been repealed in March, 1766 (see page 592, Vol. I), a new measure, respecting impost duties in the American Colonies, was passed by Parliament in the Spring of 1767, as mentioned in the note on page 596, Vol. I; about which time John Dickinson issued an "Address to the British Colonists," containing the following paragraphs:

"What have these Colonists to ask while they continue free? Or what have they to dread but insidious attempts to subvert their freedom? Their prosperity does not depend on ministerial favours doled out to particular Provinces. They form one political body, of which each Colony is a member. . . . We have all the rights requisite for our prosperity. The legal authority of Great Britain may indeed lay hard restrictions upon us; but, like the spear of Telephus, it will cure as well as wound. Her unkindness will instruct and compel us, after some time, to discover in our industry and frugality surprising remedies—if our rights continue unviolated; for as long as the prod-

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Your orders of the 4th *inst.* I received on the 13th, but such was the state of the weather, the roads, and the freshets in the creeks and rivers, as rendered it impracticable for me to march before the 19th; and on the 23d I arrived here, with much difficulty, where I met Capt. Philip Shrawder. I immediately took possession of the garrison, with everything belonging thereunto. I also met at the same place Capt. Peter Summers, late of the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment, who had been sent here to collect and carry away the remainder of the Continental military and other stores from this Post. As I had carried no military stores to this Post, . . . I retained some part of the military stores—shot, grape and canister, powder and lead.

At Wilkes-Barre, three days later (March 29, 1783), Captain Shrawder⁷⁰ wrote to President Dickinson, in part, as follows:⁷¹

ucts of our labour and the rewards of our care can properly be called our own, so long it will be worth our while to be industrious and frugal. . . .

"Let us take care of our rights, and we therein take care of our prosperity. 'Slavery is ever preceded by Sleep!' Individuals may be dependent on Ministers, if they please. . . . But, if we have already forgotten the reason that urged us, with unexampled unanimity, *to exert ourselves two years ago*—if our zeal for the public good is worn out before the homespun clothes which it caused us to have made—if our resolutions are so faint as, by our present conduct, to condemn our own late successful example—if we are not affected by any reverence for the memory of our ancestors, who transmitted to us that freedom in which they had been blessed—if we are not animated by any regard for posterity, to whom, by the most sacred obligations, we are bound to deliver down the invaluable inheritance—then, indeed, any Minister, or any tool of a Minister, or any creature of a tool of Minister, or any lower instrument of administration (if lower there be), is a personage whom it may be dangerous to offend."

The act respecting impost duties met at once with opposition in the Colonies, and late in October, 1767, was denounced by a public meeting in Boston, which suggested a non-importation agreement as the best means of rendering its operations ineffective. "While the leaders of the opposition throughout the country were doubtful and hesitating," says Charles J. Stillé, LL. D., in his "Life and Times of John Dickinson," "there appeared in the 'Pennsylvania Chronicle' (Philadelphia) for the 2d of December, 1767, the first of a series of letters on the political situation, afterwards known as the 'Farmer's Letters.' The letters, fourteen in number, followed one another in quick succession, and they were read by men of all classes and opinions throughout the continent as no other work of a political kind had been hitherto read in America. It was, of course, soon known that John Dickinson was their author."

In the first of these "Letters" Mr. Dickinson wrote: "Benevolence towards mankind excites wishes for their welfare, and such wishes endear the means of fulfilling them. These can be found in liberty only, and therefore her sacred cause ought to be espoused by every man on every occasion, to the utmost of his power." These "Letters" were collected together and published in book form (80 pages, size 3½x6 inches) at Boston in 1768, under the title "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies." A second edition of the pamphlet was published by Hall & Sellers at Philadelphia in 1768, and a third edition was printed by William and Thomas Bradford at Philadelphia in 1769. From that time to the present, various editions of the "Letters" have been published both in this country and England—one of the latest edition being the one published by The Outlook Company, New York, in 1903.

The "Farmer's Letters" had a wide circulation, both in the Colonies and in England, and they plainly foreshadowed trouble if the British did not make an attempt to understand what the Americans desired and what they would not suffer. One of the earliest copies of the "Letters" sent to the mother country was the one sent to John Wilkes, as related on page 548, Vol. I.

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In obedience to your Excellency's orders I took possession of this Fort the 21st *inst.*, and Captain Robinson arrived the 24th. From Captain Summers, who had been sent here by Mr. [Samuel] Hodgdon for the military stores belonging to the United States, we received some necessary ammunition for the artillery at this Post, hoping to meet with your Excellency's approbation, as the ordnance otherwise would have been entirely useless. Powder, lead and flints for rifles and muskets we stand very much in need of. . . .

The conduct and behavior of the inhabitants resemble that of a conquered nation very much. They had several meetings concerning their public affairs this week, keeping the result thereof a secret. Yesterday morning they sent one Mr. [Benjamin] Harvey to Connecticut to a Recording office for copies of the names of the first settlers on the Sus-

The "Letters" produced such an effect on both sides of the Atlantic that their appearance has been regarded as "the most brilliant event in the literary history of the Revolution." Ramsay, in his "History of the American Revolution," declares that Dickinson, in his "Letters," "may be said to have sown the seeds of the Revolution." The following is an extract from a letter from a gentleman in London, published in the "New York Journal" of April 13, 1769: "Mr. Dickinson's 'Farmer's Letters' have carried his name and reputation all over the British Dominions. I was a few days ago in a large company of patriots and advocates of liberty, where I heard a thousand fine encomiums passed upon them. It is a general remark here that all the State papers which come from America are wrote in a style not to be equalled in any part of the British dominions."

At a largely-attended meeting of the merchants of Philadelphia, held in that city on April 25, 1768, Mr. Dickinson delivered a long and carefully-prepared address, the opening (1) and closing (2) paragraphs of which were as follows: (1) "You are called together to give your advice and opinions as to what answer shall be returned to our Brethren of Boston and New York, who desire to know whether we will unite with them in stopping the importation of goods from Great Britain until certain Acts of Parliament are repealed, which are thought to be injurious to our rights as freemen and British subjects. . . . (2) I hope, my Brethren, there is not a man among us who will not cheerfully join in the measure proposed, and, with our Brethren of Boston and New York, freely forego a present advantage, nay, even submit to a present inconvenience, for the sake of Liberty, on which our happiness, lives and properties depend. Let us never forget that our strength depends on our union, and our liberty on our strength. *United we conquer—divided we die!*"

In 1768 William Goddard, of Philadelphia, published a tract of eight pages written by Mr. Dickinson and entitled "To the Public." It dealt with the Stamp Act and the renewal of the Non-Importation Agreement. In this same year a "Liberty Song" written by Mr. Dickinson was widely disseminated and sung. It was set to the air of "Hearts of Oak," and is said to have been the first American patriotic song produced in this country. It first appeared in Goddard's "Pennsylvania Chronicle," and was soon copied into newspapers throughout the Colonies. It had a great vogue. In it were the lines:

"Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all!
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall."

This phrase was freely quoted during the American Revolution. It was the pith of all Mr. Dickinson's public writings; it was the motto of the times; it was the slogan which eventually was to lead the patriots to victory.

In 1774 Mr. Dickinson wrote, and William and Thomas Bradford, of Philadelphia, published, "An Essay on the Constitutional Powers of Great Britain over the Colonies in America."

As narrated on pages 354 and 602, the First Continental Congress convened in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. In general the delegates—fifty-five

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quehanna, and when they took possession of the land. By another gentleman I was informed that they had wrote to the State of Connecticut to bring on another trial.

Last Tuesday they held Court, but adjourned again the same day. As the law of Pennsylvania is not established yet, and that of Connecticut abolished (the body of the people a concourse from different States, among whom there is a number of the bad kind, who, by taking advantage of the times, would be willing to defraud the better sort), I would therefore entreat your Excellency and the Honorable Council for instructions how to conduct in case people come of their own accord, or are brought before [me]. I would further beg your Excellency's orders what to do when some of the Pennsylvania claimants should come up to plant a little Summer grain, as those new acquired people say they will

in number—were men of uncommon ability, who had taken a prominent part in the political action of their several localities. Among the delegates from Pennsylvania were Joseph Galloway (mentioned in the note on page 781, Vol II), some time later attainted of high treason in pursuance of the treason laws of the State of Pennsylvania, and John Dickinson. The latter was the author of a series of state papers put forth by the Congress, which won for him a glorious tribute from Lord Chatham. Among them was the "Petition to the King," referred to on pages 557 and 603. It has been said that "it will remain an imperishable monument to the glory of its author and of the Congress of which he was a member, so long as fervid and manly eloquence and chaste and elegant composition shall be appreciated."

On the adjournment of the Congress in October, 1774, a public entertainment was given to the delegates by more than 500 citizens of Philadelphia; and it was manifest that the union of the Colonies was greatly strengthened by the ties not only of public interest, but of private friendship. *Independence*, let it be borne in mind, was still not yet the object aimed at. Redress of grievances and the repeal of obnoxious statutes were to be accomplished, if possible, by means compatible with colonial allegiance. If blood was to be shed, it was to be in defense against aggression.

To carry into effect the measures determined on by the Congress, a committee of sixty persons was elected in Philadelphia in November, 1774. John Dickinson, Joseph Reed, Charles Thomson, George Clymer and Thomas Mifflin were members of it. The committee proceeded with great energy to the discharge of its duties.

The following paragraph is from a letter written in Philadelphia relative to the First Continental Congress, and printed in the "London Chronicle" of January 5, 1775. "The cordiality and affection which the American puffers and scribblers say prevailed at the General Congress are known by every honest Philadelphian to be falsehoods. The celebrated Mr. Dickinson, the second-named Delegate from Pennsylvania, cannot have forgotten the thorough caning which he received from Mr. Galloway, the first-named Delegate; nor can Mr. Galloway have forgiven the scurrilous falsities which provoked him to discipline the celebrated Gentleman Farmer, Lawyer and Patriot. The public may guess what sort of affection subsisted between the well-drubbed patriot and his corrector."

As mentioned in the note on page 859, Vol. II, John Dickinson was a member of the Provincial Convention which assembled at Philadelphia in January, 1775. The Second Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia May 10, 1775, and Mr. Dickinson attended as one of the delegates from Pennsylvania. On the 23d of the same month he was appointed by the Pennsylvania Assembly, and duly commissioned, colonel of the 1st Battalion of Associators (Militia) in the City and Liberties of Philadelphia. Early in the Second Congress a second "humble and dutiful" petition to the King was moved. John Dickinson had a chief part in framing it, but it met with strong opposition. John Adams condemned it as an imbecile measure, calculated to embarrass the proceedings of the Congress. He was for prompt and vigorous action, and other members concurred with him. The petition was finally adopted, however, on July 8, 1775, and the same day a committee, that had previously been appointed, presented through John Dickinson,

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not suffer the Pennsylvania landholders to plant anything; neither will they permit some of those Connecticut Pennsylvanians to raise any grain on the ground, who had done so last year under Connecticut claim.

Mr. [Obadiah] Gore of this place, who had been sent some time ago to the Assembly of the State of New York with a petition for a grant of land thirty miles square at Aghquague on this side of the Lake near the head of the Susquehanna, returned last night, and brought the news that the petition of the Wyoming settlers had been granted, and that he was to go up and choose the place.

On Monday, March 24, 1783, Col. Zebulon Butler arrived at Wilkes-Barre from the camp of his regiment on the Hudson, for a few days' visit. The same day a town meeting of the inhabitants of Westmore-

it author, a "Declaration of the Causes of taking up Arms against England." This "Declaration," which was duly adopted, contained the following paragraphs:

"We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated Ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us.

"We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them. Our cause is just! Our union is perfect! Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly available."

As noted on pages 847 and 849 Colonel Dickinson was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1775, and served on committees having to do with the state of affairs in Wyoming.

As an important means of prosecuting the rebellion of the Colonies against the Royal Government, a "Committee of Secret Correspondence" was appointed by the Continental Congress November 29, 1775, composed of John Dickinson, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Johnson and John Jay. This was actually a Committee of Foreign Affairs, whose negotiations resulted, two years later, in an alliance with France.

In June, 1776, as a member of Congress, Colonel Dickinson opposed the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, because he doubted the wisdom of the measure. When the question came to be voted on he absented himself intentionally from the Hall of Congress; but subsequently he proved that his patriotism was not inferior to that of those who differed with him by enlisting as a private in the American Army. In October, 1777, he was commissioned a brigadier-general of the Delaware Militia. In April, 1779, he returned to Congress as a Representative from Delaware, and wrote the "Address to the States" of May 26. He was Governor of Delaware in 1781-82, and November 7, 1782, succeeded William Moore, as president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

But, says Dr. Stillé, in his "Life and Times of John Dickinson," previously quoted from, "Mr. Dickinson was not permitted to assume office until after he had been exposed to a most violent and scurrilous attack in the newspapers by an anonymous writer, who signed himself '*Valerius*.' The attack began by a letter in the '*Freeman's Journal*' of October 3, 1782, and was followed up, after Mr. Dickinson's election as president, by several other letters from the same source, in which the bitterness of malignity of the writer were more conspicuous, if possible, than in the first. . . .

"Who *Valerius* was has never been distinctly known, and his identity has been, perhaps, as difficult to fix certainly as that of the author of the letters of Junius. Like the attacks of that famous libeler, the letters of *Valerius* are more remarkable for boldness of invective and unscrupulous ascription of bad motives than for any influence or impression which they made upon the public mind at the period when they were written.

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land was held at Wilkes-Barre, and adjourned meetings were held on the 26th and 27th of the month. As stated in the letters of Captain Shrawder, it was voted to send Benjamin Harvey to Connecticut for the following purposes: (1) To get from the records of The Susquehanna Company, at Windham, a full and complete "list of the first settlers on the Susquehanna" under the auspices of the company, and a statement as to when they took possession of the land; (2) to present to the General Assembly at Hartford, a petition urging that steps be taken to have "another trial for the soil, if not for jurisdiction," of the Wyoming region.

On Friday, March 28 (the same day on which Obadiah Gore returned to Wilkes-Barre from his mission to the Legislature of New York), Benjamin Harvey set out on horseback from his home in Plymouth for

These letters are the source from which posterity has drawn the materials for the libels which have done so much to misjudge and injure, in the eyes of posterity, the man who had the moral courage to refuse to vote for the Declaration of Independence because he thought it inopportune."

Dr. Stillé then refers to the diary of Mrs. Deborah Logan, and quotes an extract from it which shows that "the family tradition is that General John Armstrong, Jr., was '*Valerius*.'" "It must be borne in mind, however," says Dr. Stillé, "that Armstrong was Secretary of the [Supreme Executive] Council before Dickinson was elected President." Dr. Stillé is in error here, for, as shown in the sketch of Armstrong, hereinafter, he was not elected secretary of the council until March, 1783. The extract from Mrs. Logan's diary, quoted by Dr. Stillé, reads as follows: "Here let me mention an anecdote of Armstrong, given on *the best authority* as true. He has always displayed a love of intrigue, a dereliction of principle and a baseness of deceit which should draw on him the scorn of every honest mind, from his first appearance in public life until this time [August 30, 1814]. He read law, when a young man, under my honored cousin, John Dickinson, and had received from his polite and kind attentions. When Armstrong was Secretary of Council he was, of course, much in John Dickinson's family, receiving daily proofs of his confidence and friendship; yet at this period he was actually the writer of all those ill-natured and detestable paragraphs in some of the public prints which wounded the mind of his patron but too sensibly."

In 1783 Dickinson College was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and incorporated by the Legislature of the State. It was named for John Dickinson, in commemoration of the great and important services rendered by him to his country, and in acknowledgment of his very liberal donations to the institution. The same year he was made an honorary member of the Pennsylvania Branch of the Society of the Cincinnati.

General Dickinson served as president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, by successive elections, until October 18, 1785, when he was succeeded by Benjamin Franklin. After his retirement from the council he took up his residence in Wilmington, Delaware, where he resided until his death. His influence had waned somewhat after 1776, on account of his opposition to the Declaration of Independence; but a series of papers written by him in 1787-88, and published over the pseudonym of "Fabius," were widely read, and contributed much towards inducing Pennsylvania and Delaware to ratify the Federal Constitution. General Dickinson sat in the Constitutional Convention (May-September, 1787) as one of the five delegates from Delaware, and took a prominent part in the debates.

In 1796 General Dickinson received the honorary degree of LL. D. from the College of New Jersey (Princeton), and in 1801 his "Political Writings" were published in two volumes, 8vo, by Bonsal and Niles at Wilmington. He died at Wilmington February 14, 1808.

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Windham, a journey of 235 miles, which at that time occupied from twelve to fourteen days. The General Assembly of Connecticut was to hold its regular semi-annual session early in May; so, having completed at Windham the business of the Wyoming settlers, Mr. Harvey journeyed next to his former home in Lyme, Connecticut, to visit his brothers and look after some private affairs there.

At Wilkes-Barre, under the date of Sunday, March 30, 1783, Captain Shrawder wrote to John Van Campen, Esq., previously mentioned, as follows:⁷²

At and since my arrival at this place the inhabitants are exceedingly reserved, and, to judge by appearances, the generality of them does not like the Pennsylvanians to an excess. Last Monday they had a town

The following concerning John Dickinson is taken from Sharf and Westcott's "History of Philadelphia" (page 275): "'Truly he lives in my memory,' said William T. Reed, 'as a realization of my beau-ideal of a gentleman.' That was apparent to all, and it may have been the reason John Adams did not like him, and wrote of him, 'A certain great fortune and piddling genius, whose fame has been trumpeted loudly, has given a cast of folly to our whole doings.' John Dickinson had the misfortune to be *un homme incompris*. He was sensitive, proud, haughty; disappointed, too, perhaps, that he could not persuade the Revolution to move on as he would have had it do, and, perhaps thought his pen and voice and could make it do, like a gentleman's chaise and pair over a smooth lawn. He was too precise, courtly and formal, perhaps, to suit his business-like colleagues, who could not conceive so much grace and polish to be compatible with earnestness."

68. Thomas Robinson was commissioned February 10, 1781, captain of a company of Pennsylvania militia raised in Northumberland County, and known as "Rangers." Moses Van Campen (mentioned in [||] note on page 1243) was lieutenant of this company (having been commissioned February 10, 1781), and when it came to Wilkes-Barre Thomas Chambers was its ensign.

During the winter of 1781-82 Robinson's "Rangers" were stationed at Reading, Pennsylvania, assisting to guard the British prisoners detained there. In the latter part of February, 1782, the "Rangers" were ordered to Northumberland, whence, under orders of the Supreme Executive Council issued March 6, 1782, they marched up the valley of the West Branch of the Susquehanna to a point near the present town of Muncy, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, where they began preparations to rebuild Fort Muncy—which had been originally built in 1778 by soldiers under the command of Col. Thomas Hartley, and had been destroyed by the Indians in 1779 or '80. The fort stood near the stone mansion of Samuel Wallis, mentioned in the note on page 653, Vol. II. It was while this fort was being rebuilt that Lieutenant Van Campen was sent in command of a detachment of "Rangers" up to Bald Eagle Creek, where he was captured by Indians, as hereinbefore narrated.

About the time Captain Robinson was ordered to Fort Muncy, Samuel Hunter, Lieutenant of the county of Northumberland, wrote to the Supreme Executive Council that "it would require at least 100 men to keep proper out-scouts and repair the garrison" at Fort Muncy. In reply the County Lieutenant was directed to have the necessary repairs to the fort made, "having due regard to frugality." Under the date of April 17, 1782, the County Lieutenant wrote to the Council: "Agreeable to your letter Captain Robinson's headquarters is at Fort Muncy, and I am certain he does all he can in the ranging way for the good of the county; but as for doing much towards the repairing of the fort, it is not in his power at present, as the enemy has made their appearance once more on our frontiers."

After rebuilding Fort Muncy, and conducting other operations along the West Branch, Robinson's "Rangers" returned to Northumberland, where they were stationed

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meeting, to sound their purses whether they can muster as much as would pay for a trial; but, not coming to a determination, they adjourned till Wednesday, for it seems that some part is for Pennsylvania and others not.

On Tuesday they held Court. As far as I could hear nothing was done, so they adjourned again, for the defendants will call their authority in question, and the Court cannot support their authority by force. Mr. Justice below the mountain, near the Delaware (whom you know, and I do not), continues to issue warrants or precepts, but Mr. Yarrington, the Constable [at Wilkes-Barre], swears he'll not serve any more warrants, as the Justice can do nothing after a man is taken.

On Monday Colonel Butler arrived here, and the day following he and several of the principal inhabitants were over the river to Shawnee; but whether on private (as they would fain make me believe) or on public [business] I cannot tell. On Tuesday they had a town meeting

until ordered to Wilkes-Barre. Here they remained until discharged from and mustered out of service in November, 1783. Shortly after this, Captain Robinson settled at Robinson's Island, in Pine Creek, about one-half mile from where the creek empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna, in Lycoming County. He soon became extensively engaged in the land business.

In the summer of 1792, while on a business trip up the North Branch of the Susquehanna, he was taken ill. Coming down the river in an open boat, exposed to the sun, his disease was aggravated, and shortly after reaching Wilkes-Barre, in August, he died and was buried here. He had a daughter Mary, who became the wife of John Cook (of Lycoming County?).

69. See "Pennsylvania Archives," Old Series, X:14.

70. Philip Shrawder, or Philip Christian Schrader, as he was christened, was born December 16, 1745, at Frankenthal, in Bavaria, now one of the states of the German Empire. He was the eldest of five children—two sons and three daughters—who grew to maturity. At the beginning of the American Revolution he came to this country, and, proceeding to Philadelphia, offered his services, in a military capacity, to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety. By the council he was recommended to the Continental Congress for a commission, August 9, 1776, and three days later, by a resolution of Congress, he was commissioned "Second Lieutenant of the 5th Company of Germans to be raised in Pennsylvania." This company formed part of the "German Regiment" referred to at length in the note on page 1162, Vol. II, and Philip Shrawder served with the regiment in all its campaigns and battles until its reduction, January 1, 1781. He was promoted first lieutenant, May 13, 1777; promoted captain-lieutenant, February 8, 1778, and retired January 1, 1781.

While stationed with his regiment at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, in the winter of 1779-80 (see page 1224, Vol. II), Captain Shrawder, who for some time had been a member of Military Lodge, No. 19, Free and Accepted Masons, mentioned on page 1184, Vol. II, presented his petition to Lodge No. 22, at Sunbury. He was admitted to membership in this lodge February 19, 1780, and at the same meeting Dr. Peter Peres, surgeon, and Bernard Hubley, a captain of the German Regiment (see note, page 1162, Vol. II), late members of Military Lodge, No. 19, were also admitted members of Lodge No. 22. (See F. A. Godcharles' "Free Masonry in Northumberland and Snyder Counties, Pennsylvania," I:15, 16.)

In August, 1782, Captain Shrawder was one of several petitioners to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Ancient York Masons, for a warrant for a Lodge (No. 38) to be held at Easton, Pennsylvania. (See "Old Masonic Lodges of Pennsylvania," II:141.)

Upon his retirement from the Continental Army Captain Shrawder raised a company of Pennsylvania "Rangers," which was mustered into the service of the State, as a part of its militia, February 10, 1781, to be stationed in Northampton County. A pay roll of this company, covering the period from February 10, 1781, to June 1, 1782, is

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here, when they agreed, according to Capt. [Simon] Spalding's information to me, to send Mr. [Benjamin] Harvey to a certain place in Connecticut for a copy of records, &c.; and accordingly Mr. Harvey set off yesterday morning. But by the way of another information I heard they had wrote to the Governor and Assembly of Connecticut about having another trial for the soil, if not for jurisdiction; for the people are divided—some for one, some for the other and some for both.

They have also appointed a committee last Thursday to confer with the committee appointed by the [Pennsylvania] Assembly. Captain Spalding is one of those for Wyoming. He is the truest of any I have seen yet. His interest doth not lie here at all, he claiming only a certain place near Standing Stone, on which he formerly lived.⁷³ Other gentlemen pretend ignorance of Court and town meetings, although I am very certain of the contrary, and it is very likely they are absent in person but present by proxy at those meetings.

printed in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XIV:581. It contains the names of Philip Shrawder, *Captain* (commissioned February 10, 1781); Jacob Cramer, *Lieutenant*; Lawrence Erb, *Ensign*; Adolf Creselius and John Beissel, *Sergeants*; D. St. Clair, *Drummer*; and the names of twenty-nine privates.

May 1, 1781, Joseph Reed, president of Supreme Executive Council, wrote as follows to the Hon. John Van Campen, of Lower Smithfield, Northampton County, who at that time was a member of the Supreme Executive Council—having been elected October 14, 1780. "Captain Shrawder has orders to procure ammunition, which will be sent up by the wagons. Our advice is, and we wish you to impress it upon the leading men of the County, that Captain Shrawder's company should be recruited as soon as possible. The next relief is money, of which we have sent £1,000 by the bearer, which you will appropriate with prudence and discretion for immediate relief, employing it in hiring men on this emergency. We must now recommend to you vigorous exertions of yourselves, stockading the strong houses, and, if possible, promoting scouting parties—*offering the reward for scalps and prisoners agreeable to our proclamation of last year.*" (See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, III:478.)

In September, 1781, Shrawder's "Rangers" were stationed at Lower Smithfield, Northampton County, and on the 6th of the month the Captain wrote to President Reed, in part, as follows (see "Pennsylvania Archives," Old Series, IX:388): "Your Excellency's request, to turn my men either to the Pennsylvania Line or to Captain [Thomas] Robinson's company, I have endeavored to put into execution, but was disappointed, as the men, amounting now to twelve, had, previous to their engagements, assurances that they should not be taken off, but employed for the defense of this County. There is the greatest probability for raising the company in a very short time if clothing and the first bounty in *hard money* could be tendered to recruits." . . .

In the summer of 1782 Shrawder's "Rangers" were stationed at Chestnut Hill, Northampton County, and under the date of June 19, Captain Shrawder wrote to John Van Campen, Esq., previously mentioned, in part, as follows: "The men are all very anxious for their pay, and myself should be very happy to be enabled to procure some clothing for myself, and to pay my debts. . . . I have always parties out scouting the woods from my post to Zawitz', &c., and again from my post to Fort Allen. Those at Fort Allen take their tour down to Berks County, and also up to my quarters again. Mr. [Jacob] Cramer, who, agreeable to his information, sent his resignation [as Lieutenant] to Council in March last, is with me since the 2d of May as volunteer—scouts the woods with my parties. Mr. Lawrence Erb begs to be remembered by Council, to be promoted to Lieutenant." ("Zawitz'" referred to in the foregoing letter, was undoubtedly the locality referred to as "Sebitz" in the journal of Dr. Schopf. See page 1339.)

In September and early in October, 1782, Captain Shrawder was stationed at Fort Allen (mentioned on page 339, Vol. I), and in the following November he was again at

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Notwithstanding the assurances you have had, the conduct and deportment of the people indicates a great dissatisfaction for the State of Pennsylvania. Before I could be up I had wrote a letter to Colonel Denison and Captain Schott setting forth the sentiments of both branches of the Government concerning the dispute; but during the whole time of my presence here I have not seen Mr. Denison yet. Captain Robinson, who came up on Monday last and went off again on Tuesday last, informed me there was no knapsacks at all at Northumberland.

Let us, at this point, turn aside for a brief space to acquaint ourselves with certain important happenings which occurred about this time at some distance from Wilkes-Barre.

Provisional articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States having been signed in Paris, November 30, 1782 (as mentioned on page 1292), King George III issued his royal proclamation February 14, 1783, "declaring the cessation of arms, as well by sea as land," agreed upon between His Majesty and the United States of America, and enjoining the observance thereof upon all his "loving subjects," under the penalty of incurring his "highest displeasure." Some weeks later official information concerning the King's act was conveyed to the Continental Congress, then sitting at Philadelphia; whereupon that body on April 11, 1783, declared it to be their will and pleasure that hostilities should cease. Five days later President Dickinson, in behalf of the Pennsylvania Government, issued a proclamation announcing the cessation of hostilities.

The return of peace was celebrated everywhere with bonfires, with

Chestnut Hill. There, under the date of November 4th, he wrote to John Van Campen, Esq. (temporarily in Philadelphia), to the effect that "in September last our late President [Moore] mentioned to have my company recruited during the winter to about 100 men, with the addition of another officer; by which means the militia might be spared, and the State saved a good deal of expense."

After his retirement from the military service of Pennsylvania in November, 1783, Captain Shrawder settled in Lower Smithfield Township, Northampton County, Pennsylvania. In December, 1783, he became a member of the Pennsylvania Branch of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was married at Lower Smithfield, February 19, 1793, by the Rev. William Francis Poppard, to "the widow Rachael Van Campen." She died September 29, 1805. Captain Shrawder was commissioned a justice of the peace in and for Northampton County April 1, 1806.

In 1818 Captain Shrawder paid a visit to his relatives in Bavaria, and while at Frankenthal acted in the capacity of godfather at the christening of his grand-nephew, George Philip Christian Frederick Schrader, born at Frankenthal, December 23, 1818, the fourth child of John Nicholas and Albertine (*Schuck*) Schrader. G. P. C. F. Schrader, or, as he was commonly called and known, "Frederick Schrader," immigrated to America in 1833, and settled in Wilkes-Barre. Later he removed to Scranton, Pennsylvania, where he died October 17, 1893.

Capt. Philip Shrawder died in Northampton County March 17, 1820, leaving no children. According to the "Genealogical and Family History of the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys," II:200, "Captain Shrawder left a large estate, principally in lands, in Pennsylvania. . . . His name is commemorated in Shrader's Creek. He was

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rockets, with speeches, and with thanksgiving on April 19, the eighth anniversary of the fight at Lexington. The columns of the few newspapers and periodicals which were published in this country at that period overflowed with articles and editorials, both in poetry and prose, on the all-absorbing topic—Peace and a return of Prosperity. One of the most widely printed and read articles was Thomas Paine's "The Birth-day of the Republic,"⁷⁴ in which appeared these sentences:

*The times that tried men's souls*⁷⁵ are over, and the greatest and completest revolution the world ever knew gloriously and happily accomplished! . . . To see it in our power to make a world happy—to teach mankind the art of being so—to exhibit, on the theater of the universe, a character hitherto unknown—and to have, as it were, a new creation intrusted to our hands, are honors that command reflection, and can neither be too highly estimated, nor too gratefully received. . . . In this pause, then, of recollection—while the storm is ceasing, and the long agitated mind vibrating to a rest—let us look back on the scenes we have passed, and learn from experience what is yet to be done.

The following stanzas are from a popular song of the period—a parody on "God Save the King":

Fame, let thy trumpet sound,
Tell all the world around,
Columbia's free!
Tell Germaine, North and Bute,
And every other brute
Tyrannic George won't suit
Her Liberty.

The bloody George in vain
May forge a stronger chain,
The deed is done!
A greater George than he
Hath set Columbia free.
Immortalized shall be
GEORGE WASHINGTON!

By the soldiers of the Continental Line, encamped along the Hudson River, the news of the cessation of hostilities (announced in general orders from headquarters) was received with almost extravagant demonstrations of joy. All were anxious to return to their homes and their former occupations and callings; but there were to be months of weary delay before actual peace should be declared and all the worn-out soldiers permitted to return to the walks of civil life. Many were discharged

an ardent American in spirit, and provided that, in order to obtain inheritance in his estate, his kindred in Germany should come to the United States, establish a residence here, and assume the obligations of citizenship. As a further inducement to his heirs to come to this country, he offered a large sum of money to the first child born in the United States to such immigrants." (See sketch of the Hon. John Reichard in a subsequent chapter.) In May, 1832, the trustees named in the will of Captain Shrawder, "late of Smithfield Township, Northampton County," were authorized to make sale of certain real estate of the testator in the counties of Luzerne and Wayne, Pennsylvania.

71. See "Pennsylvania Archives," Old Series, X:23.

72. See "Pennsylvania Archives," Old Series, X:24.

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during the following summer and autumn, but the whole army was not disbanded till early in November, 1783.

The following certificates, relating to soldiers from Wyoming Valley in service on the Hudson in April, 1783, and now printed for the first time, are copies of originals which, in November, 1879, were in the possession of Mr. M. M. Jones, secretary of the Historical society at Utica, New York:

APRIL 17, 1783.

This certifies that the underwritten names belong to the First Connecticut regiment, and enlisted during the War.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Mason F. Alden, <i>Serg't.</i> | Elisha Garrett, <i>Private</i> |
| Thomas Neal, " | Ambrose Gaylord, " |
| Asahel Hide, <i>Corp'l</i> | Rufus Bennett, " |
| Benjn. Clark, " | Ira Stevens, " |
| Elisha Mattison, " | John Oakley, " |
| Daniel Denton, " | David Brown, " |
| John Swift, <i>Private</i> | Amos Ormsby, " |
| Isaac Smith, " | William Smith, " |
| Elisha Satterlee, " | Israel Harding, " |
| William Loomis, " | John Halstead, " |
| Oliver Bennett, " | Asa Smith, " |
| Benjamin Cole, " | Obadiah Walker, " |
| Gideon Church, " | Abiel Farnam, " |
| William McClure, " | John Platner, " |

[Signed] E. ELLS, Capt. 1st Conn. Regt.

The above mentioned soldiers are now in service, and belong to Westmoreland upon the Susquehanna River. [Name of place illegible] 17 Apl. 1783,

[Signed] JOHN P. WYLLYS, Major,
and commanding 1st Conn. Regt.

This certifies that the underwritten names belong to Susquehanna, and were enlisted during the war, and are now in actual service in the 2d Connecticut Regiment.

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| John Ryon, <i>Serg't.</i> | |
| Ebenezer Bostwick, " | Certified per |
| John Jackson, <i>Private</i> | HEMAN SWIFT, Colo. |
| William Jackways, " | 2d Connt. Regt. |
| Philetus Swift, " | |

73. According to C. F. Heverly's "History of Sheshequin," page 56, "the first settlement in Sheshequin [in what is now Bradford County, Pennsylvania] dates from May 30, 1783, when Gen. Simon Spalding and his little band arrived from Wyoming." The party consisted of General Spalding and the persons named in the note on page 980, Vol. II.

74. See "Library of American Literature," III:222.

75. See page 875, Vol. II.

Smith, Morrill, and Allied Families

BY S. G. SCOVILLE, NEW YORK CITY

Morrell (Morrill) Arms—Or, a bend gules in base a cross crosslet of the last.

Crest—A demi lion rampant regardant.

Motto—*Bono animo esto.* (Be of good courage.)

(Burke: "General Armory.")



OWER in his "Patronymica Britannica" gives the meaning of the name Morel, with its variants Morrell, Morrall, Morell, Morrill, as being a diminutive of the old French More, a Moor, and was originally applied to one of dark complexion. That the name was imported from France seems certain, but it was early recorded in England. The first of the name of whom we have knowledge was one Morel, mentioned in the Domesday survey of Norfolk. According to family belief the branch of our particular interest is presumed to have come from Essex County, England.

I. *Abraham Morrill*, it is said, came with his brother Isaac to America on the ship "Lyon" (Lion), landing at Boston, Massachusetts, September, 1632. It is worthy of note that it was on this memorable vessel that so many important individuals came to these shores, for the "Lyon" plied back and forth between England and America many times. On a plan of Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1635, showing the first plotting of homesteads in 1635, lot number 28, showing ten acres, is recorded as belonging to Abraham Morrill, he being ordered to "pale in three rods." He is listed as proprietor in Cambridge in 1636; and is recorded as having gone to Salisbury in company with one Anthony Colby, as proprietor there sometime during 1634 or 1635. He was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, of Boston, 1638. In 1641, Abraham Morrill is fined for "selling his servant his time." His occupations are well defined in the statement that he was a planter, a millwright and iron founder. Abraham Morrill received land in Salisbury in 1640, 1644, 1645; he went there in the memorable migration of many of the colonists to Connecticut under the Rev. Mr. Hooker. The town records of Salisbury state that at a general meeting of freemen held January 25, 1644, ten acres of upland were granted to Abraham Morrill. The location thereof is given as "to be at the end of his twenty acres formerly granted at Isammans Hill in exchange of his ten acres upon Merrimack River, etc."

SMITH, MORRILL, AND ALLIED FAMILIES

On February 12, 1652, he and Samuel Winslow (2) were chosen to divide the Neck near the Ferry. Abraham Morrill died June 20, 1662, at Roxbury, Massachusetts; buried in Roxbury Cemetery, Washington Street, Boston. The will of Abraham Morrill dated only two days before his death is given herewith:

I being weake in body, yet having the perfect use of my memory doe make this as my last will and testament;

My will is that what ever debts I owe to any man be first payd out of my estate, and the residue of my estate I doe dispose of as followeth:

1 ly; I give unto my deare and loving wife the one halfe of my whole estate whether in housing lands cattle debts due to me from any or moveables or what ever els is mine; and this to be hers to dispose of as she shall see cause either in her life time or at her death.

2 ly; I give to my eldest sonne Isaack Morrill a double portion of the other halfe of my estate to be payd to him at the age of one and twenty yeares or day of marriage.

3 ly; The rest of the sayd halfe of my estate I give unto my other five children, Abraham, Jacob, Sarah, Moses and Lidda Morrill to be equally divided betweene them and to be enjoyed by them as they come to the age of one and twenty yeares or at the day of marriage.

4 ly; My will is if any of my foresayd six children die before they come of age to enjoy their portion that then their portion be divided between the remaing children equally.

5 ly; My will is my whole estate be kept and improved together and noe division made until my eldest sonne Isaack come to age to receive his portion; and afterwards as much as may be with any conveniency.

6 ly; My will is that my deare and loving wife and my eldest sonne Isaack Morrill shall be the executors of this my will.

7 ly; My request is that my loving friend Mr. Thomas Bradburry and my loving brother Job Clement be the overseers of this my last will and testament.

ABRAHAM MORRILL
his marke

June the 18th
62

JOHN STEVENS
TOBIAS DAVIS
RHODA RIMINGTON
MARY WISE

This will was attested uppon oath by Tobias Davis and Mr. Rhoda Remington before the Court held at Hampton ye 14th day of October 1662 as attest

THO; BRADBURY, rec.

The widdow Morrill did accept of ye executership before ye Court held at Hampton ye 14th 8th mo. 62 as attest.

THO; BRADBURY, rec.

ess. ss. Jan. 31. 1703-4

SMITH, MORRILL, AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Before ye Honble John Applton Esqu. Judge of ye Probate of Wills etc. in sd county appd Isaac Morrill one of ye executors in ye last will and test of his ffather Abram Morrell of Salisbury, Dec. and then accepted of executorshipp to sd will which was allowed.

Attest Daniel Rogers, Regr.

Will approved October 14, 1662, Rec. Book 308 page 467.

Essex ss. Probate Office Sept. 5, 1893.

A true copy of record.

J. A. MAHONEY, Regestor.

Abraham Morrill married Sarah Clements, daughter of Robert Clements, early settler of Haverhill, first town deputy to the General Court. Sarah (Clements) Morrill married (second) Thomas Mudgett. (Clements II.) Children, all born in Salisbury: 1. Isaac, of whom further. 2. Jacob, born August 24, 1648, died April 24, 1718; married, July 15, 1674, Susannah Whittier, born March 27, 1656, died February 15, 1726-27. 3. Sarah, born October 14, 1650; married (first), January 5, 1670, Philip Rowell; married (second), July 31, 1695, Onesiphorus Page; married (third), May 29, 1708, Daniel Merrill. 4. Abraham, born November 14, 1652, died in 1697 or 1698; married, about 1688, Sarah Bradbury, born February 26, 1661-62, died March 5, 1708-09. 5. Moses, born December 28, 1655, died May 20, 1731; married (first) Rebecca Barnes, who died April 3, 1727; married (second) Mary Eastman. 6. Aaron, born August 9, 1658, died January 31, 1658-1659. 7. Richard, born February 6, 1659-60, died February 17, 1659-1660. 8. Lydia, born March 8, 1660-61; married, November 9, 1682, Ephraim Severance. 9. Hepzibah, born in January, 1662-63; married, about 1689, Captain John Dibbs.

(Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America," pp. 15-38, and chart at end of book.)

II. Isaac (I) Morrill, son of Abraham and Sarah (Clements) Morrill, was born in Salisbury, July 10, 1646, and died October 17, 1713. In his will, a long and interesting document, Isaac Morrill describes himself as of Salisbury, County Essex, Massachusetts Bay Colony, blacksmith. This will was made January 12, 1712-13, and was witnessed by Ephraim Seaverns, Jeremiah Stevens, Joseph Flanders, C. Cushing. It was proved November 26, 1713. Isaac Morrill married, at Salisbury, Massachusetts, November 14, 1670, Phebe Gill. (Gill II.) Children, born in Salisbury: 1. Abraham, born August 22, 1671; married, January 2, 1695-96, Elizabeth Sargent. 2. Isaac, of whom further. 3. Mary, born February 1, 1674. 4. Sarah, born May 27, 1675, living in

SMITH, MORRILL, AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1713; probably unmarried. 5. Jacob, born May 25, 1677. Will proved March 25, 1754; married (first), December 4, 1701, Elizabeth Stevens; married (second), January 5, 1722-23, Elizabeth Dalton. 6. John, born November 2, 1679. Will proved April 31, 1760; married, December 23, 1703, Mary Stevens. 7. Rachel, born February 18, 1681-82, died February 29, 1681-82. 8. Daniel, born February 18, 1682-83. Will proved June 9, 1755; married, January 23, 1706-07, Hannah Stevens. 9. Jemima, born October 9, 1685; married, January 18, 1701-02, Joseph Pike. 10. Mary, born September 10, 1689, living a "spinster" in 1740. 11. Rachel, born August 23, 1692; married, March 20, 1711-12, John Shepard.

(Reference as before, pp. 39-44, and "chart at end of book." D. W. Hoyt: "Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury," p. 174.)

III. Deacon Isaac (2) Morrill, son of Isaac and Phebe (Gill) Morrill, was born July 24, 1673, and died June 22, 1737. "Deacon Morrill," as he was called, was a constituent member of the church, in November, 1718, as was his wife Abigail. He was Representative for eight years. According to his will dated June 18, 1737, and proved July 18, 1737, he died possessed of considerable property, for he gives land on Long Hill to his son Benjamin; the acres of cow land in his cow pasture to his son Nathaniel; to his son Paul he gives "thirty acres of land above ye mills," and gives to his sons Micajah and Isaac, following their mother's decease—

All my Homstead which I had of my ffather Morrill with the appurtenancies and the rest of my mowing ground adjoyning which I had of my father Brown. And also my Two acres of ye meadow so Called and all my right and interest in ye meadow Lott so called at the points and the aforsd, three acres of land on Long hill excepted out of Benjamin gift as afsd.

In addition he makes bequest of money to his three daughters, and further states:

And finally I do Constitute and appoint my two sons Micajah & Isaac to be Joynt Executers of this my Last Will & testamt. to whom I Give all my husbandry Tools and Implemts. after my wifes decease or Next Marriage. And furthermore I Give the rest of my Cow Pasture so Called lying between my homstead & the street the one half thereof to my son Benjamin Next adjoyning to his own lands And the other half thereof to my sons Micajah & Isaac I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Eighteenth day of June Anno Domini 1737.

SMITH, MORRILL, AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Memornd. that the words and two acres of Mowing ground below this barn with what he had fences in there were Interlind in ye bequest to Benjamin before sealing and also ye word pounds in that to Tamson also ye word Gift in ye 6th article.

Signed sealed & declared by ye sd. Isaac Morrill to be his last will & testmt. in presence of us

CALEB CUSHING

JOHN MORRILL

JACOB MORRILL

DANIEL MORRILL

ISAAC MORRILL Seal

Essex as Probate Office, October 17, 1913.

A true copy.

Isaac Morrill was married at Salisbury (intentions April 16, 1695), by John Alling, minister, May 30, 1696, to Abigail Brown. (Brown III.) Children, all born in Salisbury: 1. Benjamin, born January 27, 1696-97, living in 1737; married, January 21, 1719-20, Ruth Allen, born March 5, 1700-01. 2. Abigail, born May 6, 1699, living in 1737; married, November 12, 1731, James Toppan. 3. Nathaniel, born July 20, 1701, died about 1728; married Sarah Ordiorne or Oldborne. 4. Joseph, born November 15, 1703; married, May 19, 1725, Tabitha Stevens, who died March 31, 1733; married (second), April 20, 1734, Sarah Smith. 5. Paul, born May 5, 1706; married, February 16, 1739-1740, Martha Worthen. 6. Micajah, born July 21, 1708, died 1750-55; married, January 17, 1733-34, Mary Greeley. 7. Tamson, born October 16, 1712, died in 1796; married, February 21, 1743-44, John Jaquith, of Wilmington. 8. Phebe, born July 7, 1715; married, February 17, 1736-1737, William Whittier. 9. Isaac, of whom further.

(Reference as before, pp. 45-58, and chart at back of book.)

IV. Reverend Isaac (3) Morrill, son of Deacon Isaac and Abigail (Brown) Morrill, was born in Salisbury, May 20, 1718, and died, in Wilmington, August 17, 1793. He was received into the Church at Salisbury, March 26, 1738, being later dismissed to the church at Wilmington. He graduated from Harvard College in 1737, in his nineteenth year, in the class with Peter Oliver, Peter Thacker (Rev.) Andrew Elliot (Rev.), and Ebenezer Jay. He was second minister of the church at Wilmington, which was set off from Woburn, Massachusetts, September 25, 1730. The first minister of the church was the Rev. Mr. Varney, ordained October 24, 1733. As was the custom of the time he was settled for life, but was obliged to resign because of ill-health on April 5,

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1739. He was succeeded by Rev. Isaac Morrill, who was ordained May 30, 1741, and who served in all the long period of fifty-three years. In 1764, the townspeople, dissatisfied with their old building, decided on the practical remaking of the meeting-house, which was completed in March, 1767. This building remained in good repair until 1813, when it was torn down, to be followed by one which was burned in 1862, and subsequently by the First Church of Christ erected in 1868, which still stands. In the first old church of hallowed memory, Rev. Isaac Morrill not only completed a long pastorate, in which spiritual solicitude for his people was the strong motive, but he also displayed patriotic zeal in mind and in action that led him forth to serve his country. It was a time of stress, this pre-Revolutionary time, and from 1768 onward, town meetings were held frequently registering as early as that year the sentiment of the citizens. Mr. Paul Cook, a committee man, was elected to serve at a convention to be held in Boston, Thursday, September 22, 1758, and the resolution passed "That the town do highly approve the votes and proceedings of the town of Boston, and do return them their thanks." From this date on till the news of peace reached Congress, March, 1783, there were recorded one hundred and thirty-five town meetings held in Wilmington, an average of sixteen a year.

At a Council held at the Council Chambers in Boston upon Saturday the 10th day of March, 1759, sitting in the General Court, Present,

His Excellency Thomas Pownall, Esq., Governor,

The Honorable, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Lieutenant Governor, John Osborn, Benjamin Lynde, Joseph Pynchon, Stephen Sewall, Benjamin Lincoln, William Bradstreet, Robert Hooper, James Bowdoin, Gamaliel Bradford, Thomas Hancock, and others—

To the Rev. Mr. Isaac Morrill the sum of Two pounds seventeen shillings, for subsisting himself in his march to Albany and on his return home and for Transporting his Baggage, being a Chaplain in the intended Expedition, against Canada, 1758.

Paid £2:17: to Mr. Isaac Morrill, Vol. 14, p. 46.

This may refer to the Expedition which went out under Col. Ethan Allen, resulting in the taking of Ticonderoga, New York, from the British on May 10, 1755, and at Crown Point, two days later, when we know he was present.

He is also in a "List, dated July 8, 1776, of men who paid money to hire men to serve on the Crown Point expedition, Rev. Isaac Morrill being credited with 'one turn of service.' This means a short service, probably local."

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The following account of our Mr. Morrill's connection with the well-known events of April 19, 1775, is taken from "The Boston Transcript" for May 3, 1897, in an article headed "Historic Mansion Closed, Famous Stearnes House at Bedford Closed after a Hundred Years Occupancy by the Stearnes Family":

This was a parsonage before 1796, when the Rev. Samuel Stearnes set up his home there. It was by this hearthstone that the Tory minister, the Rev. Joseph Penniman, sat on the 19th day of April, 1775, when called upon by the Wilmington minister on his way to intercept the British at Concord. (The Wilmington minister was the Rev. Isaac Morrill, at that time fifty-seven years old.) The Bedford minister turned away his patriot friend by saying: "You go and fight and I will stay here and pray."

In the councils of the legislators of the time the work of Rev. Isaac Morrill was also considered of importance. On June 12, 1778, the town of Wilmington appointed a committee with Mr. Morrill as chairman to report on the new constitution framed by the General Court of 1777 and presented to the town.

On May 17, 1780, the Form of Constitution, reported by the Cambridge Convention, was submitted to the people, and referred to a committee consisting of the Rev. Isaac Morrill, Cadwallader Ford, Esq., Major Ebenezer Jones, Ensign Nathan Pearson, Mr. Reuben Butter, Capt. John Harnden, and Captain Joshua Harnden. On May 24th, the Constitution, with the amendments proposed by this committee, was unanimously accepted, "there being 52 votes present, and voting."

Upon April 19, 1780, a memorable sermon was preached by the Rev. Isaac Morrill in commemoration, upon their anniversary, of the historic events which had taken place there. We cannot give this in its entirety, but we quote from and pay due homage to its fearlessness. It breathes forth faith in Divine Providence and the Justice of the Cause of those true fighters for liberty who in the Revolutionary War gained for us the security and peace of American freedom. We quote the following excerpts:

Were not your hearts almost ready to fail you upon the nineteenth of April, when the flame of war first burst forth? Was not God with you as your upholder and comforter? Did not the sacred oracles afford you some support? Did you not repair to God as the city of your refuge, and desire He would display His power on your behalf? Did you not then feel a lively sense of the need of Divine help? Was not

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God's government acknowledged, and did not the precepts of his word silence your complaints? Were some of your houses then in flames (as has been the sad case of whole towns since)? Was not this the language of holy writ? The Lord reigneth; He is clothed with majesty, clouds and darkness are round about Him; righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne.

Gentlemen, how sad had been the state of this land, had we been so pusillanimous as to have suffered the British troops to march from place to place, without molestation. We rejoice you had spirit on so sudden an occasion to resist tyranny at the peril of your lives. And you see how ready your brethren were to concur with, aid and assist you upon the earliest intelligence. The stroke first given was heavy indeed in this place, and while we all lament it we thank God no more of you were suffered to fall. The spirit you discovered upon that day was noble. Zeal for your country's good inspired your breast. What more excellent than a love for our country. Would to God it were more extensive and better directed. By your appearing under arms this day, we trust you give us a token you will ever be ready to stand forth in the defence of the land whenever occasion calls for it. The soldiery are necessary for the defense of the land against the insults of oppressing tyrants (as we are sufficiently taught at this day) and are to be respected in their place. They ought ever to be actuated by the principles of religion, reason and conscience. Skill in military exercises is necessary to make good soldiers. A soldier in the field of action is ever exposed to danger. The day we now commemorate has taught you the expediency that such men should ever be prepared for the greatest of events.

But remember, sirs, the great christian warfare, whose banner you must fight under as the captain of your salvation; Jesus the great Saviour of the world. Ever hold in mind that opposition you must make to the enemies of your souls, and take heed your spiritual adversaries do not prove victorious. For, say the apostle, we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand in the evil day. Take the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench the fiery darts of the wicked. Take the sword of the spirit the word of God. Behave in all dutiful obedience to Jesus your commander. And, as the apostle has exhorted, be good soldiers of Jesus Christ, and you will be sure of your reward.

Let every one exert himself to the utmost of his ability, for the setting up of civil government, upon the best plan that can be agreed upon, though it may not be according to every man's mind. The blessings of civil government are many and great, ought to be prized and sought after by all.

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A people without law (or with laws poorly executed which is much the same) will presently become destitute of justice and righteousness. The setting up of civil government among us is necessary, for the bringing on a better state of things; yea, absolutely necessary, and none can oppose it but such as are ignorant of their own interest.

We wish for the out-pouring of the holy spirit from on high, a reformation of manners, a revival of religion, and a truly Christian temper among man, then we may hope for prosperity.

God grant, that the time may be hastened, when peace, truth and righteousness shall universally prevail; and the Redeemer's kingdom come with power, and fill the whole earth.

Rev. Isaac Morrill married (first), August 27, 1741, Mary Ayer, daughter of James and Mary (White) Ayer, born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, died July 3, 1742. Isaac Morrill married (second), at Billerica, August 4, 1743, Dorothy Ruggles. (Ruggles V.) Child of first marriage: 1. James, born June 9, 1742, died September 12, 1742. Children of second marriage: 2. Samuel, born April 21, 1744, died September 24, 1787; married Miss Lawrence, of Epping, New Hampshire. 3. Elizabeth, born June 1, 1746, died August 6, 1804; married, May 23, 1776, Cadwallader Ford, born November 27, 1743, died October 15, 1804. 4. Isaac, born August 13, 1748, died May 5, 1839; married Mary Mann, who died December 23, 1831. 5. James, born February 8, 1751, died April 3, 1833; married Mary Glover, who died April 3, 1842. 6. Eliakem, born January 2, 1753, died August 13, 1842; married Ruth Russell, who died September 2, 1824. 7. William, born March 22, 1755, died January 18, 1827; married Elizabeth Foster, who died August 15, 1831. 8. Nathaniel, of whom further. 9. Dorothy, born July 13, 1760, died October 6, 1838; married, August 2, 1814, Joel Jenkins, born September 23, 1757, died June 16, 1821. 10. A son, still-born, April 22, 1763. 11. Abigail, born May 19, 1765, died December 3, 1851. 12. Phebe, born July 17, 1768, died March 29, 1790.

(As before, pp. 49-67; pp. 117-32, and chart at end of book.)

V. Nathaniel Morrill, son of Rev. Isaac and Dorothy (Ruggles) Morrill, was born at Wilmington, April 22, 1757, died October 23, 1828. He was a farmer and lived in the homestead which he received from his father. He died intestate and the administration of his affairs was granted to his brother, James Morrill, of Boston, at the request of his children, Nathaniel, Isaac, Cadwallader, and Sophie. Nathaniel Morrill married, at Wilmington, December 13, 1781, Hannah Jaquith.

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(Jaquith V.) Children: 1. Micajah, of whom further. 2. Nathaniel, born December 3, 1783, died May 6, 1837; married, December 1, 1808, Mary Buck; she died April 20, 1831. 3. Hannah, born March 11, 1785, died March 22, 1867; married, November 1, 1804, Jonathan Carter. 4. Samuel, born January 29, 1787, died January 9, 1819; married, December 24, 1818, Susan Tufts, born January 4, 1794, died July 16, 1880. 5. Benjamin, born March 11, 1789, died November 6, 1824; married, March 24, 1817, Susanna (Floyd) Morrill, widow of Micajah, his brother. (Floyd V.) 6. Phebe, born July 11, 1791, died April 19, 1863; married, December 16, 1810, Abiel Carter. 7. Isaac, born July 2, 1793, died July 17, 1843; married, February 24, 1820, Abigail Eames, born September 3, 1800, died April 26, 1847. 8. Cadwallader Ford, born October 1, 1796, died December 29, 1881; married, July 20, 1829, Susan (Tuft) Eames, widow of Samuel Eames. 9. Sophia, born September 18, 1799, died July 4, 1868; married, April 23, 1829, Isaac Floyd. 10. Harriet, born July 5, 1802, died February 7, 1871; married, April 21, 1821, Thomas Stimpson, born April 6, 1800, died May 1, 1882.

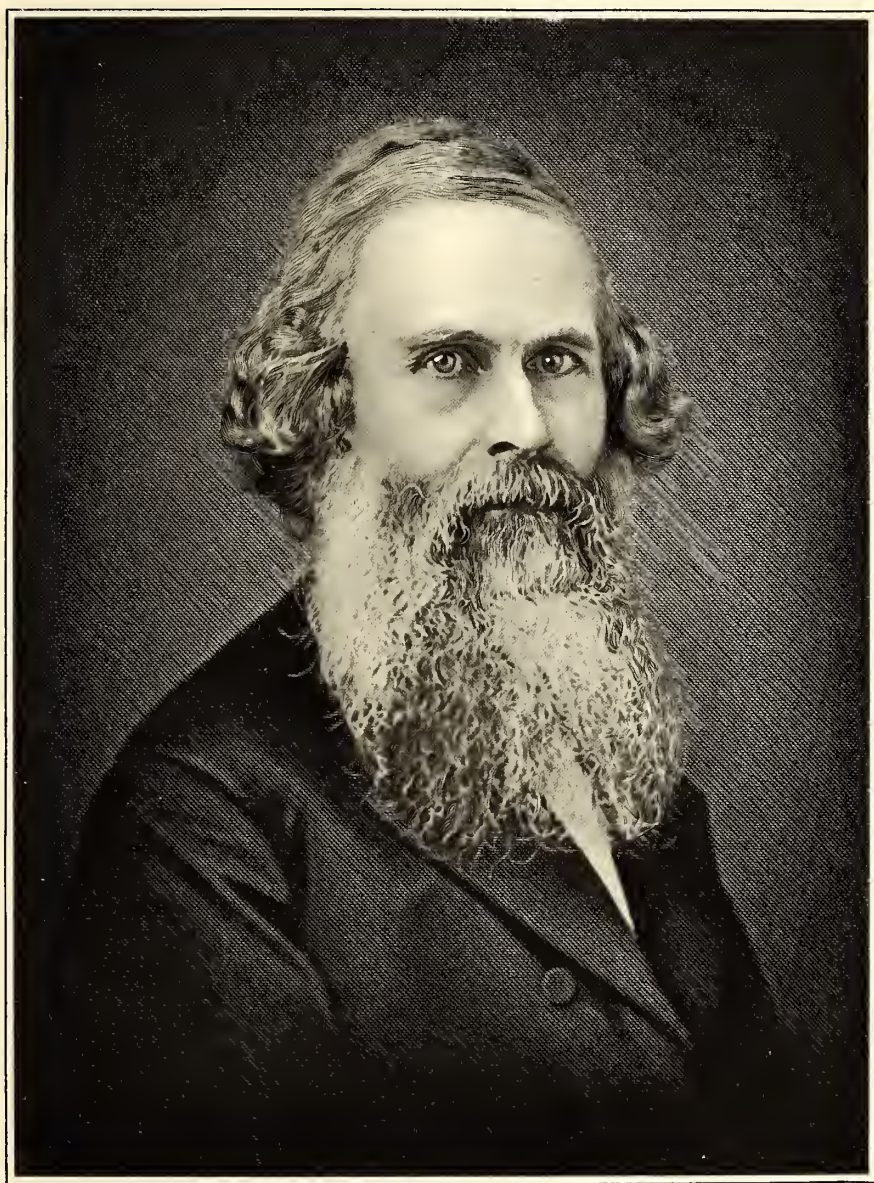
(Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America," pp. 69-76, and chart at end of book.)

VI. Micajah Morrill, son of Nathaniel and Hannah (Jaquith) Morrill, was born November 25, 1782, and died of typhoid fever, July 26, 1814. He was in partnership in the dry goods business with his brother Benjamin in Boston, the business being continued until the death of the latter in 1824. It is of interest to note the family were members of Old South Church, Boston. Micajah Morrill was married in Medford by Rev. Dr. Osgood, November 1, 1807, to Susanna Floyd (Floyd V), who married (second), in 1817, Benjamin Morrill, brother of Micajah Morrill. Children by first marriage: 1. William Micajah, born August 27, 1808, died June 15, 1816. 2. George, born July 9, 1811, died September 27, 1836; married, April 25, 1833, Sarah Oliver Decoster, born July 5, 1811, died March 2, 1871; she married (second) William Ryder. 3. Henry Edwin, of whom further. Children by second marriage: 4. Benjamin Jaquith, born March 8, 1818, died April 18, 1872; married, in 1837, Maria Piquot, of Boston. 5. Susanna Floyd, born February 26, 1822, died May 10, 1898; married, October 14, 1846, Rev. Sylvanus Warren, born February 6, 1822, died March 10, 1878.

(As before, pp. 77-97, chart at end of book.)

VII. Doctor Henry Edwin Morrill, son of Micajah and Susanna (Floyd) Morrill, was born in Boston, on December 29, 1813. His





H. E. Morrell M.D.

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father, as previously noted, died when he was but an infant, and upon the death of his step-father, Benjamin Morrill, his father's brother, Mrs. Morrill returned with her family to the old house in Wilmington to make her home with Cadwallader Ford Morrill, her husband's brother, who still resided in the old homestead, which dated back to 1745. Here in the atmosphere of home, and under the fine influence of his mother and his uncle, who was as a father to him, the boy received the best of training. It became necessary for him, however, to early earn his living, and he was accordingly apprenticed to a cracker baker in Wilmington. He mastered the trade, but upon going to Boston, came under the influence of a Mr. Bumstead, superintendent of the Pine Street Sabbath School, and entered the latter's employ, being apprenticed to him in the wall paper business. Henry Edwin Morrill had other hopes for his own future, and decided to continue his interrupted schooling. On January 12, 1831, he entered the time-honored Phillips Andover Academy, from which he was graduated August 3, 1833, being Latin salutatorian. In the fall of 1833 he matriculated at Amherst College, remaining at that institution until sometime in 1837. Here began Mr. Morrill's friendship with Henry Ward Beecher; and although the fellow-students were together at college but one year (Mr. Beecher having graduated in 1834) the attachment grew in loyalty and strength and the two became lifelong friends. During the year 1837, Mr. Morrill and his mother and sister went to Cincinnati, Ohio, to which place the Beechers had preceded them. Dr. Lyman Beecher was president of Lane Theological Seminary, and was also pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, which church the Morrill family joined. Just as it was necessary that Henry Edwin Morrill earn his way through college, which he did with consistent industry, so now it was urgent that he obtain a position. The opening came to him to become resident tutor in the family of Mr. W. Pierce in Natchez, Mississippi. Here he met Mr. Pierce's niece, Elizabeth Buckminster Miles, born in Athens, Ohio, December 21, 1819. They were married, September 7, 1837; but a few days after the marriage, Mr. Morrill and his bride were stricken with the yellow fever, and on September 25, 1837, only eighteen days after their marriage, Elizabeth Morrill, aged seventeen years, nine months and four days died, leaving a husband, who unconscious in the grip of the dread disease, knew not of his loss.

Mr. Morrill returned to Cincinnati, and there made the important decision to become a physician. He entered the office of Dr. Foote, a

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celebrated physician and surgeon, and also attended lectures at Hamilton Medical College; went to Philadelphia, where he took his M. D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania, in March, 1840, and received a supplementary diploma for courses in the Infirmary, April, 1840. He served as surgeon's mate to the Second Regiment, Second Brigade, and First Division of Militia of the State of Ohio, commissioned April 23, 1842, Thomas Corwin, Governor.

Upon his return to Cincinnati after his graduation at the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Henry Edwin Morrill opened an office in 1840 for the practice of medicine at Madisonville, Ohio, a few miles from Linwood, now a part of the city of Cincinnati. In accord with his family's and his own custom to be ever active in church affiliation and duties, he joined the Columbia Methodist Church, of which his father-in-law, Rev. James D. Langdon, was minister, transferring from the Second Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati.

However, to this man of versatile attainment and worthwhile ambition, new opportunities were ever open. In 1845 Dr. Morrill began lecturing on medical subjects. This he continued for two years traveling throughout Ohio and Pennsylvania. In 1847 an opening occurred in the drug business of A. L. Scovill and Company, of Cincinnati, and Dr. Morrill took charge of the New York branch. He and his family, consisting of his wife and a little orphan girl, first made their home in New York City. This foster daughter, Laura, lived with them until her marriage, which took place in 1862. Following the residence in New York, Dr. Morrill and his family removed to Brooklyn, first to Adams Street, then to a house which he purchased, situated at No. 78 Orange Street. The latter became his home for the rest of his life, and it is associated closely and belovedly with the life of his daughter, Annie Elizabeth, as well. In Brooklyn again Dr. Morrill was brought into close association with Henry Ward Beecher. The Morrill family joined historic Plymouth Church and were closely allied with its most intimate life and its widespread service, as well as in active contact with its beloved minister. Henry Edwin Morrill was trustee, deacon and also superintendent of the Sunday school for the first ten years, and did other important church work, a service remembered with gratitude by many; a testimonial of appreciation in the form of a complete table service, silver, damask and china having been presented to him and his wife by the Sunday school, officers, teachers, and pupils upon his retirement from the superintendency.

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In 1856, after the removal to Brooklyn, the drug business having failed, Mr. Morrill returned to the practice of his profession. Becoming interested in Homeopathy, then a new method, he took lectures at Hahnemann College, Philadelphia, and fitted himself for the practice of medicine, along the methods used by this new school. This he did, achieving for himself no small measure of success, and, what was to him more important, enabling him to be of great aid to many who came to him in illness and distress.

Dr. Morrill died in Brooklyn, March 6, 1874. A letter written to his daughter by Miss M. E. Thalheimer, a member of Plymouth Church, contains these words:

Dr. and Mrs. Cynthia Morrill contributed their full share toward promoting all that was genial in the atmosphere of the Church. His profession of healing was an important element in his beneficence, and though personal sorrow and failing health must have deeply clouded the home, there was always the opportunity of service to others who were oppressed by pain or grief.

Of him Mrs. Harriet Williams, sister of Mrs. Cynthia (Langdon) Morrill, writes:

When I contemplate Dr. Morrill's character as I knew him, so beautiful, so rich, so full in its entirety, I am at a loss for fitting words to give the expression I desire and the subject demands, and also what best to choose from the storehouse of memory. It is bewildering—like one entering a flower garden in full bloom to gather a nosegay.

He possessed another quality that seems to me essential in a physician, the religious element. He was a deep and earnest Christian; religion with him was a reality, a part of his every day life. He went about "doing good." It is impossible to tell of all the kindnesses he did, "the cups of cold water" to the thirsty ones—the words of encouragement to those walking in darkness and doubt—words of hope and comfort to the sick and the dying.

Dr. Morrill as a dear brother and friend, is associated with some of the sweetest and happiest memories of my life. To me he seems almost perfect. I admired him for his intellectual attainments, his profound learning, cultivated manners, and conversational powers, so correct, a New Englander in accent and pronunciation. But I loved him for the goodness of his character; his kindness and sympathy, that made his life a blessing, not only to his own home, family, and friends, but to all who came under his influence. Of him as a physician and friend in sickness and in health, these words apply:

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“And he who loves the best
His fellow men
Is loving God the holiest
Way he can.”

This sketch would be incomplete without a reference to Dr. Morrill's home life. He was well fitted for a public life, popular as a speaker and lecturer, having at different times given courses of lectures, chiefly on medical subjects. I have heard him speak also from the pulpit, by special invitation. He preached these sermons as if he had been preaching all his life. But the pleasures of home, however, were more to him than these. The evenings devoted to reading aloud, and to conversation—wisdom and humor combined, for Dr. Morrill had a goodly share of Yankee humor. The good old-fashioned home life, with the atmosphere of religion, refinement and love, family prayers morning and evening. “A good life has a voice, it speaks, when the tongue is silent, and is either a constant attraction, or a perpetual reproof.” Words and deeds are living things that move on and widen like the waves that spread over the face of the great deep.

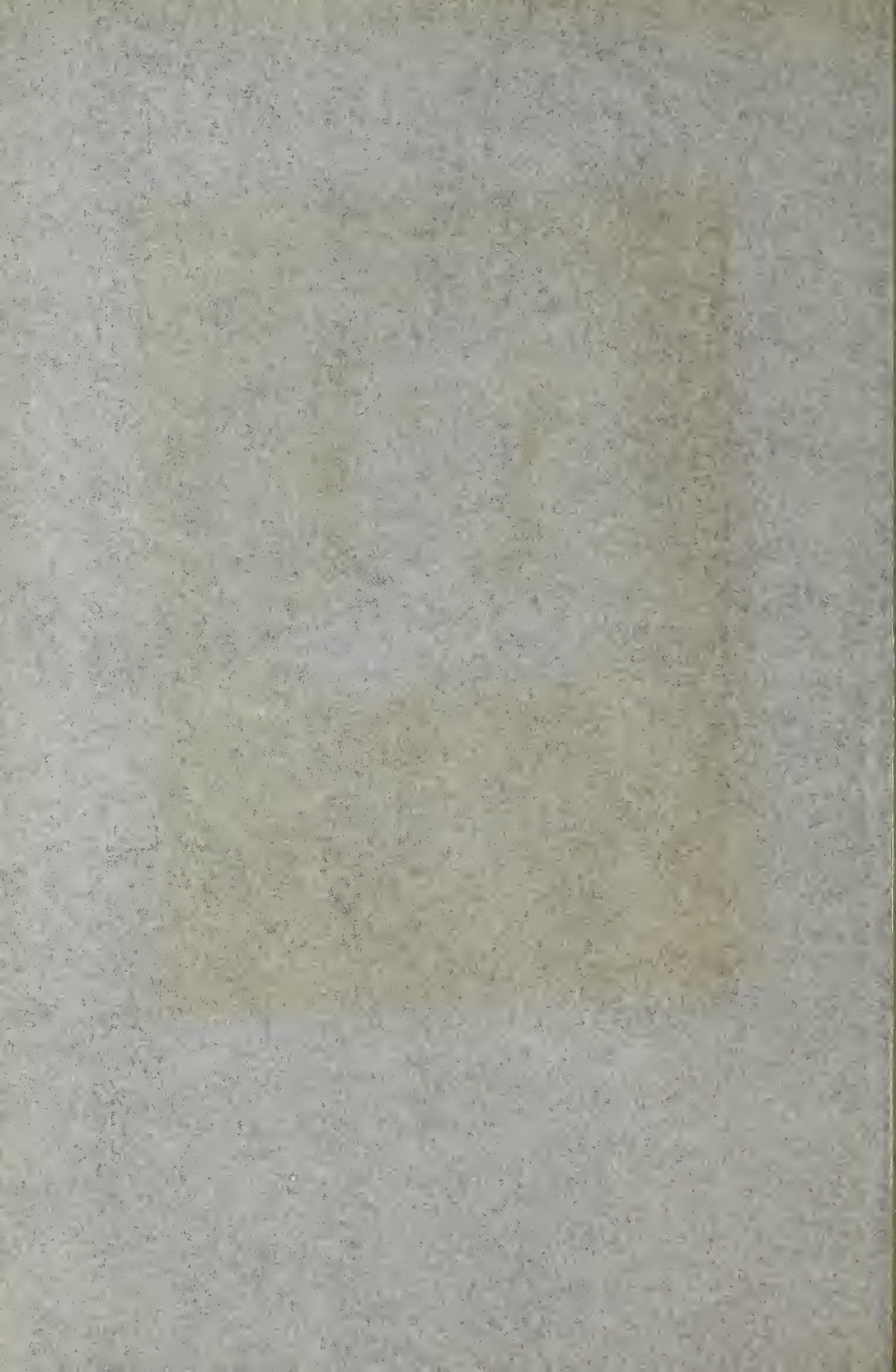
“Were a star quenched on high,
For ages would its light
Still traveling downward from the sky
Shine on mortal sight.

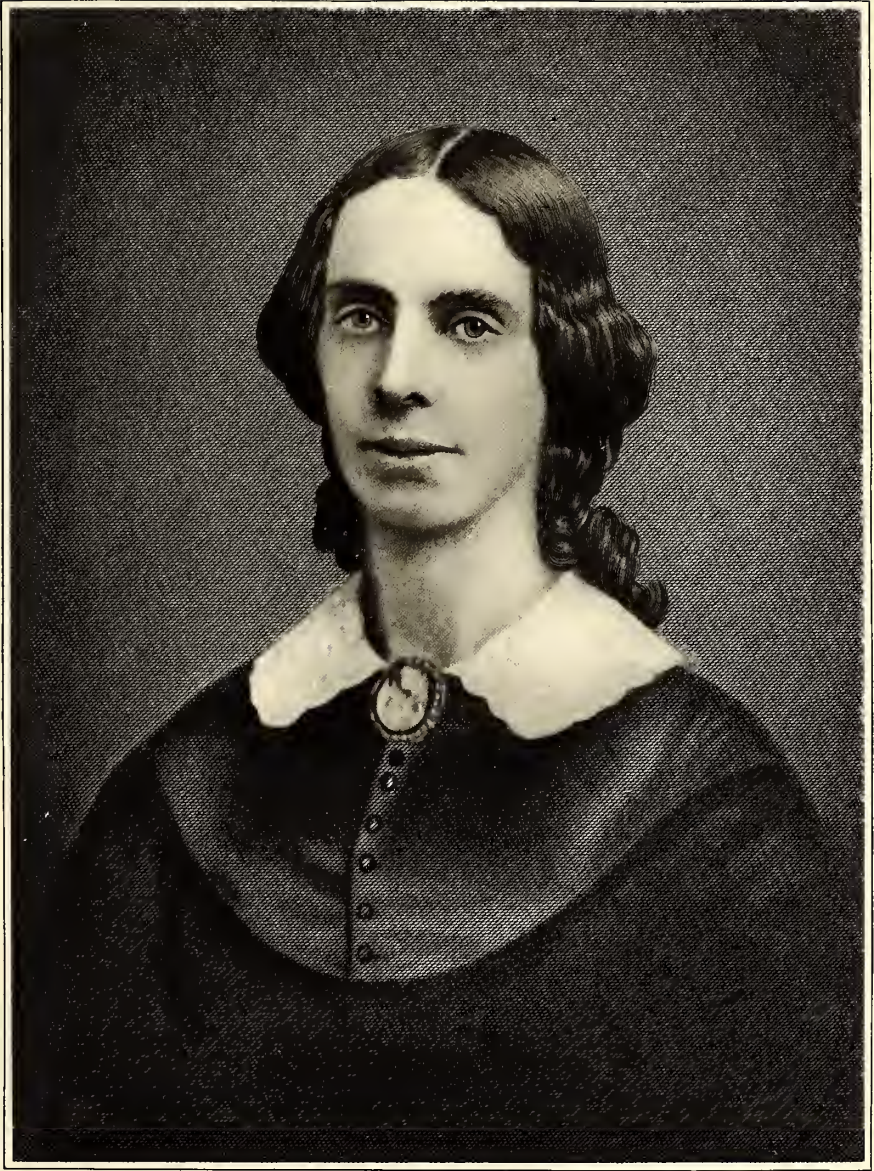
So when a great man dies,
For years beyond our ken,
The light he leaves behind him lies
Upon the paths of men.”

Dr. Henry Edwin Morrill married (first), September 7, 1837, Elizabeth Buckminster Miles, mentioned above. He married (second), at Linwood, Ohio, November 11, 1841, Cynthia Langdon (Langdon V). He married (third), July 30, 1863, Cordelia Warner, daughter of Milo and Lucina K. (Sykes) Warner, born at Strykersville, Wyoming County, New York, November 25, 1817, died in Brooklyn, New York, October 3, 1906. Children, born of the second marriage: 1. Henry Edwin, born and died May 24, 1844. 2. Annie Elizabeth, of whom further.

(As before, pp. 89-115, and chart at end of book.)

VIII. Annie Elizabeth Morrill, daughter of Dr. Henry Edwin and Cynthia (Langdon) Morrill, was born in Brooklyn, New York, February 13, 1856. It is of interest to record that, born in the old house in Orange Street, she spent a happy girlhood there, was married there and





Cynthia L. Merrill



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spent her married life within its walls. Much of her interest and association were centered around the religious life of Plymouth Church. Her father's position as deacon of the old church and her step-mother's as deaconess brought her into touch with the life of poor of the city and church. She was much interested in the latter even in early girlhood, and one of her duties was to show visitors around its precincts, interesting, nay even sacred to America and of deserved mention. Annie Elizabeth Morrill received her schooling at a little "Dame School" on Clark Street, later for ten years at Packer Institute. Ill health cut short her course there, so that she was unable to graduate with her class, that of 1874. This was keenly felt, and although two years in Europe, 1878 and 1879, imparted much of education and culture, it did not make up to her for this break in her studies. Annie Elizabeth Morrill married Dr. Hugh Montgomery Smith. (Smith IV.) Mrs. Smith took a keen interest in the study of cryptogamic botany, and took this up as serious work. In 1898, the Sullivant Moss Society was started, and the same year a publication devoted to mosses was started first as a department of "The Fern Bulletin," but soon becoming an independent journal, "The Bryologist." Mrs. Smith was editor and owner of this until 1912, when she gave it over to the Sullivant Moss Society, now a very strong organization with a membership of over two hundred grown from its original thirty-four charter members. Mrs. Smith, in connection with this work, began a three-fold herbarium in 1898, which in 1913 was of such size that Mrs. Smith felt that it should be opened for the service of the public, and she presented it to the then newly opened Botanic Garden and Laboratory of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. This valuable collection with its many thousands of specimens, still part of the museum collection, shows forth in no small measure, the broadmindedness and generosity of the donor. Not only did Mrs. Smith turn over this valuable accumulation of botanical material, but at the same time she bestowed all her outfit of microscopes and technical apparatus, and also made a later gift of her fine botanical library of two thousand volumes.

Mrs. Annie Elizabeth (Morrill) Smith is the author of the "Morrill Kindred in America," of which a second volume is to be shortly published covering the families of two other sons of the emigrant ancestor, namely, Capt. Jacob and Lieutenant Moses; the "Ancestors of Henry Montgomery Smith and Catherine Forshee." She is co-editor with her cousin, Miss Harriet Nash Langdon, of "From one Generation to Another," a story of the Langdon family. As a genealogist she has

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proven herself of the painstaking and careful type that makes her work valuable alike to her family and to those interested in more general research. All her work proves her friendly, kindly, and reverently attached to all that is best in American life, its family traditions, its church interests, and religion, and its wise endeavor for humanitarian welfare.

(Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America," pp. 110-15.)

(The Langdon Line)

Langdon Arms—Argent, a chevron cotised between three dogs' heads, erased barways sable, muzzled of the field.

Crest—On a mount vert a lizard of the last, gorged with two bars or.

Motto—*Ma force est d'en haut.*

(Spooner: "Historic Families of America.")

The Langdon family is of indisputable antiquity, the name at the time of the Conquest having been Lizard. Its members have always held places of civic prominence and service, and have been of high standing in society.

(Spooner: "Historic Families of America," Vol. III, p. 238.)

I. Philip Langdon was a mariner and came to America from Yorkshire, England, in 1640. With him came his two brothers; of these one settled in New Hampshire and from him many noted Langdons descend; the other settled in Virginia. Philip Langdon was the father of seven children, of whom the fifth was: Paul, of whom further.

(Harriet Langdon Williams and Elam Chester Langdon: "From One Generation to Another," and chart in front of book.)

II. Lieutenant Paul Langdon, son of Philip Langdon, was born September 12, 1693, and died December 3, 1761. From his Bible record he at one time lived in Salem, but later, in 1742, moved to Wilbraham. He was evidently a most able man for his occupations are given as carpenter, millwright, and farmer. An account book is still preserved in the Langdon family showing well the thrift and industry of this early ancestor. An interesting letter to his wife couched in the quaint phraseology of the time and written in its distinctive cramped script, is still preserved. Paul Langdon married, in Salem, Massachusetts, August 17, 1718, Mrs. Mary H. Stacy. Children: 1. Mary, born August 20, 1719. 2. Lewis, born May 16, 1721. 3. Hannah, born February 22, 1723. 4. Paul, born December 16, 1725. 5. John, of whom further. 6. Elizabeth, born July 1, 1730. 7. Anna, born September 21, 1832.



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III. Sergeant John Langdon, son of Paul and Mary H. (-Stacy) Langdon, was born June 21, 1728, and died October 10, 1822. He settled in Wilbraham, Massachusetts. John Langdon was in active service during the French and Indian Wars and also during the Revolutionary War. He was sergeant in Captain Paul Langdon's Wilbraham Company of Minute Men, which marched in response to the alarm, April 19, 1775.

In records preserved at Springfield, Massachusetts, there is found "A List of 151 Men Voluntarily In listed into his Majesty's Service (1755) for reinforcing the Army for Crown Point out of ye Southern Regiment in the County of Hampshire" for three months "Benjamin Day Capt.," in which among the names of Wilbraham men appears the name of John Langdon. In a company of which Luke Hitchcock was captain, we find Paul Langdon (son of Lieut. Paul, brother of John), sergeant. They were out eight months, from April 3, 1755, to January 3, 1756, and were in the battle of Lake George, with Baron Dieskau.

The perils and deprivations of the time are simply yet vividly told in the following letter:

ROXBURY CAMP July ye 24th 1775.

Dear wife these Comes with my tender affection to you hoping they will find you all well. Through the great goodness of almighty God I am in a good Steat of helth for which I desier to be thankfull their was a man Shot through the breast with a musket ball and Expired that night it was Joseph wood that lived with mr. Brown last summer he was shot last thursday night. last thursday a Party of our men with the whale Boats went to the light house and burnt it tuck five priseners one boat and burnt another tuck two Swevels guns they broke of the lamps two barrels of powder two of oyl without the loss of a man their is a great deal of news in the Camp but i cant write more. I see Majr Bliss he told me you ware well.

I should be glad to have a pair of white lenen breaches my old Sockens are worn out almost I would have hier Som help to do your haying and the harvest all do as well as you can and the Lord bless you all.

my love to my dear Children John & James be good boys and be kind to your mother no more but I remain your most affectionate Husband

JOHN LANGDON

my duty to my hon^d mother & all friends in heast.

John Langdon married, December 29, 1757, Eunice Torrey, of Connecticut. (Torrey IV.) (According to F. C. Torrey, in the "Torrey Families and Their Children in America," she was his second wife; John Torrey having married (first), February 1, 1755, Sarah Stebbins.)

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Children: 1. John Wilson, born March 11, 1759; married Lucy Ashley. 2. Artemas, born May 25, 1760, died October 2, 1760. 3. James, of whom further. 4. Josiah, born January 13, 1765; married Sally Hall. 5. Joanna, born June 21, 1767; married Preserved Leonard. 6. Oliver, born October 9, 1769; married (first) Nancy Brown; (second) Catherine W. Bassett. 7. Eunice, born March 7, 1772; married Asa Merritt. 8. Solomon, born July 19, 1777; married Mary Butler.

(Reference as before, pp. 8-11, and chart. Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America," p. 105.)

IV. James Langdon, son of John and Eunice (Torrey) Langdon, was born March 27, 1762. He married Esther Stebbins, in Wilbraham, Massachusetts. (Stebbins VI.) In 1778, they in company with several of his brothers, traveled north and settled in Vershire, Orange County, Vermont. They were among those who formed the Methodist Episcopal Church there. James Langdon died in 1804, leaving a widow and three sons and two daughters. Two years later a group of the families of Vershire decided to go West to the new State of Ohio. In it were the families of John, Solomon and Oliver Langdon and the widow of James, Esther (Stebbins) Langdon, with her children. James and Esther (Stebbins) Langdon were the parents of: 1. Richard C., born December 5, 1789; married Arabella Mitchell. 2. James Davenport, of whom further. 3. Elam Potter, born April 17, 1794; married Ann Cromwell. 4. Lorenda, born March 21, 1795; married Lemuel Snow. 5. Joanna, born May 1, 1796; married Minervus Swift.

(Reference as before, pp. 11-12-20-21, and chart.)

V. Rev. James Davenport Langdon, son of James and Esther (Stebbins) Langdon, was born in Vershire, Orange County, Vermont. He removed with his mother to Ohio in 1806. In early manhood by patient economy he was enabled to purchase from his uncle the tract of land upon which he built his home and which became the inheritance of his children. Mr. Langdon was closely connected with the religious life of his community all during his boyhood, and upon reaching his maturity took deeper and more definite part in all religious affairs of the settlement. His mother's home was always open to the circuit preachers, and James Davenport led the singing, and was deeply impressed. Upon his conversion and definite acceptance before the world of the cause of Christ, he was fired with the desire to give to others the great happiness

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and assurance that was his, and began to hold prayer-meetings, becoming class-leader. The class increased in numbers until it consisted of thirty or forty members. Many of the local preachers had left, for the neighborhood was changing. Mr. Langdon was asked to preach and feeling the call to do so finally consented. After the death of his Uncle Oliver, who had been a frequent preacher as well as attendant at many funerals, Mr. Langdon was more and more called upon to minister "in the name of the Lord." No ordained minister was in the community, and consequently the ordinances could not be administered, so the group united with the Methodist Protestant Church of the Cincinnati Circuit. Mr. Langdon was first licensed to preach. On September 7, 1836, he was ordained deacon with authority to perform baptisms and marriage ceremonies. He was ordained an elder on August 21, 1842, and on November 6, 1848, he was appointed superintendent of the Cincinnati Circuit of the Methodist Protestant Church. By this appointment Mr. Langdon became a member of the Annual Conference, and remained a member for eight years. Deeply interested in the temperance movement, he joined the first temperance society and in 1833 was elected president. The same year he formed a temperance society in Columbia, which was an active force for many years, and was succeeded by the Sons of Temperance, who took up its work. This remarkable man performed a signal work in his day and generation. Fired by religious fervor, he followed the call of the "Spirit" as it was manifested unto him. Many times it led him into physical danger, as it did when braving the dread cholera in 1832 and 1849, he, unlike many other ministers, never failing to answer the request to attend funerals and comfort the living with assurances of the religion he so ardently believed and practiced. He was a fine preacher of the more conservative order, never sensational, and delivered sermons full of helpful educational lessons. Rev. James Davenport Langdon was untiring in devotion to the church he served, and the beautiful Christian faith it was his life work to make plain to those who needed its guidance and uplift. In home-life he was a loving, wise and kindly father and his children willingly and gladly recorded the account of his deeds and idealism. In all he was ably helped by his wife, Sarah Phelps, a typical New England woman, who looked well after the affairs of her household, but withal had time for kindly human interest in others outside the close circle. She shared in all her husband's many charities, showing that benevolent spirit that is at once the sign of a strong character and a tender-hearted one. Hospitality

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was a joy to her and that, in a day when hospitality meant more than perfunctory entertaining. Many beautiful memories cluster around the home of this remarkable couple, and the charming story of the life therein is told in printed form by their children, Harriet (Langdon) Williams, and Elam Chester Langdon in the booklet "From One Generation to Another." This home was first established in what was originally Columbia, Ohio, but later the village of Linwood grew up around their home. This village now is part of Cincinnati.

Rev. James Davenport Langdon married Sarah Phelps, born May 1, 1797, died September 11, 1863, daughter of Ebenezer and Sarah (Brown) Phelps. (Phelps VI.) He died April 13, 1887. Children, born at Hamilton County, Ohio: 1. James Harvey, born November 23, 1819, died June 27, 1842. 2. Sarah, born October 1, 1821, died December 15, 1825. 3. Cynthia, of whom further. 4. Harriet, born July 25, 1825; married, August 26, 1852, Rev. Charles H. Williams. Mr. Williams died March 22, 1894. 5. Cyrus Stebbins, born January 5, 1828, died February 1, 1864. 6. John Phelps, born December 8, 1829, died November 19, 1897; married (first), May 24, 1855, Mary Williams, died September 22, 1860; married (second), April 3, 1861, Keturah Nash. 7. Elam Chester, born March 13, 1832; married (first), April 12, 1859, Cynthia Allen, who died December 18, 1862; married (second), December 29, 1869, Martha Nash. 8. Edwin Mattoon, born December 20, 1834, died July 26, 1847. 9. Henry Archer, born May 28, 1839, died May 13, 1876; married (first), January 15, 1867, Emeline Corbly, died July 8, 1874; married (second), December 1, 1875, Sydney Edwards.

(Harriet (Langdon) Williams and Elam Chester Williams: "From One Generation to Another," Chart and pp. 20-25-34-35. Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America," pp. 105-07.)

VI. Cynthia Langdon, daughter of Rev. James Davenport and Sarah (Phelps) Langdon, was born in Columbia (later Linwood), Ohio, August 23, 1823, and died in Brooklyn, New York, January 9, 1861. She married, as second wife, Dr. Henry Edwin Morrill. (Morrill VII.) After her removal East she became most interested in the work of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. She was buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.

(Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America," p. 105. Chart in "From One Generation to Another.")

SMITH, MORRILL, AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Smith Line)

Smith Arms—Argent a saltire azure between two garbs in the flanks, banded or.
Crest—A crescent argent. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Everywhere throughout the world the Smiths have always played their part in military life, in business, finance, industry, or in the professions. Originally the surname was applied to workers in all metals and wood, in fact to a numerous corps of mechanical workers. In the Scottish clans, the Smith ranked third in dignity to the chief, since his skill in the manufacture of military weapons and his aptitude in teaching the use of them, made him in those hazardous days of Highland warfare a most important figure.

I. Alpheus Smith, the American progenitor of the line, was born in Scotland about 1744. He came to America before the Revolutionary War; it is known that he served both under General John Stark and General Arthur St. Clair. Family traditions affirm that probably Alpheus Smith was a friend of the latter, in all likelihood the friendship began in the old country and also that they may have emigrated together. Arthur St. Clair was born in Thurso, Scotland, in 1734, and died August 31, 1818, near Greensburg, Pennsylvania. He served in the Revolutionary War, as General at Louisburg in 1758; at Quebec in 1759; took part in the victories of Trenton and Princeton, and was commander at Ticonderoga, which was evacuated before Burgoyne; he was present at Yorktown during the memorable siege. It is possible that he may have been accompanied in these campaigns by Alpheus Smith, for the events of the life of the latter seem never to have been recorded. He is supposed to have lost his life in the campaign against the Indians in 1791. Alpheus Smith married a Miss Bennett, a sister of Dr. W. C. Bennett, who was the first physician in the section of New York State, now known as Cayuga County. He also was the first justice of the peace and sat in the first court of the county, which met May 17, 1805, in the county seat Auburn, created such in 1804. To Alpheus Smith and his wife was born one son: 1. St. Clair, of whom further.

II. St. Clair Smith, son of Alpheus Smith, was born in Williamstown, Massachusetts, February 2, 1780, and died at Mentz, New York, March 29, 1853. It is thought that his mother died at his birth, and he was also supposed to have lost his father when he was but eleven years of age. He was brought up by Captain Lyons, and with him and the Montgomery and Dunning families moved to Cayuga County in 1796.

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St. Clair Smith was married (first) by W. C. Bennett, Esquire, October 4, 1806, at Aurelius, New York, to Betsey Montgomery. (Montgomery II.) He was married (second) by Daniel Calkins, Esquire, March 27, 1821, to Martha Daball. She was born at Stonington, Connecticut, December 8, 1781, and died at Mentz, New York, October, 1852. Children of first marriage: 1. Henry Montgomery, of whom further. 2. Mary Jane, born in Aurelius, New York, August 9, 1809, died at Northville, Michigan, July 2, 1872; married, at Mentz, New York, April 22, 1830, William Perez Hamlin, born in Newhaven, Vermont, June 23, 1809, died in Plymouth, Wayne County, Michigan, October 14, 1873. Children: Martha Elizabeth, St. Clair Smith, Oscar Lemuel, William Henry, Jane Amelia, Mary Jane, Harriet Minerva. 3. William Bennett, born in Aurelius, August 12, 1811, died in Canandaigua, New York, July 18, 1882; married, in Aurelius, April 28, 1835, Mary Etta Hamlin, born February 1, 1813, died New York City, September 10, 1896, buried at Fort Hill, Auburn, New York. She was the daughter of Deacon Stephen and Polly (Eldridge) Hamlin. Children: Sarah Elizabeth, Francis George, William St. Clair, Charles Henry, Mary Sophia. 4. Daniel A., born June 28, 1813, died in Aurelius, July 25, 1813. 5. Nancy Minerva, born in Aurelius, New York, April 19, 1815, died in Titusville, Pennsylvania, May 21, 1904; married, in Mentz, New York, March 28, 1848, Edmund Dodge, born in Burlington, Vermont, May 26, 1810; died in Titusville, Pennsylvania, February 16, 1884. Children: David Ossian, Henry Montgomery. 6. Horace Bennett, born in Aurelius, July 23, 1817, died in Auburn, New York, June 2, 1853. 7. Elizabeth, born January 3, 1820, died July 29, 1820, in Aurelius, New York. 8. Elizabeth, born in Aurelius, February 9, 1823, died in Rock Island, Illinois, May 5, 1845; name of husband unknown.

Of the marriage of St. Clair and Martha (Daball) Smith there was one child.

III. Henry Montgomery Smith, son of St. Clair and Betsey (Montgomery) Smith, was born in Aurelius, New York, December 28, 1807 (Forshee's Corners), and died in Auburn, New York, August 15, 1888. He was a farmer, and was highly esteemed citizen of the community in which he lived. Henry Montgomery Smith was married at Mentz, New York, November 26, 1829, by Elder F. J. Jeffries, to Catherine Forshee. (Forshee VI). Children: 1. Alpheus Henry, born in Throop, New





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Hygh M. Smith.

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York, October 8, 1830, died in Cayuga, New York, January 9, 1909; married Lydia Elizabeth Finney, died July 7, 1903. Both are buried in Fort Hill Cemetery. Child: George Finney, born in Cayuga in 1864; resident physician at Five Points House of Industry, New York City, where he died November 9, 1887. 2. David Forshee, born in Throop, New York, October 21, 1832, died in Middletown, New York, August 28, 1912; married Elizabeth Dennis, daughter of Jacob and Nancy (Longfellow) Dennis. She was born in China, Maine, July 6, 1836, died in Chapin, New York, November 19, 1915. 3. Horace Bennett, born in Throop, New York, September 11, 1840, died in Auburn, August 27, 1901; married, September 21, 1869, Marion Elizabeth Aber, born in Pennsylvania, March 2, 1846, daughter of Alonzo and Elizabeth (Fenner) Aber. No children. 4. Mary Elizabeth, born in Throop, August 1, 1843, died in Auburn, October 7, 1891; married, May 17, 1865, Smith Duvall Clarke, born September 2, 1843, son of General John Smith and Mary Ann (Crofoot) Clark. Children: Ethelyn Duvall, Paul Smith. 5. St. Clair Smith, born in Throop, March 15, 1846; became a practicing physician in New York City. He married, in New York City, June 1, 1881, Katherine Elizabeth Zogbaum, born in Brooklyn, New York, May 6, 1857, daughter of Ferdinand and Mary Buckley (Fairchild) Zogbaum. Children: i. St. Clair Smith, Jr., born April 12, 1882. In overseas service World War captain in the 58th Coast Artillery, 5th Training Company; in charge of a battery going to France, Field Artillery, No. 10, Navy Base. Later in Combat Officers' Department. Was detailed upon return home, to accompany the "Buford" taking Reds back to Russia. ii. Ferdinand Montgomery, born June 1, 1885, served in the navy during the World War. Entered service with the rank of lieutenant in the Medical Corps from the New York Naval Militia. Was promoted to lieutenant-commander, September 21, 1918. Served as senior medical officer on the "Indiana" and "Minnesota." Received a letter of commendation from the Navy Department (Secretary Daniels) for getting two thousand off the "Minnesota" when mined on the Delaware Capes. Is now a practicing surgeon in New York. 6. Hugh Montgomery, of whom further.

(Smith: "Ancestors of Henry Montgomery Smith and Catherine Forshee.")

IV. Doctor Hugh Montgomery Smith, son of Henry Montgomery and Catherine (Forshee) Smith, was born at Throop, New York, Sep-

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tember 21, 1848. He was brought up on his father's farm near Canandaigua, but his early determination was not to be a farmer. After attending the public schools of Cayuga County, New York, he determined to follow the teaching profession, and entered the New York State Normal School at Oswego for the necessary preparation. Shortly after his entrance he was stricken with pneumonia and forced to return home. His illness proved a serious one and entailed a long convalescence which seriously interrupted his course of study in preparation for the work which he had chosen. After a slow and tedious recovery it seemed unadvisable to return to school and he decided to enter the Neyhart flour mill at Union Springs, New York. This choice proved an unwise one as the dust of the mills affected his lungs and again he was compelled to alter his plans. His brother, Doctor St. Clair Smith, was in New York City, and in the fall of 1873 Hugh Montgomery Smith decided to join him. He became a member of Dr. T. F. Allen's family and took up the work of assisting the latter in compiling "Allen Materia Medica," making a proving of one of the drugs. Thus he made the first step in anticipation of his real life work. He qualified for the duties of a physician by taking the medical course in the New York Homeopathic College, and graduated with honors, being awarded the Allen prize for research in Materia Medica. He also received practical training in the New York Ophthalmic Hospital. During part of his second and third years of college he nursed his brother, St. Clair, through a long and dangerous illness, and never very strong himself he succumbed to phthisis, but regained enough strength to continue his studies.

Following the usual course of procedure of graduates of the New York Homeopathic College and Hospital he spent a year as resident at the Five Points House of Industry, New York City. After this it was customary to put in a year of work at the Brooklyn Maternity Hospital, but Dr. Smith decided instead to go to Europe, feeling that his health might be improved and that he could there better obtain this practice so important and of marked educational value. He specialized therefore in obstetrics at the Vienna General Hospital for two winters. During the summer months he made extensive walking tours through Switzerland and Italy. Another year was spent in hospitals of Paris and England. A winter was spent on the Nile in Egypt. These climatic changes, outdoor life, and physical exercises so benefited his constitution that he was able to return home in September, 1879.

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The city of Brooklyn, New York, was chosen for the place to carry on his work, and he opened his offices at No. 78 Orange Street, remaining at this location until his death, August 30, 1897. His reputation as a physician grew with the years and he succeeded in building up a very large and valuable practice. Every new discovery helpful to his chosen vocation of serving humanity and assisting in the arrest of disease was followed by Dr. Smith with careful study and alert interest with consequent beneficial effect in the quality of his professional endeavor. He was much ahead of his time for it was not until twenty-five years later that the medical fraternity awoke to some of the facts that he had always believed. It was Dr. Smith's belief that preventative medicine must ever hold preëminent place, and this at a time when even the term "preventative medicine" was not used. He was fully confident that the time was coming when it would be the duty of a physician not only to cure a disease but train people in right living; and by this knowledge of hygiene widely spread, illness would be largely avoided. Dr. Smith held the idealistic and yet, as we know now, very practical theory that it was high service on the part of a physician to keep patients well, rather than to cure them of disease. For eighteen years he gave of his best to his profession and to the very large body of patients that came to him from all over the city of Brooklyn. Had his health permitted he might have taken the highest honors in obstetrics, and even though physically handicapped he attained merit and recognition and was rated among the best. Death came suddenly to Dr. Smith, August 30, 1897, while he was yet in his prime, with the hope of many years of beneficial work for humanity apparently ahead of him. His body was carried to rest in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, but his memory lives in the hearts of his great body of patients, and among the still wider number of Brooklyn folk to whom he was friend. He was respected and honored not only for his beneficial work, but for his geniality and his most lovable personal qualities. Much can be said, too, for the bravery and courage of the man who despite his robust appearance was always delicate, for it was indeed true that his health was further impaired by his most arduous attention to the duties of one of the largest practices in the city of Brooklyn.

Hugh Montgomery Smith married, June 9, 1880, in Brooklyn, New York, Annie Elizabeth Morrill. (Morrill VIII.)

In the intricate details and careful study of the needs of those who came under his care, Dr. Smith was surpassed by none. Measured by the span of his years his accomplishment was far larger than it is given

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to the average man to make. Considered as a benefactor to humanity, his was a contribution of service of high value. He made profound impression on others of his profession by his most advanced ideas and in thus doing he assuredly may be numbered among those, indeed, who not only have served their own generation, but have contributed to the well-being of a needful world.

(The Forshee Line)

Fougères (Forshee) Arms—Or, a fern plant, vert.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

The French surname Fougères (pronounced Foozhair) originated from the town of Fougères, now capital of an arrondissement in the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine in Brittany, formerly one of the strongest fortified places in Brittany, and named from its ferns (*fougères*). From the Anglicized pronunciation the spelling Forshee readily came. The spelling indeed varied often in the old records.

Baird in the "History of the Huguenot Immigration to America," says of this immigration as relating to the Province of New York, p. 183, "the greater number of these immigrants originated in Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne" (Brittany). The great proportion of the Huguenot immigration followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This revocation was by a decree of Louis XVI, October 22, 1685, and forbidding the exercise of the Protestant religion, caused the emigration of about 300,000 Protestants from France to Holland, England, and America.

I. "Jan Fouseer and Eva, his wife," are Nos. 18 and 19 of the earliest list in the Member Register of the First Dutch Church of Tarrytown (then called Philipsburgh), organized in 1697. Jan Fouseer's name appears to be the Dutch for Jean Fougères, and in the sponsors of baptisms, April 21, 1697, "Jan Fausee, Eva his wife," are in the Church Record Book of Philipsburgh (p. 23). This book records on August 2, 1698, the baptism of Elizabeth (p. 24), her parents "Jan Fauce, Eva his wife." Jan Fouse appears as a sponsor, April 1, 1702. Jan Fause, Eva, his wife, sponsors, March 10, 1704, Judich, baptized (p. 27); parents, Jan Fouseer, Eva his wife. On March 25, 1706, appears Jan Fausee, E'vatje his wife, parents of David, then baptized (p. 29), and Jan Fousee, Eva his wife, parents of Abraham, November 2, 1708 (p. 32). On November 8, 1710, is recorded Jan Fouseur, Eva his wife, parents of Isaac (their last baptismal entry), March 24, 1713 (p. 34).

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The name of the wife of "Jan Forseur" is given as Eva Franse in the baptism of their son, Jacob, New York City, July 25, 1714. On April 23, 1760, we find the spelling Eva Fosie, wife of Isaac sic, instead of Eva Foseur, the name given at her marriage, October 5, 1734, the variations becoming more numerous as time went on, including Foshay, Forshee, etc. Isaac sic died in 1776, will proved June 24, 1776, giving to his wife Eva, use of improvements and making John Forshee and Johannes Yorckse his executors.

(Pelletreau: "Early Wills, Westchester County," p. 283.)

Family records have it that Jan Fouseer (Forseur) settled in Tappan, New York, and that he lived to be one hundred and ten years old, and was buried in Hackensack Cemetery. Children of Jan and Eva (Franse) Fouseer on record: 1. Pieter, of whom further. 2. Matthis; married, July 28, 1723, Magdalentie Ecker. (First record book of Sleepy Hollow Church, p. 157.) 3. Elizabeth, baptized August 2, 1698. 4. Judich (Judith), baptized March 10, 1704. 5. David, baptized March 25, 1706; married, in 1724, Janitie Krankheit. 6. Abraham, baptized November 2, 1708. 7. Isaac, baptized November 8, 1710. 8. Jacob, baptized, New York City, July 25, 1714.

II. *Pieter Fouseer*, probably the older son of Jan and Eva (Franse) Fouseer, was born before 1697, the date of the first entry of the family name on the Parish Register of the First Reformed Dutch Church of Philipsburgh. He married Abigail de Puw, daughter of William de Puw, all of Philipsburgh. Children, born at Philipsburgh, named in his will: 1. Jan, of whom further. 2. Pieter, baptized November 2, 1708. 3. Judith, baptized March 24, 1713, not in will, but on baptismal record. 4. Willem, baptized April 18, 1721, died before will. 5. Barent. 6. Jane.

(First Record Books of the Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow, p. 206. New York Genealogical and Biographical Society Collections, Vol. II, p. 376.)

III. *Jan (I) or Johannes Forseur (Fouseer)*, son of Pieter and Abigail (de Puw) Fouseer, was baptized at Philipsburgh, August 10, 1708. He removed to Tappan, then in Orange County, now Rockland County, with his wife, Catherine. He died at Tappan, will filed in Harrington, Bergen County, New Jersey. Jan Fouseer married (first), before 1752, when they appear first on the records of baptisms, when the child bap-

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tized does not appear to be a relative, Catherine Waldron, who appears on Tappan records last on February 9, 1768, when Jan Forseur and Catherine Waldron are given as witnesses at the baptism of Catherine Blauvelt, daughter of William Fosjeur and Elizabeth Blauvelt. Jan Fouseer married (second), before 1774, Elizabeth. She appears on the baptismal records as Elizabeth, wife of Jan Forseur, when they served as witnesses of baptisms, March 27, 1774, December 4, 1774, and January 1, 1780. There is in the possession of the family a will drawn up by one John Forseur, who mentions his wife Elizabeth. As many of the early Tappan records are missing, we have but little record of Jan Forseur's children. Children: 1. Johannes, born January 15, 1733, died at Kakiat, Ramapo Township, Rockland County, April 21, 1818; married (first) Magdalena Banta, daughter of Abraham and Annetji (Van Horne) Banta. Children: John, Abraham, Peter, Hannah, Barnard, Cornelius, William, Samuel. He married (second) Rebecca Wood. Children: Jonas, Daniel, Magdalena, Isaac, Catherine, Mary. (Cole: "Isaac Kool and Catharine Servin.") 2. Jane; married Daniel Perry. 3. Peter. 4. Barent; married, June 22, 1791, Anna Cole. 5. William, of whom further.

(Reference for last four. Smith: "Ancestors of Henry Montgomery Smith and Catherine Forshee," p. 57.)

IV. William Forseur, son of Jan or Johannes Forseur (Fouseer), died before his father, and his children received his share, which the first Jan left to William Forseur's father. He married, at Tappan, New York, Elizabeth Blauvelt. Children: 1. John (sometimes used Forshee); married Lavinia Post. Children: Catherine, Elizabeth, John. 2. David, of whom further. 3. Catherine, born in Tappan, February 9, 1768; married, September 30, 1809, Jacob Wilson. 4. Margarietje; married, in Tappan, New York, May 13, 1792, Jan Tallman. 5. Jane.

(Reference as before, pp. 57-58.)

V. David Forshee (as he used the name), son of William and Elizabeth (Blauvelt) Forseur, was born in Tappan, New York. He married, in Tappan, New York, Polly (Mary) Weaver. (Weaver II.) David Forshee died at Throop, New York, before September 5, 1850; will witnessed by John A. Curtiss and David Curtiss, of Mentz, contains the following: "all to my wife Mary Forshee for her use during her life." Then to his—

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Son Benjamin \$5.00 and it is my wish and request that if said Benjamin dies without heirs his property which I have already given him amounting to \$1,000.00 be equally distributed among my heirs. To my son, David Forshee, the house and outbuildings attached together with forty acres of land immediately connected with it, all one parcel. The remainder of my property I will to my children William, John Garrett, Betsey, Lany, Katherine, and Nancy equally between them; excepting the Beds and Bedding and all female clothing, and all the woolens, linen, and cotton clothes belonging to the house I give my daughters, Betsey, Lany, Katherine and Nancy equally. In consideration of the infirm and weak state of health of my son Garrett, it is hereby provided that the portion belonging to him shall be under the care of my Executors, and be paid out by them for board, apparel, and all expenses of his sickness, and if he dies without heirs his share shall be divided among all my heirs except David.

I appoint William Forshee, my son-in-law Francis Mullen, and Abia F. Baird, executors without compensation.

Will dated May 14, 1841.

A paper signed by Betsey Mullen, Lanah Baird, Katherine Smith, David Forshee, of Mentz; Benjamin Forshee, of Skaneateles; John Forshee, of Washtenau County, Michigan; and Nancy Ives, of Chautauqua County, New York, that the said deceased David Forshee left no widow. Dated September 5, 1850. Signed by William Forshee. David and Polly (Weaver) Forshee had nine children: 1. William, born in Tappan, New York, November 3, 1794, died in Montezuma, New York, June 2, 1864. He married (first), December 13, 1817, Sophia Van Giesen, daughter of William and Betsey (Spier) Van Giesen. He married (second), in 1845, Susan (Bentley) Reed, daughter of John and Cornelia (Wholey) Bentley, and widow of Dr. Griffin W. Reed. Children, first seven by first wife, last by second marriage: Malvina, David, William Van Giesen, Elizabeth, Garrett, St. Clair, George W., Sophia. 2. Betsey, born in Tappan, New York, December 11, 1795, died in Throop, New York, May 1, 1851; married, April 20, 1812, Francis Mullen, born in Tappan, September 2, 1789, died in Throop, May 1, 1861. Children: Polly, Susan, David, Lany, William, John, Louise, Abiah. 3. Garrett, date of birth unknown, was living October 25, 1850; unmarried. 4. Lanah (Lany), born in Tappan, New York, July 20, 1800, died in Throop, November 24, 1868; married, October 16, 1823, Abiah Francis Baird, born in Berwick, Orange County, New York, September 3, 1792, died at Mentz, July 18, 1848. Children:

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William, Mary, Catherine, Sarah, David, Thomas Benton, William. 5. John, born at Forshee's Corners, Mentz, New York, October 5, 1801, died March 20, 1861; married, December 28, 1828, Elizabeth Van Giesen, born March 16, 1805, died January 6, 1878, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Spier) Van Giesen. Children: Henry, Norman, Sarah Ann, Orson, David, Mary, Elizabeth, Thomas, Lany, John Miller, William Arthur. 6. Catherine, of whom further. 7. Nancy, born at Forshee's Corners, February 1, 1810, died at Findlay Lake, New York, May 21, 1897; married, December 21, 1831, Samuel Ives, born August 8, 1800, died September 12, 1864. Children: Henry, Nancy Catherine, Samuel (died young), John, Mary Elizabeth, Louis A., Samuel, David Forshee. 8. Benoni, or Benjamin, born in Mentz, in 1813; died at Skaneateles, New York, August 29, 1900; married Angelina Partridge, born at Homer, Cortland County, New York, in 1817, died in Skaneateles, August 29, 1900. 9. David, born at Mentz, 1815 or 1816, died in Plymouth, Michigan, October 12, 1876; married, September 20, 1838, Mary Ann Jenks, born in Auburn, New York, July 20, 1821, died in Plymouth, November 30, 1903. Children: Charles, John, Melissa Mary, Frank P., Etta, Ned, and Anna.

VI. Catherine Forshee, daughter of David and Polly (Weaver) Forshee, was born at Forshee's Corners, Mentz, died at Auburn, New York, July 6, 1885. She married Henry Montgomery Smith. (Smith III.)

(Smith: "Ancestors of Henry Montgomery Smith and Catherine Forshee," pp. 58-80.)

(The Floyd Line)

Floyd Arms—Argent a cross sable.

Crest—A griffin sejant azure holding in the dexter paw a garland of laurel vert.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Floyd as family name is Anglicized from the Welsh *Llwyd* (*Lloyd*). Thomas Lloyd or Floyd is on the Register of the University of Oxford, May 31, 1510, and David Lloyde or Floyd in 1570. Hugo Floyd, of Calais, lived in the reign of Henry VIII, and his grandson, John Floyd, of Calais and Batrichosey (*Battelsea*), Surrey, was assistant comptroller of the exchequer in 1623. To this family once seated at Bustoncastle, and Prestbury, Cheshire, and at Shrewsbury, Shropshire, belongs the present baronet, Floyd, created March 30, 1816.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in America)

I. Captain John Floyd, according to his testimony given at court in Salem in 1681, and from the age appearing on his gravestone at Lynn,

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Massachusetts, was born about 1636, probably in County Surrey, near London, England. He was living at Lynn, in 1662, and moved about 1670, to Malden, near the Rumney Marsh line, and in the spring and early summer of 1676 served as lieutenant in Captain Hinchman's company in King Philip's War. About 1680, he moved to Rumney Marsh, part of Boston, until January, 1739, when it was incorporated as the town of Chelsea, where he lived for the remainder of his life, though retaining his Malden lands. He was in the Governor's expedition of 1688 against the Indians to the eastward, and in 1689 was in command of a military post on the Saco River. In 1690 he was made captain of a troop and stationed at Portsmouth, and for about three years after this he served against the Indians, taking part in the fight at Wheelwright's Pond, in the expedition of September, 1690, under Major Church against the enemy around Casco, Maine. In 1692 he was arrested on the charge of practicing witchcraft, but appears to have escaped conviction. He died at Rumney Marsh, February 1, 1701-02, and was buried at Lynn. He married, about 1661, Sarah Doolittle, daughter of John Doolittle, of Rumney Marsh. She died June 16, 1717, aged seventy-five and is buried in the old Rumney Marsh burial ground, now in the town of Revere. Children, first five born at Lynn, the rest at Malden: 1. Sarah, born February 24, 1661-62, died October 14, 1715; married Nathaniel Upham. 2. Hugh, of whom further. 3. John, born February 20, 1664-65, died January 7, 1732-34; married Rachel Parker, daughter of Jacob and Sarah Parker, of Chelmsford, born March, 1665. 4. Joseph, born March 15, 1666-67, died January 4, 1704; married Elizabeth Potter, born August 15, 1670, daughter of Robert Potter, Sr. 5. Joanna, born February 3, 1668-69. 6. Noah, born in December, 1670. 7. Benjamin; father appointed his administrator, November 16, 1697. 8. Daniel, born December 28, 1675, died March 1, 1750; bought his father's Malden farm in 1702; married, January 18, 1697, Mary Hallowell. 9. Abigail; married (intentions), January 7, 1698-99, to John Hawks.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXIII, pp. 245-46.)

II. Ensign Hugh Floyd, son of John and Sarah (Doolittle) Floyd, born in Lynn, Massachusetts, September 10, 1663, and died at Malden, Massachusetts, November 17, 1730. He held several local offices in Rumney Marsh, where he with his brother, John, owned the great farm formerly belonging to John Cogan. His will mentions his wife, Elinor,

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and also refers to a negro servant who was to serve each of his three sons, Hugh, Samuel, and Benjamin, each in turn for one year, and then receive his freedom. Children, except Mary, born at Rumney Marsh: 1. Hannah, born November 5, 1686. 2. Sarah, born January 28, 1688; married, March 25, 1713-14, Francis Leath. 3. Ebenezer, born February 21, 1690. 4. Elinor, born February 12, 1692; married, May 30, 1717, John Leath. 5. Samuel, born about 1695, died March 4, 1780; married, February 8, 1727-28, his cousin, Joanna Floyd, daughter of John and Rachel (Parker) Floyd. 6. Mary, born at Malden, July 22, 1698. 7. Benjamin, born about 1700, died at Medford, April 24, 1761; married, November 28, 1726, Sarah Eustis, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah (Scollay) Eustis, born March 18, 1702. 8. Hugh, of whom further. 9. Joanna; married, June 11, 1706, Edward Tuttle.

(Reference as before. Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America," p. 96.)

III. Hugh Floyd, Jr., son of Hugh and Elinor Floyd, was born at Rumney Marsh, May 13, 1704, and died in Chelsea, September 28, 1789. (Family records say December 8.) He was a farmer in Rumney Marsh (Chelsea) until 1750, shortly after removing to Malden, whence in 1759 he removed and kept an inn there for a few years, then returned to Chelsea. He left ten pounds by will for communion plate, which may be seen in the Chelsea Public Library. He married (first), April 29, 1729, Mary Baker, born May 19, 1706, died March 21, 1751, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Lewis) Baker, of Lynn. He married (second), April 15, 1752, Abigail Hasey, whose will was proved November 9, 1789. Children, born at Chelsea, Massachusetts: 1. Mary, born August 5, 1730. 2. Eleanor, born August 27, 1731. 3. Hugh, of whom further. 4. Peter, born June 6, 1734; married, December 4, 1760, Mary Tuttle. 5. Hannah, born December 27, 1735. 6. Susanna, born November 26, 1737. 7. William, born June 27, 1739, died at Salem, September 30, 1818; married there, May 31, 1776, Sarah Sampson, who died January 29, 1839, aged ninety-one (or ninety-three). 8. Stephen, born in 1741, died at Salem; married (first), November 16, 1769, Abigail Pratt; (second) Mary. 9. Andrew, baptized December 25, 1743. Revolutionary soldier, died at Medford, November 12, 1789; married, October 31, 1765, Elizabeth Bradshaw.

(Reference as before, p. 248.)

IV. Hugh (3) Floyd, son of Hugh, Jr., and Mary (Baker) Floyd, was born at Rumney Marsh, April 2, 1732-33, and died at Chelsea,



Smith



Fougères
(Forshee)



Morrell
(Morrill)



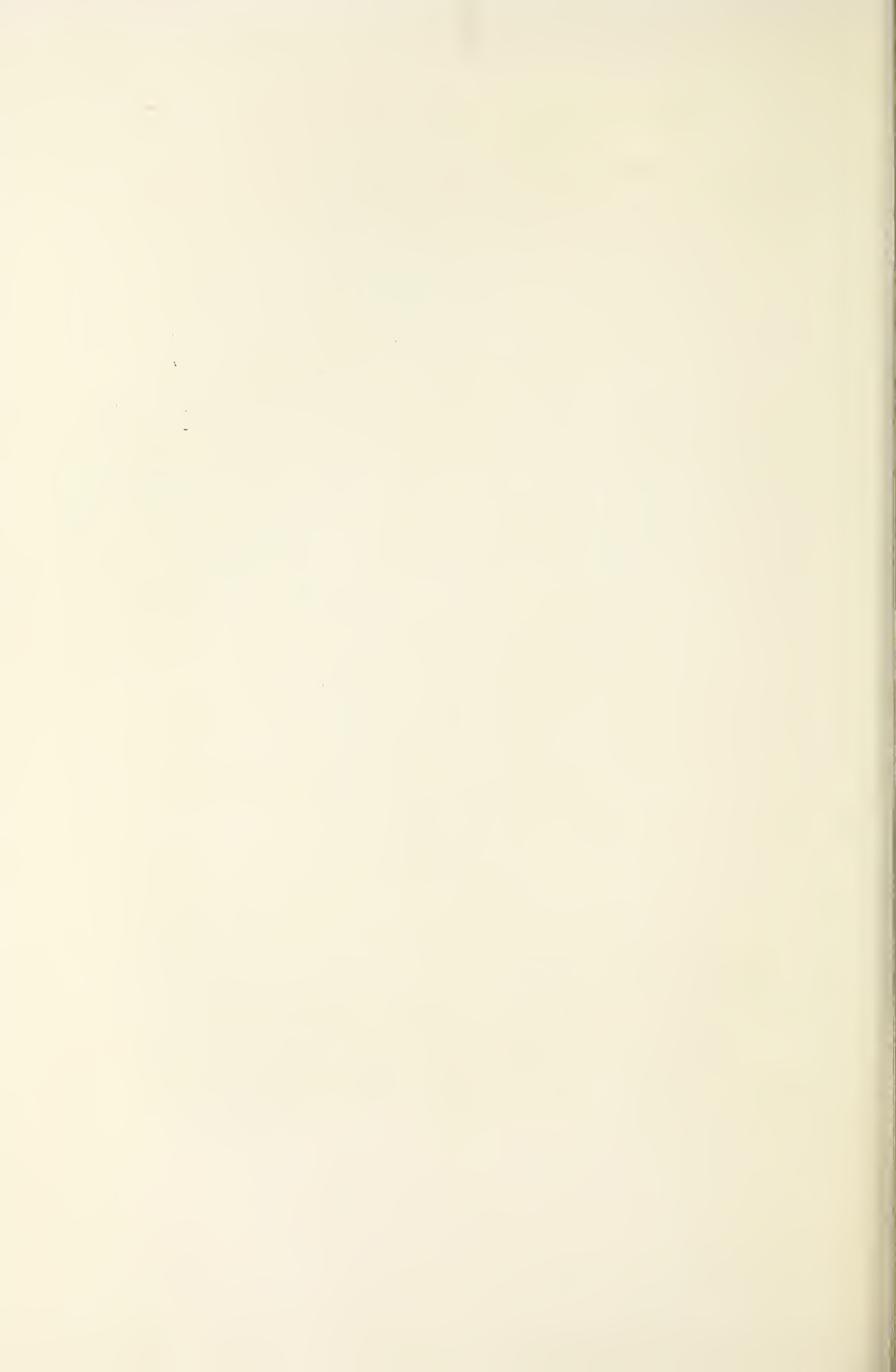
Floyd



Langdon



Phelps



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August 6, 1800. He served on the Lexington alarm, April 19 to May 16, 1775, as private in Captain Samuel Sprague's (Chelsea) company; also at Fishkill, New York, June to August 1, 1778. He married, May 10, 1759, his cousin Rachel Floyd, daughter of Samuel and Joanna (Floyd) Floyd.

(Reference as before, p. 251.)

Children, born at Chelsea, Massachusetts: 1. Hugh, born June 23, 1760. 2. Rachel, born July 25, 1762. 3. Twin, born July 25, 1762 mentioned in Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America," p. 96; not in New England Register). 4. Eleanor, born March 3, 1765 (not given in Morrill Kindred). 5. David, born June 7, 1767, died August 4, 1854; married, December 6, 1798. 6. Hepzibah, born December 3, 1769; married, December 6, 1796, Joseph Patton Hall. 7. Samuel, born August 16, 1772. 8. Lucy, born October 27, 1774, died October, 1775. 9. Thomas, born January 28, 1778, died September 17, 1839; married, July 31, 1807. 10. Susanna, of whom further.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXIII, p. 245.)

V. *Susanna Floyd*, daughter of Hugh (3) and Rachel (Floyd) Floyd, was born at Chelsea, Massachusetts, August 27, 1780, and died at St. Louis, Missouri, January 7, 1860. She married, November 1, 1807, at Medford, Massachusetts, Micajah Morrill, of Boston (Medford vital records). She married (second), March 24, 1817, at Old South Church, Boston, Benjamin Morrill, born March 11, 1789, brother of Micajah Morrill, and his partner in the dry goods business in Boston, Massachusetts. He died in 1824. (Morrill V and VI.)

(The Phelps Line)

Phelps Arms—Argent a lion rampant sable between six crosses crosslet fitchée gules.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

The English family name Phelps is the possessive case of Phelp or Phelip early variation of the christen-name Philip. Richard and Simon Phelip are in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, A. D. 1327. Richard Phelps is on the Register of the University of Oxford, 1583.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in America)

I. *Henry Phelps* came in the ship "Hercules" from London, England, in 1634, and settled at Salem, Massachusetts. Nicholas Phelps

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was his brother, and probably Edward Phelps also, and came with him, arriving at Boston, April 16, 1634; Edward settling at Newbury, Massachusetts, and later at Andover. Nicholas was a Quaker and perhaps Henry also. Henry's first wife's name is unknown. He married (second) a daughter of Thomas Tresler, the will of whose widow Eleanor Tresler, dated February 15, 1654, referred to her grandchild John, son of Henry Phelps, who died in Salem after 1661.

(Phelps and Servin: "Phelps Family in America," pp. 1569-71.)

Children, born (probably) in Salem, Massachusetts, by first marriage: 1. Christopher, born about 1638; married, May 9, 1658, Elizabeth Sharp, daughter of Samuel Sharp. She died in Salem. 2. Samuel; married widow Elizabeth. 3. Thomas. Child by second marriage: 4. John, of whom further.

(Reference as before, p. 1572.)

II. *John Phelps*, son of Henry and ——— (Tresler) Phelps, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, about 1644, and died at Reading, Massachusetts, December 12, 1685. He removed from Salem to Reading after 1683. John Phelps married the widow Abigail Upton, who apparently was a sister of Obadiah Antrum.

(Reference as before, p. 1577.)

Children, born in Salem, Massachusetts: 1. Anna, born April 22, 1669, died young. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Henry, born April 3, 1673, died at Reading, January 21, 1721-22; married, in December, 1706, Rachel Guppy. 4. Joseph, born December 7, 1675; not named in agreement, 1703. 5. Abigail, born January 7, 1677-78. 6. Samuel, born January 6, 1679, died at Reading, Massachusetts, spring of 1744. 7. Hannah, born April 12, 1683.

(Phelps and Servin: "Phelps Family in America," p. 1578.)

III. *John Phelps*, son of John and Abigail (Antrum-Upton) Phelps, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, February 6, 1670-71, and died in Reading, Massachusetts, November 16, 1721. He settled in Salem for a short time, but removed to Reading about 1706. He married, March 12, 1700-01, Elizabeth Putnam, daughter (probably) of John Putnam, of Salem. Children, first four born at Salem, the rest at Reading: 1. Elizabeth, born January 17, 1701-02. (Vital Records, Reading, Massachusetts.) 2. Ann, baptized September 19, 1703, died May 28, 1720.

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(Vital Records, Reading, Massachusetts.) 3. Joseph, of whom further. 4. Mary, born July 13, 1705; married, May 4, 1731, John Nichols. 5. John, born at Reading, July 8, 1709, died at Hubbardston, March 23, 1787; married, April 16, 1732, Susannah Gale, born in Marlboro, December, 1714, died August 26, 1784. 6. Nathaniel, born October 22, 1711, died 1761; married Bethiah. 7. Sarah, born September 17, 1715. 8. Nathan, born October 15, 1716, died October 30, 1716. 9. Rebeckah born December 27, 1718, died January 15, 1721. 10. Ebenezer, born April 29, 1720. 11. Elizabeth, born in 1721.

(Phelps and Servin: "Phelps Family in America," p. 1581.)

IV. Joseph Phelps, son of John and Elizabeth (Putnam) Phelps, born at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1704, and died (probably) at Reading, Massachusetts, April, 1753; estate £2445. He was a carpenter, and married, November 2, 1731, Widow Elizabeth (Burnap) Smith, daughter of Deacon John Burnap. She outlived him. Children, born in Reading, Massachusetts: 1. Joseph, born September 30, 1732, settled in Amherst or Grafton, New Hampshire. 2. Nathan, born August 24, 1734; married, May 17, 1761, Bethia Upton. 3. Elizabeth, born July 7, 1736. 4. Anna, born February 27, 1739-40. 5. Rebecca, born July 31, 1741; married, February 14, 1765, John King. 6. John, born September 12, 1743, moved to Amherst, New Hampshire; married Mary Lovejoy. 7. Ebenezer, of whom further.

(Reference as before, p. 1590.)

V. Ebenezer Phelps, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Burnap-Smith) Phelps, was born at Reading, Massachusetts, December 18, 1745, and died at Coesse, Whitley County, Indiana, October, 1831. (One Phelps family tradition makes this Ebenezer Phelps, "Ebenezer Jr., son of Ebenezer," born November 7, 1768, baptized December 11, 1768, of whom nothing more is clear, called Ebenezer because of an old Ebenezer in Salem. The material as given herewith has been compared with Salem and Reading, Massachusetts, Vital Records, and dates completed or corrected.) Ebenezer Phelps, son of Joseph Phelps, settled on marriage at Wiscasset, Maine, thence, in 1799, to Fairfield, Maine, in 1817, to Hamilton County, near Columbia, Ohio; last at Coesse, Indiana. He married, November 16, 1788, Sarah Brown, born March 17, 1768, died February 26, 1847, daughter of Benjamin and Hannah (Archer) Brown, of Salem, Massachusetts. Children, first two born at Wiscasset, last

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four in Fairfield, Maine: 1. Ebenezer S., born May 24, 1792, surgeon in War of 1812, died in Middleton, Massachusetts, May, 1882; married, March 26, 1816, Eliza Sawtelle, daughter of David and Elizabeth (Bacon) Sawtelle, born at Sidney, Maine, November 2, 1796, died October 15, 1886. 2. William Brown, born October 8, 1794, died at Ash Grove, Shelby County, Maryland, August 3, 1888; married, March 1, 1827, Amelia Gibson, who died November 5, 1871. 3. Sarah, of whom further. 4. John, born Fairfield, Maine, April 27, 1800, died at Switzerland, Indiana, August 1, 1830. 5. Rev. Alfred (Methodist), born October 1, 1802, died near Edinburgh, Johnson County, Indiana, September 14, 1887; married, in Ohio, in 1823, Polly, born in New York, October, 1802. 6. Nathan E., born January 31, 1805, died Wilmington, Ohio, October 31, 1887; married. 7. Eliza, born October 7, 1807; married Johnathan Livin, of Switzerland, Indiana.

VI. Sarah Phelps, daughter of Ebenezer and Sarah (Brown) Phelps, was born at Hallowell, Maine (Phelps family says Wiscasset), May 1, 1797, and died September 11, 1862, in Columbia, Ohio. She married Rev. James Davenport Langdon. (Langdon V.)

(The Jaquith Line)

Jaques (Jaquith) Arms—Or, on a fer-de-moline sable five estoiles argent.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

Various forms of the name Jaquith are given in the New England register; among them Jackewish, Jacquish, Jaques, Jacquish and Jaques. All of them are no doubt first from Jaques with reference to Jakes, baptismal for the son of John from the nickname Jack or Jake, but when found as Christian name Jaques stood for James.

The family of Jaques appears to be an old one of England. Burke mentions a baronetry in Middlesex County that was extinct in 1630. Another branch of the family was at York, which was knighted by Charles I.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Abraham Jaquith, admitted to church membership in 1643. He was a freeman in 1655-56. He was of Charlestown and was evidently a man of means, for there is a record of his buying a house of a widow, Alice Barnard, in 1648-49. He married Anna Jordan, daughter of James Jordan, of Dedham, Massachusetts. His wife was also a church member in 1643.

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(Wyman: "Genealogies and Estates, Charlestown, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 549; Sewall: "History of Woburn, Massachusetts," p. 619; Farmer: "First Settlers in New England," p. 161.)

Children: 1. Abraham, of whom further. 2. Mary, born November 3, 1646.

(Savage says there were three other children remembered in will of grandfather Jordan.)

(Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. II, p. 539.)

II. Abraham Jaquith, son of Abraham and Anna (Jordan) Jaquith, was born December 19, 1844. He took up his residence in Woburn, Massachusetts, in the part which is now Wilmington, and was taxed there in 1666. In 1659 he presented to the court his inability to military exercise by reason of his bodily infirmity, as was also the same certified to under the hand of Captain Edward Johnson, and is dismissed from all military training by paying five shillings per annum to the use of the military company in the town where he dwells. He married, March 13, 1671, Mary Adford.

(Sewall: "History of Woburn, Massachusetts," pp. 618-19; "Woburn Record of Marriages," p. 140.)

Children: 1. Abraham, of whom further. 2. Elizabeth, born May 19, 1675. 3. Sarah, born September 21, 1677.

(Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. II, p. 539.)

III. Abraham Jaquith, son of Abraham and Mary (Adford) Jaquith, was born February 17, 1672-73, and died December 18, 1753. He married, December 26, 1700, Sarah Jones, who was born about 1681, and died February 13, 1771.

(Sewall: "History of Woburn," pp. 618-19; "Woburn Record of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.")

Children: 1. Abraham, born December 30, 1701, died December 18, 1753. 2. Sarah, born March 8, 1703; married, January 29, 1726 or 1727, Samuel Butler. 3. John, born October 7, 1704; married, October 30, 1729, Mary Needham. 4. Mary, born September 1, 1706; married, December 13, 1727, John Harnder. 5. Elizabeth, born June 5, 1708. 6. Adford, born April 15, 1710. 7. Abigail, born June 10, 1712. 8. Ebenezer, born June 3, 1714, died September 18, 1800. 9. Benjamin, of whom further. 10. William, born May 1, 1718. 11. Lydia, born May

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1, 1718. (Twins, both dying same month.) 12. Hannah, born July 19, 1719. 13. Ruth, born April 10, 1722, died April 30, 1722. 14. Susanna, born July 23, 1723, died in 1723. 15. Seth, born June 5, 1724, and died July 16, 1724.

("Woburn, Massachusetts, Records of Births, Deaths and Marriages," p. 49.)

IV. *Captain Benjamin Jaquith*, son of Abraham and Sarah (Jones) Jaquith, was born June 27, 1716, and died August 29, 1801. He is called Deacon Benjamin in the death record of Wilmington, Massachusetts. According to Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XCIX, p. 36, he was of the 2d Regiment of Militia Company of Middlesex, March 10, 1762, captain of Wilmington Company, Colonel Tyng's regiment; also commissioned April 6, 1763. He married Hannah, who was born September 11, 1719, and died February 20, 1801. Children: 1. Benjamin, born May 24, 1740, died June 10, 1760. 2. Samuel, born December 13, 1742. 3. James, born March 13, 1745. 4. Hannah, born March 6, 1747. 5. Judith, born May 12, 1749. 6. Mary, born July 14, 1752. 7. Abraham (twin), born May 7, 1756. 8. Nathan (twin), born May 7, 1756. 9. Hannah, of whom further. 10. Abigail, born February 13, 1761.

("Wilmington Record of Births," p. 49.)

V. *Hannah Jaquith*, daughter of Captain Benjamin and Hannah Jaquith, was born at Wilmington, January 12, 1757, and died there April 7, 1826. She married Nathaniel Morrill. (Morrill V.)

(The Ruggles Line)

Ruggles Arms—Argent, between three roses a chevron gules.

Crest—A tower or, inflamed proper and pierced with four arrows in saltire, points downwards argent. (Crozier: "General Armory.")

It is possible that the surname Ruggles may be traced to a Norman source, Rugles being the designation of a village in the department of Eure. On the other hand there are well substantiated traditions that De Ruggele, of Stafford, England, is the source of the Rugeley or Ruggles families in various English counties and in New England and Canada.

William de Ruggele, of Stafford (thirteenth century), was banished for having killed in a duel a favorite of the King. The edict of banishment was soon revoked by King Edward I, because of his heroism in war. But meanwhile he had settled in Flanders. One of his sons or his descendants settled in Switzerland.

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Both the English and American Ruggles families trace their descent from Thomas Ruggles, Esq., of Sudbury, Suffolk, England. His will was dated June 21, 1547.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." H. S. Ruggles: "Evidences of the Derivation of the Ruggles Family of England and America from that of Ruggeley of Staffordshire," pp. 3-5. H. S. Ruggles: "De Ruggele.")

(The Family in America)

I. Thomas Ruggles, of Nasing, Essex, England, was the son of Thomas Ruggles, of Sudbury, Suffolk, England. He was born in Sudbury, England, in 1584, and came to America in 1637. He settled at Roxbury, Massachusetts, and died September 15, 1644; his will dated 1644. Of Thomas Ruggles and John Grave it is recorded "These two brake the knot first of the Nasing Christians. I mean they first dyed of these Christians yt came fro yt toune in England." ("History of Roxbury Town," by C. M. Ellis, p. 129.) He died "a Godly Brother."

Thomas Ruggles married, in Nasing, November 1, 1620, Mary Curtis, who was born about 1586, and she died, according to Roxbury church records, "14" February, 1674," aged eighty-eight. She was the sister-in-law of Rev. John Eliot, translator of the Bible for the Indians. It is probable that Mary married again after Thomas' death, whom she survived thirty years. Her second husband is mentioned as "goodman" Roote.

(F. L. Bailey: "The Genealogy of Thomas Ruggles, of Roxbury, 1637, to Thomas Ruggles, of Pomfret, Connecticut, and Rutland, Vermont," p. 5.)

Children: 1. Thomas, born about 1621-22 in England, died in England. 2. John, baptized January 6, 1624-25, in Nasing, England, died September 16, 1658, in Roxbury, Massachusetts; married Abigail Craft. 3. Sarah, baptized in Nasing, England, February 16, 1627-28, died February 9, 1688-89; married, March 17, 1646, William Lyon, of Roxbury. 4. Samuel, of whom further.

(Reference as above, p. 6. H. S. Ruggles: "The Ruggles Lineage—Five Generations." A. M. Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America," p. 51.)

II. Captain Samuel Ruggles, son of Thomas and Mary (Curtis) Ruggles, was born in Nasing, England, in 1629, and died in Roxbury, August 15, 1692. He went to Roxbury in 1837 with his parents when

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but eight years old. He became a prosperous man, an inn-keeper, and also conducted other lines of business. In critical situations in town and colony matters, his advice was much sought. Samuel Ruggles was captain of the then strong and important Roxbury military company. He married (first), November 10, 1654, Hannah Fowle, only daughter of George Fowle, an emigrant settler in Charlestown. (Marriage recorded in Cambridge, in these and other records closely associated with Charlestown.) He married (second) Anna Bright, who died September 5, 1711, aged sixty-seven years. Children of first marriage: 1. Hannah, born January 21, 1655, died in infancy. 2. Mary, died in infancy. 3. Samuel, of whom further. 4. Joseph, born February 12, 1660, died in infancy. 5. Hannah, born December 11, 1661, died in infancy. 6. Sarah, born November 18, 1663, died in infancy. 7. Mary, born December 8, 1666; married (first) Ebenezer Pierpoint; (second) Isaac Morris. 8. Sarah, born August 30, 1669, died young. Children of second marriage: 9. Thomas, born March 10, 1671; married (first) Sarah Fisk; (second), June 1, 1708, Mary Hubbard. 10. Anna, born September 30, 1672; married William Heath. 11. Nathaniel, born November 20, 1674, died young. 12. Elizabeth, born May 1, 1677; married James Bailey. 13. Henry, born July 7, 1681, died December 9, 1702. 14. Huldah, born July 4, 1684; married Samuel Hill.

(F. L. Bailey: "Genealogy of Thomas Ruggles, of Roxbury, 1637, to Thomas Ruggles, of Pomfret, Connecticut," p. 18.)

III. Samuel Ruggles, Jr., son of Samuel and Hannah (Fowle) Ruggles, was born June 1, 1658, and died at Roxbury, Massachusetts, February 15, 1715. Samuel Ruggles died, "much lamented at Roxbury," according to the diary of Judge Samuel Sewall, who later became unsuccessful suitor to the hand of the widow. The diary also says "Captain Samuel Ruggles was buried with Arms." He married, July 8, 1680, Martha Woodbridge. (Woodbridge II.) Children: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Lucy, born September 8, 1683; married Joseph Stevens. 3. Timothy, born November 3, 1685; married (first) Mary White; (second) Anne Woodworth. 4. Hannah, born April 10, 1688; married William Noyes. 5. Patience, born November 9, 1689; married James Robinson. 6. Martha, born February 1, 1691; married Job Lane. 7. Sarah, born June 18, 1694; married John Holbrook. 8. Joseph, born July 21, 1696; married Joanna White. 9. Mary, born Sep-

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tember 20, 1698, died, unmarried, before 1716. 10. Benjamin, born July 4, 1700; married Dorcas Whiting, of Billerica. (Whiting III.)

(Reference as above, pp. 19-20.)

IV. *Reverend Samuel (3) Ruggles*, son of Samuel, Jr., and Martha (Woodbridge) Ruggles, was born at Roxbury, Massachusetts, December 3, 1681, and died at Billerica, Massachusetts, March 1, 1749. He graduated from Harvard College in 1702. On May 19, 1708, he was ordained as colleague to the Rev. Samuel Whiting, who had been the much loved pastor in the Church of Billerica for more than forty-nine years, and whose infirmities prevented him from discharging all the various duties of his calling. Samuel Ruggles was the second pastor of the church, serving in the ministry forty years and nine months. He married (first), December 19, 1710, Elizabeth Whiting. (Whiting IV.) He married (second) Elizabeth Williams, daughter of Samuel Williams, of Roxbury. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born September 21, 1711, died in 1713. 2. Samuel, born May 20, 1713, probably died before his father, as he is not mentioned in the will. 3. Nathaniel, born July 16, 1715, died December 29, 1717. 4. Elizabeth, born June 21, 1717; married, May 31, 1737, Samuel Drummer, Esq., of Wilmington, Massachusetts. 5. Martha, born September 9, 1719; married, July 7, 1741, John Whiting. 6. Dorothy, of whom further. 7. Lucy, born February 9, 1723-24. 8. Joseph, born January 9, 1725-26. 9. Samuel, born June 14, 1729, died April 14, 1730. 10. John, born July 4, 1730, not named in his father's will. 11. Sarah, born November 6, 1731; married Rev. Josiah Stearns, of Epping, New Hampshire. 12. William, born April 30, 1733.

V. *Dorothy Ruggles*, daughter of Rev. Samuel and Elizabeth (Whiting) Ruggles, of Roxbury and Billerica, Massachusetts, was born at Billerica, January 7, 1721-22, and died, at Wilmington, May 20, 1804. She married, August 4, 1743, Rev. Isaac Morrill. (Morrill IV.)

(The Brown Line)

Brown Arms—Ermine, a chevron cotised or, between three roses gules.

Motto—*Suivez raison.*

(Burke: "General Armory.")

It is difficult in England to trace the descent of the Browns back to either Saxon or Norman origin since the name may be found as Brun in both early spellings. The Domesday survey has several Bruns, apparently Saxon, but the Battle Abbey Roll has its le Brun from Normandy, and subsequently le Bruns appear in plenty in England, Scotland and

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Ireland and in every rank of society, as do the later Browns in the more familiar present day spelling.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

During the first half century of the colonization of the New World many families of the name Brown settled in southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and their descendants have taken a leading share in the development of these States.

While no direct connection with England ancestry has been found for Henry Brown, of Salisbury, it is probable that he was among those who came from Salisbury, England, and named the new home for the English locality in which the family had been established.

(W. W. Spooner: "Historic Families of America," Vol. I, p. 312.)

I. Deacon Henry Brown (or Browne) was born about 1615, and died in Salisbury, August 6, 1701. His mother is supposed to have been Christian Brown, who received land in Salisbury, Massachusetts, in the first division, "1640 and 1641." (D. W. Hoyt: "The Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts," p. 72. "New England Register," Vol. III, p. 55.) Henry Brown received land in Salisbury in 1640, 1641 and 1642. He was made freeman in 1649 and was commissioner in 1650. His name appears on most of the early Salisbury lists. He married Abigail, who died in Salisbury, August 23, 1702. Henry and Abigail Brown were members of Salisbury Church, in 1687. Children, born in Salisbury: 1. Nathaniel, of whom further. 2. Abigail, born February 23, 1643-44; married Samuel French (Edward). 3. Jonathan, born November 25, 1646, probably died young. 4. Philip, born December, 1648; married Mary Buswell. 5. Abraham, born January 1, 1650; married Elizabeth Shepherd. 6. Sarah, born December 6, 1654; married Andrew Gruley. 7. Henry, born February 8, 1659; married Hannah Putnam.

(Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. I, p. 267.)

II. Captain and Deacon Nathaniel Brown, son of Deacon Henry and Abigail Brown, was born in Salisbury, Massachusetts, June 30, 1642 (Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. I, p. 267), and died in Salisbury, October 5, 1723; will dated June 30, 1721. Nathaniel Brown was of Salisbury and for a short time resident in Hampton. He was made freeman in 1690 and also held the position of town clerk in Salis-

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bury. He was commissioned lieutenant, October 29, 1696; later made captain of North Regiment in Essex (Massachusetts Archives, Vol. CVII, p. 223a; Vol. CXXII, pp. 68-76-81; Vol. LXXI, pp. 495-97).

Nathaniel Brown married, October 16 or 18, 1666, Hannah Fellows, born September 15, 1648, daughter of Samuel Fellows. Children, born in Salisbury: 1. Hannah, born April 3, 1668; married Thomas Evans. 2. Abigail, of whom further. 3. Abra, born November 20, 1680; married Col. Paul Wentworth. 4. Ruth, born August 9, 1685, baptized May 29, 1687; married William Carr. 5. Nathaniel, born July 24, 1689, baptized September 8, 1689; married Elizabeth Wentworth. She died March 23, 1727; he died August 5, 1747.

(D. W. Hoyt: "Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts," p. 273. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. I, p. 273.)

III. Abigail Brown, daughter of Nathaniel and Hannah (Fellows) Brown, was born in Salisbury, February 1, 1674-75. (Savage in his "Genealogical Dictionary" says 1676.) She was admitted to the Salisbury Church, August 6, 1699, is mentioned in her husband's will of June 18, 1737. Abigail Brown married Isaac Morrill. (Morrill III.)

(The Gill Line)

Gill Arms—Sable on a bend or, three mullets of the first, on a canton azure a lion passant of the second. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Gill was originally either the nickname for William (Guillaume) or used as well as Jill as nickname for Juliana, but later usage made Will, the generally used form for the former, and Gill finally ruled for the Juliana. As surname Gill was frequently used in England and may be found in many counties in diverse sections of the country.

(I) Ezra Gill, yeoman, was of Eashing. He died April 20, 1728 (aged seventy or eighty years); his will proved May 13, 1728. He married Mary Denyer, daughter of George Denyer, of Godalming. They were the parents of a son, Ezra.

(II) Ezra Gill, son of Ezra and Mary (Denyer) Gill, was born January 31, 1701, and died May 30, 1736, will proved December 6, 1726. He married, at Friends' Meeting, Mary Woods, who died in 1734, aged twenty-four years. She was the daughter of John and Sarah (Streeter) Woods, the former of Witley, London and Bramshott. Ezra Gill's wife, Mary Woods, was probably a Friend. She is buried at Bramshott in the Friends' Burying Ground. Ezra also was buried at

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Bramshott. While just the locality in England from which John Gill, the American ancestor of this family of our interest came, has never been definitely known, it is possible that it was from this neighborhood since the name Boswell also appears. (Note name of John Gill's wife.)

The following is recorded: "10th April, 1728. Release in fee by William Boswell and June his wife and John Cooper gent. to Ezra Gill, Jr., of Eashing. . . . the manor or reported manor of Temple Elphant."

I. John Gill was born about 1612, and died December 1, 1690, at Salisbury, Massachusetts. His will of September 1, 1690, was probated March 13, 1691. John Gill, "planter" or "husbandman" purchased a house and land in Salisbury, Massachusetts, about 1646. He appears on tax lists 1650, 1652, 1654. He and his wife were members of Salisbury Church, 1687.

John Gill married, May 2, 1645, Phebe Buswell, daughter of Isaac Buswell ("New England Register," Vol. VII, p. 312, says Buzzell or Buzwell.) Children, all born in Salisbury, Massachusetts: 1. Elizabeth, born January 8, 1646; married, in 1663, Morris Tucker. 2. John, born October 15, 1647-48; married Martha Goodale. 3. Phebe, of whom further. 4. Samuel, born January 5, 1651-52; married, November 5, 1678, Sarah Worth. His son, Samuel, was captured by Indians and taken to Canada. He was the founder of Canadian "Gills." 5. Sarah, born June 27, 1654; married Miss Petty. 6. Moses, born December 26, 1656; married Sarah Esty. 7. Benjamin, born in 1662; not mentioned in will. 8. Isaac, born April 24, 1665; not mentioned in will, but executed a deed in 1689.

(D. W. Hoyt: "Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts," pp. 174-75. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," p. 254.)

II. Phebe Gill, daughter of John and Phebe (Buswell) Gill, was born at Salisbury, Massachusetts, January 6, 1649-50, and died May 6, 1714. She married Isaac Morrill. (Morrill II.)

(The Clements Line)

Clement (Clements) Arms—Argent, two bends wavy sable on a chief gules, three bezants.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

Clement, as surname, is derived from the baptismal name Clement. As a first name it was common to both sexes and was most popular in the thirteenth century. Its use as surname can thus be readily traced.

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Its various forms are Clements, Clemens, Clemments, Cleminson, Clemmets, Clemson, etc.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

The Clements family has been established in England for many generations, their name being recorded in various counties, including Devon, Kent, Dorset, Norfolk, and Middlesex. While no connection has been definitely established between Robert Clements and his English ancestors, it is thought that he came from Warwickshire, records stating that he left a young daughter, Mary, there, when he sailed for America.

I. Robert Clements (or Clemence), born about 1590, came from England and was in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1642. His son Job came as early as 1640, doubtless to "spy out the land." Robert Clements came with his wife and four children, John, Lydia, Robert, and Sarah. His youngest daughter, Mary, remained in England until about 1652 in the city of Coventry in Warwickshire, when she came over to Haverhill and was soon after married by her father to John Osgood, of Andover, Massachusetts.

Robert Clements was first deputy of the town to the General Court until about 1654; was associate judge, county commissioner, "appointed and empowered by the General Court to give the oath of fidelity to the inhabitants of Haverhill, appointed to set off the public lands, fix their limits, etc." He was a man of integrity and superior talent. He owned the first gristmill in town. He died September 29, 1658.

(D. W. Hoyt: "Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts," p. 295. Chase: "History of Haverhill, Massachusetts," p. 48. Essex County Antiquarian, 1898, pp. 82-83.)

Children: 1. Job, died in 1683; married (first), December 25, 1644, Margaret Dunner; (second) Lydia; (third) Joanna Leighton, who died in 1682. 2. John; married, June 1, 1648, Sarah Osgood, who died in 1649. 3. Robert; married, December 8, 1652, Elizabeth Fawne. 4. Abraham, was living in 1658. Administered estate, December 31, 1716. 5. Daniel, took Oath of Allegiance, November, 1677, at Haverhill. 6. Sarah, of whom further. 7. Lydia; married, before 1658, Moses Pengrew, or Pengrin. 8. Mary, born about 1637; married, November 15, 1658, John Osgood. She was the youngest daughter, who came from Warwickshire about 1652. She was indicted for witchcraft in 1692. Was living in 1695.

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(D. W. Hoyt: "Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts," p. 295. Essex County Antiquarian, 1897, p. 85; 1898, pp. 83-85; 1899, p. 8.)

II. *Sarah Clements*, daughter of Robert Clements; married (first) Abraham Morrill. (Morrill I.) She was a member of the Salisbury Church in 1687. Sarah Clements married (second), October 8, 1664, Thomas Mudgett; he was a "shipwright," and served for Abraham Morrill as a soldier in the Narragansett War, 1675; was a "householder" of Salisbury in 1677; freeman in 1690. Sarah (Clements) Mudgett died August, 1694. There were two children of this union, Mary, born April 30, 1667, and Temperance, born October 10, 1670.

(Smith: "Morrill Kindred in America.")

(The Torrey Line)

Torrie (Torrey) Arms—Argent on a mount in base vert a horse passant sable saddled and bridled gules in chief a cross crosslet fitchée of the third.

Crest—A horse's head argent.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Torrey, earlier Torre, from Torr, local of the tower, from one resident at such a place.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

The Torrey family tree has its roots in English soil, the family having been located in England for many generations. In Somerset, near Chard, on the edge of Dorset, lies the parish of Combe St. Nicholas, the home of the earliest Torrey ancestors.

(F. C. Torrey: "The Torrey Families and Their Children in America," Vol. I, p. 7.)

(The Family in England)

I. *William Torrey*, of Combe, St. Nicholas, County of Somerset, England, died in June, 1557, leaving a will in which he mentions Thomasyne, his wife, and everyone of his children, without naming them.

II. *Philip Torrey*, son of the above William and Margaret, his wife. His will is dated in 1604; mentions his son William and daughter Dorotheie; also his wife Margaret.

III. *William Torrey*, son of Philip, and Jane his wife. His wife died in 1639, at which date he was still living. The date of his birth is not found. His son Philip had previously died.

(Reference as before, p. 5.)

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IV. Philip Torrey, son of William and Alice, his wife. He died in June, 1621, leaving a will dated 21 of April, 1621, in which he mentions three daughters, Anne, Mary, and Sarah; four sons, William, James, Philip, and Joseph. (The will of his wife, Alice, is dated 1634, and mentions by name the seven children, and states that the daughter Mary was deceased.)

(Reference as before, page 6.)

These four sons all emigrated to America in 1640-43, and located within a few miles of Boston, Massachusetts, and seem to have been the ancestors of all the early families of the name in America. William and Joseph first located in Weymouth; James in Scituate, and Philip in Roxbury.

(F. C. Torrey: "The Torrey Families and Their Children in America," Vol. I, p. 6.)

(The Family in America)

I. Captain William Torrey, son of Philip and Alice Torrey, was born in Combe, St. Nicholas, Somersetshire, England, in 1608, and died at Weymouth, Massachusetts, June 10, 1690, his will being made May 15, 1686, and proved July 2, 1691. He was an unusually capable business man and a leader in his community. He was a member of committees of the General Court when they had to do with education and literature. Captain William Torrey in 1641 was elected a member of the Royal Artillery of Boston, and soon after was made a lieutenant. He was deputy from 1642 to 1650, Clerk of the House of Deputies and Recorder of Deeds. His signature appears hundreds of times on the early records. The title captain (of militia) was prefixed to his name soon after 1665.

William Torrey married (first) in Combe, St. Nicholas, Agnes Combe, daughter of Joseph and Winifred (Rossiter) Combe, baptized January 4, 1608, in the town of her marriage, and died in 1629 or 1630. He married (second), in 1630, Jane Haviland, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth (Gyse) Haviland. She was baptized in Bristol, England, August 2, 1612, and was buried April 27, 1639. Jane Haviland was from Hawkesbury Barnes, Gloucestershire, England, and her ancestors were prominent, among them being mayors of the cities of Poole and Bristol. William Torrey married (third) Elizabeth Fry, daughter of George Fry, of Weymouth, Massachusetts.

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(F. C. Torrey: "The Torrey Families and Their Children in America," Vol. I, p. 15. D. Torrey: "A Contribution Toward a Genealogy of all Torreys in America," pp. 6-7.)

In addition to his own family William Torrey, after his father's death, brought up Jonathan and Mary, children of his brother James, sometimes erroneously referred to as his own children. (John Torrey: "Genealogical Notes," p. 11.) Children by second marriage: 1. Samuel, born in England in 1632. 2. William, born in England in 1638, died January 11, 1718; married Deborah Green, daughter of John Green. Children by third marriage: 3. Micajah, born at Weymouth, October 12, 1643, died there January 20, 1710-11; married Susannah. 4. Josiah, of whom further. 5. Angel, born at Weymouth, June 10, 1657, died at Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1724.

(F. C. Torrey: "The Torrey Family and Their Children in America," Vol. I, pp. 16-17.)

In addition to the above children, D. Torrey in his "Contributions Toward a Genealogy of all Torreys in America," gives three others, all born in Weymouth: 6. Naomi, born December 3, 1641. 7. Mary, born December 3, 1642. 8. Judith.

II. Josiah Torrey, known both as Lieutenant and Captain Torrey, son of Captain William and Elizabeth (Fry) Torrey, was born at Weymouth about 1650 and died at Mansfield, Connecticut, October 30, 1732, aged eighty-two. Josiah was a clothier and cloth-weaver and at various times resided at Weymouth, Boston, and Mendon, Massachusetts, and at Bristol and Mansfield, Connecticut. He married, at Medfield, May 5, 1680, Mrs. Sarah (Willson) Batt, widow of Paul Batt. She was born in 1650 and was the daughter of John and Sarah (Hooker) Willson. Children: 1. Josiah, born at Boston, February 9, 1680, died October 8, 1723, at Marthas Vineyard; married Sarah Athearn. 2. Margaret. 3. Elizabeth. 4. Mary. 5. John, of whom further.

(F. C. Torrey: "The Torrey Families and Their Children in America," Vol. I, p. 32.)

III. John Torrey, son of Captain Josiah and Sarah (Willson-Batt) Torrey, was born at Mendon, Massachusetts, April 6, 1692, and died at Barrington, Massachusetts, in December, 1740. He married Sarah, who married, as her second husband, June 20, 1742, at Barrington, John Ross. John Torrey and his wife lived at Barrington, Ashfield, and



Jaques
(Jaquith)



Ruggles



Brown



Gill



Torrie
(Correy)



Stebbing
(Stebbins)



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Mansfield, Connecticut. John Torrey was in Barrington as early as 1725. His will was dated December 10, 1740, and proved January 20, 1740-41. Children: 1. Ann, born January 31, 1730; married, in 1746, Timothy Allen. 2. Eunice, of whom further. 3. Willson. 4. Nathan. 5. Josiah, born June 17, 1734, died September 26, 1746. 6. David. 7. Jonathan. 8. Sarah, born in 1738, died before 1740.

(F. C. Torrey: "The Torrey Families and Their Children in America," Vol. I, pp. 56-57.)

IV. *Eunice Torrey*, daughter of John and Sarah Torrey, was born at Mansfield, Connecticut, July 2, 1731, and died September 19, 1809. She married, December 29, 1757, John Langdon. (Langdon III.)

(The Stebbins Line)

Stebbing (Stebbins) Arms—Argent, a griffin segreant azure, langued and membered gules, between three cross-crosslets of the last. (Greenlee's "Stebbins Genealogy.")

The earliest record of this name is in the Domesday Book. At that time (A. D. 1080-86) it was applied to the villa of Stebing, which is believed by eminent scholars to have been in use at the time King Alfred's Domesday Book was compiled (A. D. 900). The form Stebbins is a corruption or shortening of Stebing, which in turn has been accounted for as being derived from the Saxon *stybo*, Latin *stipes*, meaning a stirrup, and ing, a field or meadow. As it was early applied to the Parish of Stubing or Stibing, it may well have meant "a stumpy field." It is variously written on the records as Stabinge, Stebinge, Stebin, Stebings, Stebbing, etc. John de Stubing, of Essex, is recorded in the Chancery Rolls or Records in 1201; and Richard de Stebing resided near Great Dunnow, Essex County, in 1275. Although no direct evidence as to the birthplace of Rowland Stebbins, mentioned below, has been found, it is stated by the compilers of the Stebbins Genealogy that there is a strong probability that he was born in or near Stebbing, Essex County.

I. *Rowland Stebbins* was born in England, probably in or near Stebing, County Essex, in 1594, and died in Northampton, Massachusetts, December 14, 1671. His name with that of his wife is among the list of passengers on the ship "Francis," of Ipswich, Mr. John Cutting, captain, bound for New England the last of April, 1634. He settled with his wife and family in Roxbury, Massachusetts, upon his arrival in New England in 1634 or 1635. From 1636 to 1645 the settlers of Agawam

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were mostly young unmarried men, yet we find Rowland Stebbins there in 1639 with his family. In 1640 we find him receiving land in Springfield. He received land at the second division as follows:

On December 24, 1640,

It is ordered that these persons underwritten shall have their lots for ye 2nd division of planting ground granted them according to ye number of acres & order of place underneath written, which is to be measured out by ye first of April next; Provided that those yt have broken up ground there shall have allowance for it as two indifferent men shall judge equal. Single persons are to have 8 rod in bredth; maryed Persons 10 rod in bredth; bigger families 12 rod, to begin upward at ye edge of ye hill. . . . Rowl. Stebbins Lott No. 5—10 rods in breadth.

From time to time he acquired other land. The selectmen and the deacons, or a committee appointed by the selectmen, determined the order in which seats in the meetinghouses in New England, in the early settlement, should be occupied. Ability and general regard, as well as wealth, had much to do with the order of selection. The women, as a rule do not appear to have been assigned to particular seats, but occupied, in another part of the house, such as suited their own preferences. The first list, still of record, bears the date of December 23, 1659, and reads: "The order which persons now seated in the meeting house by the selectmen and Deacon Chapin. 1st Seats—Robb: Ashley: Tho. Cooper: Rowld: Stebbins: George Coulton: Benjamin Cooley."

The exact date of Rowland Stebbins' removal to Northampton, Massachusetts, is not known, but his name appeared in the list of townsmen of Springfield in February, 1664, so his removal to Northampton was after that date. He made his will the "First Day of the first month 1669-70," at Northampton, where he was probably making his home with his son John. He married Sarah, in England. Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Sarah, born in 1623. 3. John, born in England in 1626, died in Northampton, Massachusetts, March 6, 1678; married (first), March 14, 1646, Ann (Munson) Munden, widow of Abraham Munden; (second), December 17, 1657, Abigail Bartlett. 4. Elizabeth, born in 1628.

(R. S. Greenlee and R. F. Greenlee: "Stebbins Genealogy," pp. 50-51. Farmer: "Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England," p. 273. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. IV, p. 177.)

II. *Thomas Stebbins*, son of Rowland and Sarah Stebbins, was born in England in 1620, and died September 15, 1683, at Springfield, Mas-

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sachusetts. Thomas Stebbins came to America with his father in 1634, and lived for a time in Roxbury, Massachusetts. In 1639 he removed to Springfield. He was a land-owner and occupied various town positions of trust. On November 3, 1646, he was chosen surveyor and after this date his name appears frequently on the town records as an office-holder in Springfield, Massachusetts, and as a member of important committees. Thomas Stebbins was chosen townsman or selectman, November 2, 1652, and was again chosen for this office in 1653 and 1655. On May 29, 1654, Thomas Stebbins was chosen town treasurer and again acted in this capacity in 1672-74-75, 1681-82. He was also a fence viewer and juryman. In King Philip's War the name of Thomas Stebbins, of Springfield, is included in the list of soldiers who served under Captain William Turner. Thomas' name appears in the records with the title lieutenant. He died intestate and the courts settled the estate, with the full agreement of the widow and children.

Thomas Stebbins married (first), November, 1645, at Springfield, Massachusetts, Hannah Wright, daughter of Deacon Samuel and Margaret Wright; (second), December 11, 1676, at Springfield, Massachusetts, Abigail (Burt) Munn, widow of Benjamin Munn, born about 1623 in England. She was the daughter of Henry and Eulelia (March) Burt. She died November 23, 1707, at Springfield.

(R. S. Greenlee and R. F. Greenlee: "Stebbins Genealogy," pp. 60-73. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. IV, p. 177.)

Children: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Thomas, born July 31, 1648. 3. Joseph, born May 18, 1650, died November 9, 1651. 4. Joseph, born October 24, 1652; married Sarah Dorchester. 5. Sarah, born August 8, 1654; married Samuel Bliss. 6. Edward, born April 14, 1656; married Sarah Graves. 7. Benjamin, born April 11, 1658; married (first) Abigail Denton; (second) Mary Graves Ball. 8. Hannah, born in 1660, died aged seventeen years. 9. Rowland, born in 1660, died April 24, 1661.

(R. S. Greenlee and R. F. Greenlee: "Stebbins Genealogy," Vol. I, pp. 60-84. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. IV, p. 177.)

III. Samuel (1) Stebbins, son of Thomas and Hannah (Wright) Stebbins, was born at Springfield, Massachusetts, September 19, 1646. He died at Springfield, July 13, 1708. Samuel Stebbins early became identified with town affairs. In 1673 he was chosen one of the fence

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viewers. He was twice chosen "Hayward" for Long Meadow, in 1678 and 1681.

Samuel Stebbins married, at Springfield, July 22, 1679, Joanna Lamb. She was born, September 20, 1651 (or January 25, 1656), at Springfield, the daughter of John and Joanna Lamb. He married (second), December 1, 1685, at Springfield, Massachusetts, Abigail Brooks, born January 25, 1665-66, died November 24, 1746 (or March 13, 1754) at Springfield, Massachusetts, daughter of William and Mary (Burt) Brooks. Children by first wife: 1. Infant, born March 12, 1680, died same day. 2. Thomas, born December 26, 1681. 3. Samuel, of whom further. Children by second wife: 4. John, born February 13, 1686-87; married Patience Wright. 5. Ebenezer, born November 30, 1688, died March 20, 1756. 6. Infant, born and died August 19, 1691. 7. William, born July 27, 1693; married Mercy Knowlton. 8. Abigail, born November 30, 1695; married John Hitchcock. 9. Joanna, born March 4, 1697; married Matthew Noble. 10. Thomas, born August 10, 1698; married Mary Munn. 11. Benjamin, born December 10, 1700, died June 25, 1709. 12. Mercy, born June 19, 1705; married John Colton.

(R. S. Greenlee and R. F. Greenlee: "Stebbins Genealogy," pp. 84-85. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. IV, p. 177.)

IV. Samuel (2) Stebbins, son of Samuel and Joanna (Lamb) Stebbins, was born at Springfield, Massachusetts, May 13, 1683, and died there June 17, 1767. He was a man of importance in his community. He was chosen fence viewer in 1710-11, and again in 1717-18. He was chosen surveyor at a town meeting in 1712-13, and again in 1719-20. Another time he was chosen "Hogg Reave" (1727-28), and in 1741, one of three assessors. He was also one of a committee (1742) to provide materials to build a meetinghouse.

Samuel Stebbins married (first), at Springfield, January 20, 1707, Hannah Hitchcock, born at Springfield, March 18, 1684, and died there May 24, 1756. She was the daughter of Luke and Sarah (Burg) Hitchcock. He married (second), at Springfield, January 3 (or 31), Sarah Allen or Allin, who died at Springfield, February 26, 1763. Children, all of first marriage: 1. Samuel, born June 19, 1708; married (first) Mary Knowlton; (second) Sarah Wood Jones. 2. Jonathan, born October 24, 1709; married (first) Margaret Bliss; (second) Sarah Moseley. 3. Stephen, born October 16, 1711; married Sarah Bliss. 4.

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Hannah, born June 10, 1713; married Moses Parsons. 5. Aaron, born February 20, 1715; married Mary Wood. 6. Joanna, born November 1, 1716; married James Firman. 7. Moses, of whom further. 8. Luke, born January 28, 1722; married Sarah Norton. 9. Sarah, born November 8, 1725; married, April 19, 1743, Samuel Taylor. 10. Nehemiah, born April 14, 1727; married (first) Hannah Chandler; (second) Elizabeth Morgan. 11. Thankful, born March 4, 1730, died October 23, 1733 (or 1734).

(R. S. Greenlee and R. F. Greenlee: "Stebbins Genealogy," pp. 84 and 131-32.)

V. Moses Stebbins, son of Samuel (2) and Hannah (Hitchcock) Stebbins, was born at Springfield, Massachusetts, December 4, 1718, and died after 1779. He resided at Springfield and Wilbraham, Massachusetts. Moses Stebbins settled on the east side of the mountain (at Hampden, Massachusetts) and was among the pioneer school teachers of Hampden County. He was one of the signers of the "non-consumption Pledge," and served on various committees of importance.

Moses Stebbins married, June 27, 1749, at Springfield, Massachusetts, Dorcas Hall, of Enfield, daughter of John and Thankful Hall. She was born August 26, 1725.

(R. S. Greenlee and R. F. Greenlee: "Stebbins Genealogy," Vol. I, pp. 131 and 175; Vol. II, Appendix A, 1177-78.)

Children: 1. Moses, born May 3, 1750; married (first) Hannah Hale; (second) Catherine Chapin. 2. Calvin, born July 30, 1751; married Sarah Sexton. 3. Amos, born in 1753, died in October, 1753. 4. Esther, of whom further. 5. Ambrose, born October 17, 1756; married Azubah Ferrier. 6. Dorcas, born February 17, 1759, died in April, 1759. 7. David, born February 29, 1760; married Mary Chester. 8. Timothy, born April 17, 1762; married Hannah Culver. 9. Gains, born October 5, 1763, at Wilbraham, Massachusetts. 10. Dorcas, born August 2, 1765, at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, died May 20, 1844. 11. Chester, born January 23, 1769, at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, died May 20, 1844, aged seventy-five years. 12. Thankful, born March 21, 1773, at Wilbraham, Massachusetts; married John Mattoon.

(Reference as before, p. 175.)

VI. Esther Stebbins, daughter of Moses and Dorcas (Hall) Stebbins, was born in the 4th precinct of Springfield, now Wilbraham, Massa-

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chusetts, January 28, 1755. She married, at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, James Langdon. (Langdon IV.) After the death of her husband, in 1804, she emigrated with her two sons and three daughters to the State of Ohio, leaving the home in Vershire, Vermont, to make the long perilous journey. The fortitude and determination of this resolute woman of pioneer spirit is cause for admiration. For ten long weeks through the wilderness, danger and deprivation were endured. The town of Wellsville on the Ohio River was reached. Here they embarked in flat boats taking their wagons aboard and sending their horses by land down the river banks. The pioneers finally landed at Columbia, several miles east of the settlement, even then known as Cincinnati. Mrs. Langdon and her family found shelter in part of the house of a Mr. Oliver Spencer, but in the spring a cabin home was constructed for the family, Oliver Langdon, brother of James, acting as kindly guardian of the children, all of whom grew to maturity and attained honor and place in the communities in which they lived. Mrs. Langdon was known for her hard-working persistence, her kindly neighborly spirit and her practical Christianity. She was a Methodist, regular at church service and a strong believer in family devotions.

(The Weaver Line)

I. Jan Weaver, whose birthplace is not definitely known, was born probably in Holland. He was living in Trenton, New Jersey, at the time of the Revolutionary War. The name of his wife is not known, but he had at least one son and two daughters. Children. 1. Polly (Mary), of whom further. 2. Alchia (Altchie, Altgie, etc.), born January 16, 1776, died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Demarest, Rochester, New York, January 23, 1863; married, November, 1801, James Blawelt, born May 17, 1763, died May 8, 1812. 3. Peter Weaver, was probably the youngest of the family. He married his first wife in Montezuma, New York, where he lived with the Baird family. His second wife was Sarah, sister of his first wife. He had at least one son, George Weaver. The family moved to Michigan. When Alpheus H. Smith visited him, his mind had failed, the house had burned down, and all records were lost.

II. Polly (Mary) Weaver, daughter of Jan Weaver, was living May 14, 1841, but died before September 5, 1850. She married David Forshee. (Forshee V.)

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(The Montgomery Line)

Montgomery Arms—Azure, three fleurs-de-lis or.

Crest—Out of a cap of maintenance an arm in armor erect, grasping a sword.
(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Montgomerie, near Lisieux in Normandy, was the seat of this ancient family. One of the family, Roger de Montgomery, kinsman of the Conqueror, accompanied him, and at the Battle of Hastings led the centre. When the Conqueror distributed his rewards Roger de Montgomery was created Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, and received as well numerous manors in various counties. Both the shire and town in Wales are named for him.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

Many families of the name are to be found in Scotland and Ireland.

I. Henry Montgomery was born in Londonderry, Ireland, January 27, 1750. He emigrated to America and settled in Bennington, Vermont. From there he removed to Salem, Washington County, New York, from which place, in 1795-96, he again moved to Aurelius, New York. He served in the Revolutionary War. He died, in Aurelius, June 14, 1833, leaving no will. In the surrogate's office in Auburn, however, there is a long and interesting inventory. The petition for administration was signed July 13, 1833, by his son, David Montgomery, stating there was no widow. His son David makes affidavit as follows: "David Montgomery, son of Henry Montgomery, asserts that he is positive as to the death of Henry Montgomery on June 14, 1833, that he left no will and no widow, but the following kindred, Jane Thompson, Hugh Montgomery, (David) the Petitioner, children of William Montgomery, deceased; Henry Montgomery, deceased; John Montgomery, deceased; James Montgomery, deceased; Elizabeth Smith, deceased; and Susannah Dunning, deceased." Henry Montgomery married Susannah Beatty, born September 9, 1751, died October 16, 1825. Children: 1. William, born January 27, 1776, died January 19, 1809; married, but wife's name is not given; one son: William, Jr., who married Sarah Wayne. 2. Henry, Jr., born February 27, 1778, died June 10, 1820. He married Lydia. His will, dated May 22, 1820, mentions his wife Lydia and his daughters, Eliza, Ann Mari, Martha Murett, Emily Angeline, and Loretta, and a son Ansel. Instructions to his brother Hugh follow and the will is witnessed by Ebenezer Gere, Timothy Hiell, Stephen Hamlin. 3. John, born July 27, 1780, died August 22, 1815. 4. James,

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born March 10, 1782, died December 5, 1822. 5. Betsey, of whom further. 6. Jane, born August 22, 1785, died October 7, 1862; married a Mr. Thompson. 7. Daniel, born July 20, 1787, died March 5, 1813. 8. Hugh, born March 4, 1789, died March 27, 1862. 9. Susannah, born November 30, 1791, died March 31, 1821; married, April 2, 1809, Ira Dunning, born in Salem, New York, March 23, 1789, died in Auburn, September 25, 1841. 10. David, born April 7, 1793, died March 3, 1881; married, September 24, 1815, Rachel Van Giesen. Child: I. V. Walker.

II. Betsey Montgomery, daughter of Henry and Susannah (Beatty) Montgomery, was born January 15, 1784, and died June 17, 1820. She married St. Clair Smith. (Smith II.)

(Annie Morrill Smith: "Ancestors of Henry Montgomery Smith and Catherine Forshee.")

(The Woodbridge Line)

Woodbridge Arms—Argent, on a bend gules three chaplets of roses proper.
Crest—A chaplet of roses proper. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Woodbridge as a surname is local, meaning of Woodbridge, a parish in the County of Suffolk, seven miles from Ipswich. The name is a very ancient one, appearing in the form De Wudebrige in 1273. By 1596 it had assumed its present form, that of Woodbridge, there being a record of a John Woodbridge of the County of Oxford in that year. Harrison in his "Surnames of the United Kingdom" states that the patronymic is derived from the Old English wudu, wood and bryeg, bricg, bridge, and was used to denote a dweller at the wooden bridge. Woodbridge, County Suffolk, was Wodebregge in the fourteenth century, Wodebridge in the thirteenth, and Wudebridge in the thirteenth century is referred to as Wodebrigge in a copy made (with alterations) in the Middle English period, the (Latin) boundary-definements of a land grant dated A. D. 850 by Æthelwulf, King of the West Saxons.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," p. 823. Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

Reverend John Woodbridge, born in England in 1582, died in Stanton in Wiltshire, England, December 9, 1637. He was a rector of the parish of Stanton, near Highworth, in Wiltshire, and a minister, "so called and faithful," says Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia," "as to obtain an high esteem among those that at all knew the invaluable worth of such a minister."

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Rev. John Woodbridge married Sarah Parker, born in 1583, died in 1683, daughter of Rev. Robert Parker. Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Sarah, born about 1614. 3. Benjamin, born in 1622. 4. Lucy.

(The Family in America)

I. Reverend John (2) Woodbridge, son of Rev. John and Sarah (Parker) Woodbridge, was born in Stanton in Wiltshire, in 1613, and died in Newbury, Massachusetts, March 17, 1695. He was sent to Oxford when he finished school and kept there until "the oath of conformity came to be required of him; which neither his father, nor his conscience approving, he removed from thence into a course of more private studies." In the year 1634 he came to New England on the ship "Mary and John" and settled at Newbury, Massachusetts. He was town clerk of Newbury from 1634 to 1639, and was chosen "Surveyor of Arms" in 1637. In 1643 he kept school in Boston. He, with others, negotiated to purchase from the Indians, of the plantations, on which the town of Andover grew up. He was ordained at Andover, October 24, 1645, this being one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of regular ordinations in New England. In 1647 he returned to England, with his wife and family, and was chaplain to the Parliamentary Commissioners, who treated with the King at the Isle of Wight, and afterwards minister at Andover, Hants, and Barford St. Martin (Wiltshire) until he was ejected at the Restoration. In 1663 he was driven by the Bartholomew Act from a school he had established at Newbury (England), and in the same year returned to New England. He was now made assistant to his uncle, Rev. Thomas Parker, at Newbury, remaining in this office until November 31, 1670, when he was dismissed in consequence of dissensions in the church. He was "assistant" of the Massachusetts Colony, 1683-84. He was a large property holder.

Rev. John Woodbridge married, in 1639, Mercy Dudley, daughter of Thomas Dudley, Governor of the Massachusetts Colony. (Dudley III.) Children: 1. Sarah, born June 7, 1640. 2. Lucy, born March 13, 1642. 3. John, born in 1644 and died November 13, 1691. 4. Benjamin, born in 1645. 5. Thomas, born in 1648. 6. Dorothy, born about 1650. 7. Anne, born about 1653. 8. Timothy, born January 13, 1656. 9. Joseph, born about 1657. 10. Martha, of whom further. 11. Mary, born about 1662.

II. Martha Woodbridge, daughter of Rev. John and Mercy (Dudley) Woodbridge, was born in England about 1660, and died in Billerica,

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Massachusetts, in 1738. She spent her school days in Newbury, Massachusetts. She married Samuel Ruggles, Jr. (Ruggles III.)

(Mitchell: "The Woodbridge Records.")

(The Dudley Line)

Dudley Arms—Or, a lion rampant azure double queued vert.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Sutton was originally the name of this, one of the oldest families in England, whose ancestry traces back to the time of William the Conqueror. The Suttons appear to have descended from Hervius of Hervey, who held Sutton-upon-Trent in the county of Nottingham, in the fourteenth year of the reign of William I (1079). Robert Glover, Somerset Herald in the reign of Elizabeth, states in his account of the origin of the Dudley family that they are either from the most illustrious race of the Suttons of Holderness, in the province of York, or from the ancient family of the same name which formerly was settled in the county of Nottingham near to Worksop. Some of those enrolled in the list of Barons derived their titles of dignity from Malpas and Shocklache, in the county of Chester, and from the very ancient castle of Dudley in the county of Worcester. Included in the list of distinguished men of the name are Ambrose and Robert Dudley, both knights of renown, the former of Warwick, the latter of Leicester; Edward Baron Dudley, and many others.

In the records of the year 1439 instances may be found of the adoption of the name Dudley by John Sutton, Lord Dudley. The genealogist and author, Adlard, is of the opinion that the Thomas Dudley, brother of John, Lord Dudley, who died in 1549, was the ancestor of the Massachusetts family.

(Adlard: "Sutton-Dudleys of England and Dudleys of Massachusetts," pp. 1-13.)

I. Captain Roger Dudley, first of the direct line of whom there is knowledge, was a military man who lived in the time of Sir Robert Dudley, Queen Elizabeth's famous Earl of Leicester, and appears to have been one of the soldiers sent over by the Queen to aid Henry of Navarre in establishing his throne. Captain Dudley fell in the famous battle of Ivry, in 1590. He was an ardent supporter of the cause of Protestantism, as were his descendants. He married a Nicholls, a kinswoman of Augustine Nicholls, of Faxton, in Northamptonshire, born at Ecton in

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1559, a judge of the Common Pleas, and Knight of the Bath. Child:
1. Thomas, of whom further.

(Dudley: "History of the Dudley Family," p. 17.)

II. Governor Thomas Dudley, son of Captain Roger Dudley, was born in Northamptonshire, England, October 12, 1576, and died in Roxbury, Massachusetts, July 31, 1653. At the age of fourteen he had lost both parents. An early writer, who claims to have had correct information of the family, states that "when forsaken by both father and mother, then the Lord took him up and stirred the hearts of certain friends who assumed special charge of him in his childhood." One of these friends was a Mrs. Purefoy, probably the sister of Judge Nicholls, who married William Purefoy, of Muston, Leicestershire. Thomas Dudley was trained in a Latin school "by the care of Mrs. Purefoy," and became a proficient Latin scholar, after which he served for a number of years as a page in the family of the Earl of Northampton. He later acquired much skill in law. At the age of twenty, he was given a captain's commission by Queen Elizabeth, and led a large company of Northampton gallants over the siege of Amiens in Picardy. Returning to Northampton, he married a gentlewoman of that vicinity and took up his abode there. He soon became converted to Puritanism, and continued in this faith throughout his life, adhering to its strictest tenets. For many years he was steward to Theophilus, fourth Earl of Lincoln, and managed the vast estates of that earldom with great success. Toward the close of the reign of King James, he retired to a more private life at Boston, Lincolnshire, but was soon recalled by the Earl, who thought he could not live without Mr. Dudley's assistance. The Earl's household had also apparently been converted to Puritanism, for it is described as "a very hotbed of Puritanism and resistance to Kingly prerogative." Thomas Dudley continued his service to the Earl until 1630, when he sailed for America.

In his famous letter to the Countess of Lincoln, written from Boston, Massachusetts, in March, 1631, Thomas Dudley describes how he first conceived the idea of removing to America. He says that about 1627 he and some friends considered the matter of planting the gospel in New England. In 1628 a patent was obtained from the King for a plantation, and that year John Endicott and others were sent to begin the work. As their reports were favorable, the next year, 1629, three hundred persons were sent over, with live stock and other necessities for

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the founding of a permanent colony. It seemed best for Dudley to delay his coming no longer, and in April, 1630, he set sail in the "Arbella," which carried also Governor John Winthrop and the charter of the colony. They arrived at Salem, Massachusetts, June 12, 1630. By the end of the year sixteen other vessels had landed their passengers on the coast of New England, and the colony was well started. Thomas Dudley was deputy governor, having been appointed to this post before leaving England.

For many years Mr. Dudley was one of the most influential men in the colony. He was elected governor in 1634, and again in 1640, 1645, and 1650. In 1644 he was chosen commander-in-chief of the military forces of the colony, with the title of major-general. He was one of the chief founders of the First Church in Boston, and was also one of the promoters of Harvard College. Soon after his arrival he purchased lands in Newton (Cambridge), of which place he was a founder; in 1639 he bought lands in Braintree. He removed to Roxbury some time before his death.

The records speak of Governor Dudley as a man of piety, exact justice, hospitality to strangers and liberality to the poor. He was a far-seeing administrator and governed for the future as well as for the present.

Thomas Dudley married (first) Dorothy Yorke, born in 1582, died at Roxbury, Massachusetts, and was buried December 27, 1643, daughter of Edmund Yorke, Esquire, of Colton, Northampton; (second), April 14, 1644, Mrs. Catherine (Dighton) Hackburn, widow of Samuel Hackburn, of Roxbury, Massachusetts. After Governor Dudley's death she married (third), November 8, 1653, Rev. John Alin, of Dedham, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Samuel, born in England about 1610, died in Exeter, New Hampshire, February 10, 1683. He married (first), about 1632, Mary Winthrop, died at Salisbury, Massachusetts, April 16, 1643, daughter of Governor John Winthrop; (second), in 1643, Mary Byley, daughter of Henry Byley, and granddaughter of Henry Byley, Gentleman, of the city of New Sarum, in Wiltshire; (third) Elizabeth. 2. Anne, born about 1612, died September 16, 1672, at Andover, Massachusetts; married, about 1628, Governor Simon Bradstreet; noted as a poetess. 3. Patience, born in England, died February 8, 1689-90, in Ipswich, Massachusetts; married, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, Major-General Daniel Denison. 4. Sarah, bap-

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tized July 23, 1620, at Sempringhame, England, died in 1659, at Roxbury, Massachusetts; married (first) Major Benjamin Keaine; (second) Thomas Pacy, of Boston. 5. Mercy, of whom further. Children of second marriage: 6. Deborah, born February 27, 1645, died November 1, 1683; married Jonathan Wade, of Medford, Massachusetts. 7. Joseph, born September 23, 1647, at Roxbury, Massachusetts, died April 2, 1720, at Roxbury; married Rebecca Tyng, daughter of Edward Tyng; was Governor of Massachusetts. 8. Paul, born September 8, 1650, died December 1, 1681; married, about 1676, Mary Leverett, daughter of Governor John Leverett; she was buried July 5, 1699.

(Dean Dudley: "History of the Dudley Family," Vol. I, pp. 63-65, 71, 80, 87-88, 92, 95, 276. Gamble: "Dudley Genealogy," pp. 1-2. New England Register, Vol. IX, pp. 133-34, Vol. I, p. 71. Encyclopedia Britannica.)

III. *Mercy Dudley*, daughter of Governor Thomas and Dorothy (Yorke) Dudley, was born in England, September 27, 1621. She married, in 1639, Rev. John Woodbridge. (Woodbridge I.)

(The Whiting Line)

Whiting Arms—Per saltire azure and ermine, a lion's head erased or; in chief three bezants.

Crest—(1) A lion's head erased or.

(2) A bear's head proper.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Rev. Samuel Whiting came of a family which was established in Lincolnshire, England, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and was prominent in life and affairs there up to the period of American emigration. The surname Whiting, with numerous variations, appears in English rolls and registers of as early date as 1085.

(American Historical Society: "American Biography," p. 270.)

I. *Reverend Samuel Whiting*, the founder, was born on November 20, 1597, in the city of Boston, Lincolnshire, England, which had been the chief place of residence of his family since the sixth year of the reign of Edward III (1333), and probably earlier. Early in April, 1636, accompanied by his wife and two children, he left England. They arrived in Boston, Massachusetts, May 26, 1636. In the following November, Mr. Whiting was established as minister of the church in Saugust, which was soon afterward called Lynn in his honor. In December, 1636, he was admitted a freeman and soon after established his permanent residence opposite the meetinghouse in Shepard Street.

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For forty-three years he ministered to the spiritual wants of Lynn, and throughout this period was the best beloved figure in its life and affairs. We get some of our finest pictures of Rev. Samuel Whiting, both as man and minister, from the invaluable journal of one of his parishioners, Mr. Turner. The following entry was made shortly after Mr. Whiting's death:

Decemr ye 12: Yester even died ye dear & reverend Mr. Whiting. He hath laboured among us this fortie yeare and upwards, and mch beloved both here and abroad. His golie temper was seen in ye sweet smile yt he alwaies wore. Hjs learning was great. In ye Hebrewe jt hath been said nont of this side of ye water could come up to him. He greatlie labored for ye children, and for manie yeares would haue as manie as he could cometo hjs house on everie Lord his day after ye publique worship was over, and be catechized and instructed by him in Bible truths. And on week daies he also instructed ye children, such as would, in Latin and other learning of ye schooles. He was not fond of disputations and wordie wranglings about doctrine, but laid down hjs poynts plainlie and then firmlie defended them by ye Scriptures, not taking ye time, as ye manner of some is, to tell how others look upon ye same and then to tell how false was ye eye with wch they looked. He writ some things yt come out in print, and all testified to their being sound in doctrine, liberal in sentiment, and plain and practicall.

Mr. Whiting was of a quiet temper and not mch given to extasies, but yet he would sometimes take a merrie part in pleasant companie. Once coming upon a gay partie of young people he kist all ye maides and said yt he felt all ye better for it. And I think they too felt all ye better for it, for they did hug their arms around his neck and kiss him back again right warmlie; they all soe loved him.

He was a man of middle size, dark skin and straight fine hair. Hjs hands were white and soft, mch like some fine ladys. In preaching he did not mch exercise his bodie. But hjs clear voice and pleasant ways were as potent to hold fast ye thought of old and young. He had great care in his dress while preaching, saying ht his hearers should not be made to haue their eyes upon an unseemlie object, lest ye good instruction might be swallowed up in disgust. And for a reason like onto yt he would also have his discourses in mild and winning words. In generall ye sermon would be an hoour and a half long and ye long praier another half houre, wch wyt ye reading of ye scriptures and ye singing would make ye whole above two hours; ye hour-glass upon ye pulpitt tellint ye time.

Ye towne was called Lin in compliment to Mr. Whiting, who came here from Lin in old Norfolke.

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Dr. Mather, in his "Magnalia," first published in 1702, pays tribute to Mr. Whiting, as follows:

And he (Mr. Whiting) was no less a man of temper than a learning; the peculiar sweetness and goodness of his temper must be deemed an essential stroke in his character; he was wonderfully happy in his meek, his composed, his peacable disposition; and his meekness of wisdom outshone all his other attainments in learning; for there is no humane literature so hardly attained as the discretion of man to regulate his anger. His very countenance had an amiable smile continually sweetening of it; and his face herein was but the true image of his mind, which, like the upper regions, was marvelously free from the storms of passions.

William Whiting, one of his lineal descendants, president of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, in his "Memoir of Rev. Samuel Whiting, D. D., and of his Wife, Elizabeth St. John," closes his masterly work with the following tribute:

A man of God, and an honorable man,
Of whom both Englands may with reason boast.

Rev. Samuel Whiting married (as second wife), in Boston, England, August 6, 1629, Elizabeth St. John. (St. John XVIII.) Children of first marriage. Sons who died in England. 1. Dorothy, married, in 1650, Thomas Wilde, son of Rev. Thomas Wilde, of Roxbury, Massachusetts. Children of second marriage: 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. Joseph, born in 1641. 4. Elizabeth, married Rev. Jeremiah Hobart. 5. Son. 6. Daughter.

(Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary.")

II. Reverend Samuel (2) Whiting, son of Rev. Samuel and Elizabeth (St. John) Whiting, born in Skirbeck, England, March 25, 1633, came to America with his father when about three years old. He graduated at Harvard College in 1653. His thesis subject at commencement was the question: "*An detur Maximum et Minimum in Naturae?*" and he spoke on the affirmative. He remained at college a year after graduation, and the fact is noted as peculiar that his quarterly bills were almost always paid in silver. He was admitted a freeman May 11, 1656, and in 1658 settled in Billerica as a preacher from year to year until November 11, 1663, when he was ordained pastor of the church organized about that time. Here he remained almost fifty years, and was esteemed, as

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Rev. Cotton Mather says: "A reverend, holy and faithful minister of the gospel." He preached the artillery election sermon in 1692.

On his settlement the town granted him a ten-acre lot or single share with town privileges. His house lot was twenty acres lying upon the township on the south side of it, bounded by land of George Willis on the north, the brook highway on the east, by Charnstaffe Lane on the south, John Stearn's field on the west. The highway known as the Concord Road crossed it. The field in which his house stood was owned lately by Miss Susan Hill. He received in various parts of the town at various times grants of twenty-three lots of land, amounting to more than two hundred acres. He was one of the seventeen ministers opposed to the settlement of Rev. John Davenport, in Boston. His manuscript sermons have been lost recently. He married, November 12, 1656, Dorcas Chester, born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, November 1, 1637, daughter of Leonard Chester, who was a nephew of Rev. Thomas Hooker, D. D. Leonard Chester lived a year or more at Watertown, and assisted in exploring the Connecticut Valley, and in selecting the site for settlement there when Dr. Hooker removed to Hartford. He died December 11, 1648; his widow married Hon. Richard Russell, one of the foremost citizens of Charlestown; she died a widow, November 30, 1698, aged eighty years.

Rev. Samuel Whiting's home was used as "ye main Garrison house" (Billerica). There is a boulder as marker, at corner of Charnstaffe Lane and Old Concord Road, placed there by the Billerica Historical Society. The (Whiting) parish was large, extending from Concord and modern Acton to the Merrimack and Andover. Rev. and Mrs. Whiting were married fifty-six years, and separated by death only thirteen days. She died February 15, 1712-13, and he died February 28. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born November 6, 1660; married, October 14, 1702, Rev. Thomas Clark, pastor of Chelmsford. 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. John, born August 1, 1664, graduate of Harvard College, 1685; pastor of Lancaster; killed by Indians, September 11, 1697. 4. Oliver, born November 8, 1665; married, January 22, 1689-90, Anna Danforth, daughter of Jonathan Danforth. He died December 22, 1736, and his widow died August 13, 1737. 5. Mary, born May 28, 1667. 6. Dorothy, born September 23, 1668. 7. Joseph, born February 7, 1669-70, graduate of Harvard, 1690. 8. James, born August 20, 1671. 9. Unis (Eunice), born in September, 1672, died September 20, 1672. 10. Benjamin, born September 26, 1676, died October 18, 1676. 11. Benjamin, born November 5, 1682, died November 15, 1682.

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III. Samuel (3) Whiting, son of Rev. Samuel and Dorcas (Chester) Whiting, of Billerica, grandson of Rev. Samuel and Elizabeth (St. John) Whiting, of Lynn, was born in Billerica, January 19, 1662-63. He was one of the first settlers in Dunstable, and the cause of his settlement here is easily discerned. In consideration of money advanced by John Whiting, an alderman of Boston in England, and a brother of Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Lynn, the General Court granted him, October 16, 1660, four hundred acres in Dunstable, bounded by Salmon Brook and the Merrimack River; the title immediately passed from John to his brother, Rev. Samuel, and from him to his grandson, Samuel.

Samuel Whiting was town clerk, selectman, and is frequently and honorably mentioned in the records. His home was one of the fortified garrisons. The records are not clear, but at one time he was held in captivity by the Indians, and in 1713, the General Court, on account of wounds and sufferings, granted him ten pounds.

Samuel Whiting married, at Dunstable, Massachusetts, January 27, 1687, Elizabeth Read, daughter of Christopher Read. He died at Billerica, March 8, 1715. His widow married (second), in 1717, William Patten, born May 12, 1671, son of Thomas and Rebecca (Paine) Patten. He lived in Billerica, and died of smallpox at Cambridge, while attending the General Court. Children: 1. Samuel, born October 22, 1687, a soldier in Lovewell's third expedition; wounded May 8, 1725. 2. Elizabeth, of whom further. 3. Catherine, born June 10, 1691; married, December 31, 1714, John Lane, born October 20, 1691, son of Colonel John and Susannah (Whipple) Lane. They lived in Billerica, where she died April 1, 1731. 4. Leonard, born August 12, 1693, probably settled in Connecticut. 5. Joseph, born December 14, 1695, probably settled in Connecticut. 6. Mary, born January 1, 1701; married, June 4, 1735, her cousin, Oliver Whiting, born March 29, 1691, son of Oliver and Anna (Danforth) Whiting, of Billerica. 7. Dorcas, born in 1703; married, December 30, 1725, Rev. Benjamin Ruggles, a son of Samuel and Martha (Woodbridge) Ruggles. (Ruggles III.) He was pastor of Middleboro, now Lakeville, where he was ordained November 17, 1726, dismissed in December, 1753.

(Ezra Scolley Stearns: "Early Generations of the Founders of Old Dunstable, New Hampshire—Thirty Old Families," pp. 93-94.)

IV. Elizabeth Whiting, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Read) Whiting, was born April 26, 1689. She married, December 19, 1710, Rev. Samuel Ruggles. (Ruggles IV.)

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(The De Port Line)

Port (De Port) Arms—Barry of six azure and argent, a saltire gules.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

I. Hugh de Port, of Basingstoke, County Southampton, in the Domesday Survey, A. D. 1086, who married Orenge.

II. Henry de Port, son of Hugh and Orenge de Port, sheriff of Hampshire in the reign of Henry I, married Hawise. They had William and John.

III. John de Port, son of Henry and Hawise de Port, is on record 1148, 1166, 1167. He married Maud.

IV. Adam de Port, of Basing, son of John and Maud de Port, succeeded his father about 1170, and married Mabel, daughter and heiress of Reginald de Aurival or Orval by Muriel, daughter and heiress of Roger St. John (St. John I); and (second) Sybil, the countess.

V. William de Port, of Basing, son of Adam and Mabel (de Aurival or Orval) de Port, took the name St. Jean, which was Anglicized St. John, and succeeded his father in 1213. (St. John IV.)

(Genealogist, New Series, Vol. XVI, p. 6 (1899-1900.))

(The St. John's Line)

St. John Arms—Argent, on a chief gules two mullets or.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

The most authoritative pedigree of the de Port-St. John family is that of Dr. John Horace Round, one of the chief late authorities on English pedigrees, and the following is based on his researches.

I. Thomas de St. John, of St. Jean-le-Thomas, Normandy, and Stanton St. John, County Oxford, England, died A. D. 1130, without issue. His next brother, John, was heir to the English estate of Stanton St. John and the third brother, Roger de St. John, of Compton in County Sussex, became heir to the possessions of his brother, Thomas, in Normandy, and married Cecily de Haia, daughter of Robert de Haia, Lord of the Honor of Halnaker, County Sussex. Roger and Cecily (de Haia) St. John had two sons and a daughter. Children: 1. William, married (first) Olive, daughter of Count Stephen, of Brittany; (second) Godebent. 2. Robert. 3. Muriel, of whom further.

(Collins: "Peerage of England," Vol. VI, p. 44.)

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II. Muriel de St. John, daughter of Roger and Cecily (de Haia) de St. John, outlived and finally became heiress of her two brothers, who seem to have died without issue. She married Reginald de Aurival.

III. Mabel de Aurival (or *Orval*), daughter of Reginald and Muriel (de St. John) de Aurival, married Adam de Port, of Basing, County Southampton.

IV. William de Port, son of Adam and Mabel (de Aurival) or Orval de Port (de Port V), adopted the surname of his mother's grandfather, St. Jean (English St. John) and was lord of Basing (called a barony; but not entitled to the title of baron, unless by virtue of a summons to Parliament). He married Godchild Paganel.

(Collins: "Peerage of England," p. 45. Clark: "Genealogies of Glamorgan," p. 429.)

V. Robert de St. John, son of William and Godchild (Paganel) de Port, otherwise St. John. He married Agnes de Cantilupe, daughter of William de Cantilupe, and they had John, from whom descended the Lords St. John, of Basing, and by female heirship the Marquise of Winchester, and the Dukes of Bolton; and William, of whom further.

VI. William St. John, son of Robert and Agnes (de Cantilupe) de St. John, had the castle of Faumont (Fonmon) in Glamorganshire. He married Isabel Combmartin, daughter and co-heir to William Combmartin, and Henry, who died without issue; and John, of whom further.

VII. Sir John St. John, son of William and Isabel (Combmartin) St. John, married Beatrix.

VIII. Sir John (2) St. John, of Faumont, son of Sir John and Beatrix St. John, married Elizabeth Umfreville, daughter and co-heir to Sir Henry Umfreville, of Penmark.

IX. Sir John (3) St. John, only son of Sir John and Elizabeth (Umfreville) St. John, married Isabel Paveley, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Paveley, of Paulers Pury, in Northamptonshire.

X. Sir Oliver (1) St. John, son of Sir John and Isabel (Paveley) St. John, married Elizabeth Delabere, daughter and heir of Sir John Delabere.

XI. Sir John (4) St. John, son of Sir Oliver and Elizabeth (Delabere) St. John, was heir to Sir John Delabere, holding many manors in

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Bedfordshire and elsewhere, and was mayor of Bordeaux, 1414-21. He married Elizabeth Pawlett.

XII. Sir Oliver (2) St. John, son of Sir Oliver and Elizabeth (Pawlett) St. John, married Margaret de Beauchamp, daughter of Sir John de Beauchamp, and sister and sole heir to John, Lord Beauchamp, of Bletshoe, in Northamptonshire. (Beauchamp XII.) Sir Oliver died in 1437, leaving, by Margaret de Beauchamp, two sons and five daughters. Margaret, his widow, married (second) John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, whose daughter Margaret, wife of Edmund Tudor, was the mother of Henry VII.

XIII. Sir John (5) St. John, of Bletshoe, oldest son of Sir Oliver and Margaret (de Beauchamp) St. John, was made Knight of the Bath, November, 1488, by Henry VII. He married Alice Bradshaigh, daughter of Thomas Bradshaigh, of Haigh, in County Lancaster, and had two sons, Maurice, who died unmarried; and John, of whom further.

(Collins: "Peerage of England," Vol. VI, p. 741. Browning: "Americans of Royal Descent," p. 218 and Corrigenda B.)

XIV. Sir John (6) St. John, son of Sir John (5) and Alice (Bradshaigh) St. John, was Knight of the Bath and heir of Bletshoe. He married Sibyl, daughter of Morgan ap Jenkyn ap Philo, and had three sons: Sir John, of Bletshoe; Sir Oliver, of Sharnbrook, Bedfordshire; and Alexander, of whom further.

XV. Alexander St. John, third son of Sir John (6) and Sibyl (ap Jenkyn ap Philip) St. John, married Anne (Dalyson) Lenthrop, daughter of George Dalyson, and widow of Thomas Lenthrop, of Shinglehall, County Hertford.

XVI. Henry St. John, son of Alexander and Anne (Dalyson-Lenthrop) St. John. He married and had Oliver, of whom further.

XVII. Sir Oliver (3) St. John, son of Henry St. John, was of Cayshoe (Keyshoe) in Bedfordshire, and was member of Parliament for that county in the twelfth and twenty-first year of James I (1624). He married Sarah Bulkeley (Bulkeley XII). Their oldest son, Oliver St. John, succeeded Chief Justice Bankes as Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and died December 31, 1673; his second wife being a daughter of Henry Cromwell, uncle of Oliver, the Protector.

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XVIII. *Elizabeth St. John*, daughter of Sir Oliver (3) and Sarah (Bulkeley) St. John, was born at Cayshoe, England, in 1605, and died in Lynn, in 1677. She married Rev. Samuel Whiting. (Whiting I.)

(The Bulkeley Line)

Bulkeley Arms—Sable a chevron between three bulls' heads cabossed argent.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

To Bulkeley Township, parish of Malpas, Cheshire, we owe the origin of the surname Bulkeley. The name appears very early in East Cheshire, being first recorded in 1349, again appearing in 1379, and still later in 1464.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *Robert Bulkeley, Esq.*, Lord of the Manor of Bulkeley in the County Palatine of Chester in the reign of King John.

II. *William Bulkeley*, son of Robert Bulkeley.

III. *Robert (2) Bulkeley*, oldest son of William Bulkeley, married a daughter of Thomas Butler, Baron of Warrington, in Cheshire.

IV. *William (2) Bulkeley*, oldest son of Robert and ——— (Butler Bulkeley, of Bulkeley, in 1302, married (first) Maud Davenport, daughter of Sir John Davenport, by whom he had five sons; he married (second) Alice, daughter of Bryan St. Pierre.

V. *Robert (3) Bulkeley*, second son of William (2) and Maud (Davenport) Bulkeley, had his seat at Eaton, Cheshire, and was sheriff of Cheshire in 1341. He married Isabel Egerton, daughter of Philip Egerton, of Malpas, Cheshire.

VI. *Peter Bulkeley*, of Haughton, third son of Robert (3) and Isabel (Egerton) Bulkeley, married Nicola Bird, daughter and heiress of Thomas Bird, by whom he had lands in Alproham.

VII. *John Bulkeley*, of Haughton, son of Peter and Nicola (Bird) Bulkeley, married Arderne Fitley, daughter and heiress of John Fitley, of Woore, Shropshire.

VIII. *Hugh Bulkeley*, of Woore, son of John and Arderne (Fitley) Bulkeley, married Helen Wilbraham, daughter of Thomas Wilbraham.

IX. *Humphrey Bulkeley*, of Woore, son of Hugh and Helen (Wilbraham) Bulkeley, married Grisell Molton, daughter and heiress of John Molton, of Molton.

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X. *William Bulkeley*, of Oakley, son of Humphrey and Grisell (Molton) Bulkeley, married Beatrice Hill, daughter of William Hill, of Bunsingstall.

XI. *Thomas Bulkeley*, of Woore, Shropshire, son of William and Beatrice (Hill) Bulkeley, married Elizabeth Grosvenor, daughter of Randall Grosvenor, of Bellaport. They had Rowland, Edward, and daughters.

XII. *Sarah Bulkeley*, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Grosvenor) Bulkeley, married Sir Oliver St. John, of Cayshoe. (St. John XVII.)

(The Beauchamp Line)

Beauchamp Arms—Gules, a fess between six martlets or, a mullet for difference.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

The Beauchamps were one of the principal families in Normandy at the time of the Conquest, 1066.

I. *Hugh de Beauchamp* came in with William the Conqueror, and obtained forty-three lordships in Bedfordshire. He had Simon, who died without issue; Payne, ancestor of the Beauchamps of Bedford; Walter, of whom further; Milo, of Eaton; and a daughter Adeline, who married Walter Espee.

II. *Walter de Beauchamp*, third son of Hugh de Beauchamp, married Emmeline de Abitot, daughter and finally heir of Urso de Abitot, hereditary sheriff of Worcestershire. They had William, of whom further; Stephen, and Emma.

III. *William de Beauchamp*, oldest son of Walter and Emmeline (de Abitot) de Beauchamp. On the twelfth of Henry II he certified his knight's fees to number fifteen. He married Maude Braose, daughter of William, Lord Braose of Gower.

IV. *William (2) de Beauchamp*, only son of William and Maude (Braose) de Beauchamp, married Joane Walerie, daughter of Sir Thomas Walerie.

V. *Walter de Beauchamp*, son of William (2) and Joane (Walerie) de Beauchamp, married Bertha Braose, daughter of William, Lord Braose; sons Walcheline, of whom further; and James; he died in 1235.

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VI. Walcheline de Beauchamp, son of Walter and Bertha (Braose) de Beauchamp, died twentieth of Henry III (1235). He married Joane Mortimer, daughter of Roger, Lord Mortimer.

VII. William (3) de Beauchamp, of Elmley, only son of Walcheline and Joane (Mortimer) de Beauchamp, married Isabel Mauduit, sister and heir to William Mauduit. (Mauduit VII.) They had four sons: William; John; Walter, of whom further; and Thomas.

(Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, pp. 717-18.)

VIII. Walter de Beauchamp, third son of William and Isabel (Mauduit) de Beauchamp, purchased half of the manor of Alcester in County Warwick, making it his chief residence. He had another at Powick in Worcestershire. He went on a crusade in 1268, and died in 1304. He married Alice de Tony, and left sons: Walter; William; and Giles, of whom further.

IX. Giles de Beauchamp, youngest son of Walter and Alice (de Tony) de Beauchamp, had the manor of Alcester settled upon him by his older brother, Walter, and was sheriff of Carnarvonshire. He married Catherine.

X. Roger de Beauchamp, grandson of Walter de Beauchamp (assumed to be son of Giles, as Giles' brother, Walter had no issue, and no mention of any issue of his brother William is found). In the twentieth year of Edward III (1346-47) he was in the wars of France; and in the year following obtained the King's confirmation of the manor of Tregoza in Wiltshire unto himself and Sibyl his wife, oldest sister of William de Patshull (Dugdale says, daughter of Sibyl, wife of William de Grandison) and by his marriage became possessed of the manors of Bletshoe and Cayshoe in Bedfordshire, making Bletshoe his chief seat. In the thirtieth year of Edward III (1376-77) he was lord chamberlain of the King's household and was summoned to Parliament from the thirty-seventh year of Edward III to the third of Richard II (1363-79), in which year he died, leaving Margaret, his second wife, and a son, Roger, of whom further.

(References as before, p. 240.)

XI. Roger (2) de Beauchamp, son of Roger and Sibyl (de Patshull) de Beauchamp, in the eighteenth year of Richard II, attended the King into Ireland. His wife's name is unknown.

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XII. *Sir John de Beauchamp*, son of Roger de Beauchamp, Jr., died in the fourteenth year of Richard II, leaving John, then only two years old, and a daughter, Margaret, who outlived her brother and became his heir. She married (first) Sir Oliver St. John, ancestor of St. John, of Bletshoe (St. John XII). She married (second) John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset; (third) Leo, Lord Welles.

(Reference as before.)

(The Mauduit Line)

Mauduit Arms—Argent, two bars gules.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The two baronial houses of Mauduit were Mauduit of Hanslape, County Bucks, hereditary Chamberlains of the Exchequer; and Mauduit, of Warminster, County Wilts, and of Castle Holgate, County Salop, sometime Chamberlains Royal. These were closely related by intermarriages.

I. *William Mauduit* (or *Malduith*) was living in 1086, the year of the survey recorded in the Domesday Book, and at that time possessed seven lordships in Southampton. He also is styled by Dugdale in his "Baronage" Chamberlain to Henry I. He had a son, William, of whom further.

II. *William (2) Mauduit*, son of William Mauduit, was Chamberlain to Henry I, and was granted by Henry I the Barony of Hameslepe, together with the office of Chamberlain to the King in his Exchequer, and all lands belonging thereto in Normandy and England, particularly the Castle and Honour of Porchester. He married Maude de Hameslepe, daughter and sole heir to Michael de Hameslepe. They had children, John and William, of whom further.

III. *William (3) Mauduit*, of Hameslepe (also spelled Hameslepe), son of William (2) and Maude Mauduit, was Chamberlain to Henry II. He married Adelicia. Among their children was William, of whom further.

IV. *William (4) Mauduit*, of Hameslepe, son of William (3) and Adelicia Mauduit, was living in 1197. He had a son, Robert, of whom further.

V. *Robert Mauduit*, son of William (4) Mauduit, married Isabel Basset, co-heir of Thurston Basset. They had a son, William, of whom further.

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VI. William (5) Mauduit, of Hameslepe, son of Robert and Isabel (Basset) Mauduit, married Alice de Newburgh, daughter of Waleran, Earl of Warwick, and aunt and heir of Thomas de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick. (Newburgh IV.) They had children: 1. Isabel, of whom further. 2. William, married Alice de Segrave, daughter of Gilbert de Segrave, and died without issue.

VII. Isabel Mauduit, daughter of William and Alice (de Newburgh) Mauduit, married William de Beauchamp, of Elmesley. (Beauchamp VII.)

(Nichols: "Herald and Genealogist," Vol. VII, pp. 285-86. Dugdale: "Baronage," Vol. I, p. 398. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronetcies.")

(The Newburgh Line)

Newburgh Arms—Lozengy, or and azure, on a border gules eight plates.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

A younger son of Roger de Bellomont, Earl of Mellent, Henry de Newburgh was born in Normandy, and was the first to whom, after the Norman Conquest, the title of Earl of Warwick was attributed. On the accession of William Rufus he received the inheritance of the Saxon Turchil de Warwick, who at the time of the Conquest had the reputation of Earl. (The bear and ragged staff which had been the device or ensign of Turchil's family, derived from Guy, Earl of Warwick, famed for his chivalrous feats related in the ancient Saxon chronicles, was assumed by the new Earl and has continued as the badge of the Earls of Warwick.) The arms are those recorded by Banks for Newburgh, Earls of Warwick. Henry de Burgh was memorable for his donations for pious foundations as well as for his military record, died in 1123. He married Margaret, daughter (or sister) to Rotrode, Earl of Perch. They had two daughters whose names are not known, and sons: Roger, of whom further; Henry, Geoffrey, Rotrode, and Robert.

II. Roger de Newburgh, second Earl of Warwick, supported the Empress Maude against Stephen, and died in 1154. He married Gundred de Warenne, daughter of William, Earl of Warren and Surrey. (Warenne IX.) Children: 1. William, who inherited the earldom from his father. 2. Waleran, of whom further. 3. Henry, died without issue. 4. Daughter, who married Geoffrey de Clinton.

III. Waleran de Newburgh, fourth Earl of Warwick, married (first) Margaret de Bohun, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Here-

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ford; (second) Alice (de Harcourt) de Limes, daughter of Robert (or, according to Banks, his brother John) de Harcourt, and widow of John de Linsley.

IV. Alice de Newburgh, daughter of Waleran and Alice (de Harcourt-Linsley) Newburgh, married William Mauduit. (Mauduit VI.)

(Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronetcies.")

(The Warenne Line)

Warren (Warenne) Arms—Chequy, or and azure.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The fortress Varenne, in Normandy, is claimed as the origin of the surname Warenne, or Warren, of the first earls of Surrey.

I. Rollo, founder of the dukes of Normandy.

II. William, surnamed Longue Espec, son of Rollo. Children: 1. Gunnora; married Richard, Duke of Normandy, son of William, and grandson of Rollo, first Duke of Normandy, whose son, Richard, was succeeded by Richard's son, Robert, the father of William the Conqueror. 2. Herfastus, of whom further. 3. Wevia. 4. Werina. 5. Durelina. 6. Sainfria.

III. Herfastus, son of William and grandson of Rollo, had a daughter, whose name is not recorded.

IV. Walter de St. Martin married the daughter of Herfastus.

V. William de Warenne, their son, Earl of Warenne, in Normandy; married a daughter of Ralph de Torta, protector of Normandy during the minority of Richard I, Duke of Normandy.

VI. Ralph (Rodolphus) Sire de Garenne; married (first) Beatrice; (second) Emma, by whom he had Ralph, who died without issue; and William, of whom further.

VII. William de Warenne, son of Ralph and Emma de Warenne, had a considerable command at the battle of Hastings, and on account of his valor and fidelity was rewarded with about three hundred lordships in Shropshire, Essex, Suffolk, Oxford, Hampshire, Cambridgeshire, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, and was in conjunction with Richard de Tonbridge, appointed Chief Justiciar for the whole realm of England. His chief residence was the Castle of Lewes in Sussex.

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William de Warenne married Gundreda, or Gundred, daughter of William the Conqueror. (William the Conqueror II.)

William de Warenne died June 24, 1088, and was buried in the chapter house of the priory of Lewes, which he had founded, and of which he was patron, beside his wife, Gundreda, who had died on May 27, 1085. Children: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Reginald; married Alice, daughter of William de Wormgay. 3. Gundred; not known to have married. 4. Edith; married (first) Gerard de Gurney; (second) Drew de Monceaux. 5. A daughter; married Ernesins Colunchis.

VIII. William de Warenne, Jr., son of William and Gundreda (or Gundred) de Warenne, was born before 1071, and died May 11, 1188. He was second Earl of Warren and Surrey, and first sided with Robert Courthose against William Rufus, for successor to the Conqueror, but later supported William Rufus, but on the death of the latter aided Robert until Henry I became established on the English throne, when he became his faithful supporter. He married Isabel, or Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Magnus, Count of Vermandois, who was brother of Philip, King of France. She was widow of Robert de Beaumont, Count of Mellent, in Normandy, and Earl of Leicester in England. (Vermandois XIV.) Children: 1. William; married Adela, daughter of William Talvace. 2. Reginald; married Adelia, daughter of Robert de Mowbray. 3. Ralph, died without issue. 4. Gundred, of whom further. 5. Ada or Adama; married, 1139, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, oldest son of David, King of Scotland. They had Malcolm and William, both Kings of Scotland. She died in 1178.

IX. Gundred de Warenne, daughter of William and Isabel (or Elizabeth) (de Vermandois-de Beaumont) de Warenne, married (first) Roger de Newburgh (Newburgh II); (second) William de Lancaster.

(Warren: "History and Genealogy of the Warren Family, 1902.")

(The Vermandois Line)

Vermandois Arms—Chequy azure and or, on a chief of the first three fleurs-de-lis of the second.

(Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III.)

The surname or title de Vermandois originated from Verman, a county named from its capital, in Picardy, now Department Aisne in northeastern France, seat of the Veromandui of Roman times. It is an illustrious and historic house derived from the Lombard line of the

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Carlovingian family, Bernard, King of Lombardy, being its founder. The line is traced as follows:

I. Charles Martel, died 741 A. D.

II. Pepin the Short, King 752-68.

III. Charlemagne, 768-814; Emperor 800 A. D.

IV. Pepin, second son of Charlemagne, was King of Italy, died 810.

(George: "Genealogical Tables," 5th Edition, Table XII.)

V. Bernard, King of Lombardy, died 818.

VI. Pepin, son of Bernard, received the rich Abbey of Quentin and the strong city of Peronne, which was named by popular usage, "Peronne la Pucelle," or the Maiden, because so fairly was it situated, and so strongly was it fortified and guarded, that no alien force had ever possessed it. He had sons: Heribert (or Herbert), of whom further; and Pepin, of Valois or Peronne.

VII. Heribert (or Herbert), second son of Pepin of Peronne, died in 902. He received the Abbey and the Lordship, both of which he held. By ceaseless energy he achieved his ambition to become Count of Vermandois, a title which was destined to grow in lustre through many generations. The territory included, in addition to the place from which the title was derived, the cities and territories of Rheims, Soissons, Meaux, and Senlis. Heribert is counted in the Vermandois records as Heribert I. He had a son, Heribert, of whom further.

VIII. Heribert (2), son of Heribert I, was Count of Vermandois and of Troyes, 902 to 943. He became one of the most powerful of the feudatories of Northern France, and when at the height of his power avenged himself upon the Carlovingians for the wrongs of the tortured and blinded Bernard, founder of his house. He married Beatrix(?), the daughter of Duke Robert, of France, and among their four sons was Albert I, of whom further.

IX. Albert I, son of Heribert II and Hildebrande, was called the Pious. It was through his influence that the learned dean of St. Quentin's was brought to the notice of Richard Sans Peur, the Duke of that province, and thus this Count of Vermandois was the means of bringing into existence much of the recorded history of Normandy. His reign was from 943 to 988. He had a son, Heribert, of whom further.

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X. *Heribert* (3), son of Albert I, and the Princess Geberga (daughter of King Louis D'Outremer), succeeded his father in 988, and held the title and estates until the year 1000, when he was succeeded by his son, Otto.

XI. *Otto*, son of Heribert III, reigned from 1010 to 1045, succeeding his brother Albert II, who reigned from 1000 to 1010.

XII. *Heribert* (4), son of Otto, died in 1081; married Adela, heiress of Valois, leaving an only child, Adela, or Adelaide.

(George: "Genealogical Tables," Table XXV. Sawyer: "Jewell Lineage.")

XIII. *Lady Adela*, or *Adelaide*, sole heiress in blood and possessions of Heribert IV, Count of Vermandois; married Hugh, second son of King Henry I, of France, thus uniting the two great fiefs of Vermandois and Valois. The death of Hugh Magnus occurred in 1101. He had a daughter, Isabel, or Elizabeth, of whom further.

XIV. *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth*, daughter of Hugh, Count of Vermandois (according to Banks), married (first) Robert de Beaumont (or Bello-mont), first Earl of Leicester after the Conquest, and also Count of Melent in Normandy. He died 1117-18. She married (second) William de Warenne, second Earl Warren and Surrey, who died May 10, 1138. She died February 13, 1131. (Warenne VIII.)

(Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, pp. 451, 687-88. Sawyer: "Jewell Lineage," pp. 181-84.)

(The William the Conqueror Line)

William the Conqueror Arms—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.
(Burke: "Royal Armory.")

William of Normandy, later known as William the Conqueror, was born in 1027 or 1028, bastard son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, sometimes called Robert the Devil, and of Arletta, daughter of a tanner of Falaise; and grandson of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. In 1034 Robert of Normandy induced his barons to acknowledge William, and the barons kept their promise by acknowledging the lordship of the boy William. The conquest of England in 1066 and the years immediately following gained for William the title of Conqueror, as well as that of King William I of England. Recent authorities state that though in England many legends survive of arms borne by the Conqueror and his

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companions at the battle of Hastings, nothing is more certain than that no armorial bearings appeared on either side of the battle of Hastings.

William I married Matilda (sometimes recorded as Maud), daughter of Baldwin V, of Flanders, who traced descent in the female line from Alfred the Great.

II. *Gundreda*, or *Gundred*, daughter of William the Conqueror, married William de Warenne. (Warenne VII.) According to some authorities, Gundreda is considered step-daughter, the charter of Lewes describing Gundreda as Matilda's daughter, but the charter of the Conqueror describes her as "my daughter." Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror, was a benefactor of Lewes priory.

(Warren: "History and Genealogy of the Warren Family, 1902.")



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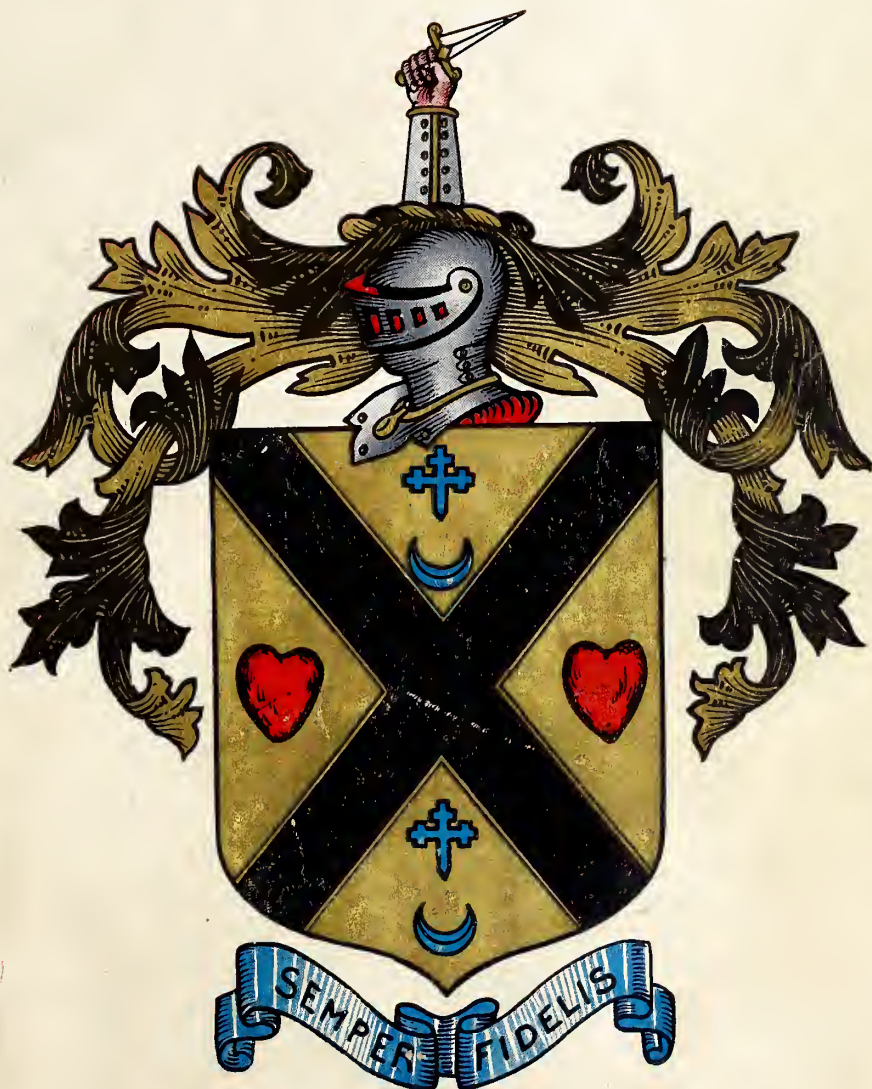
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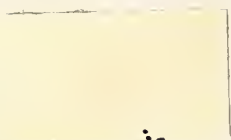
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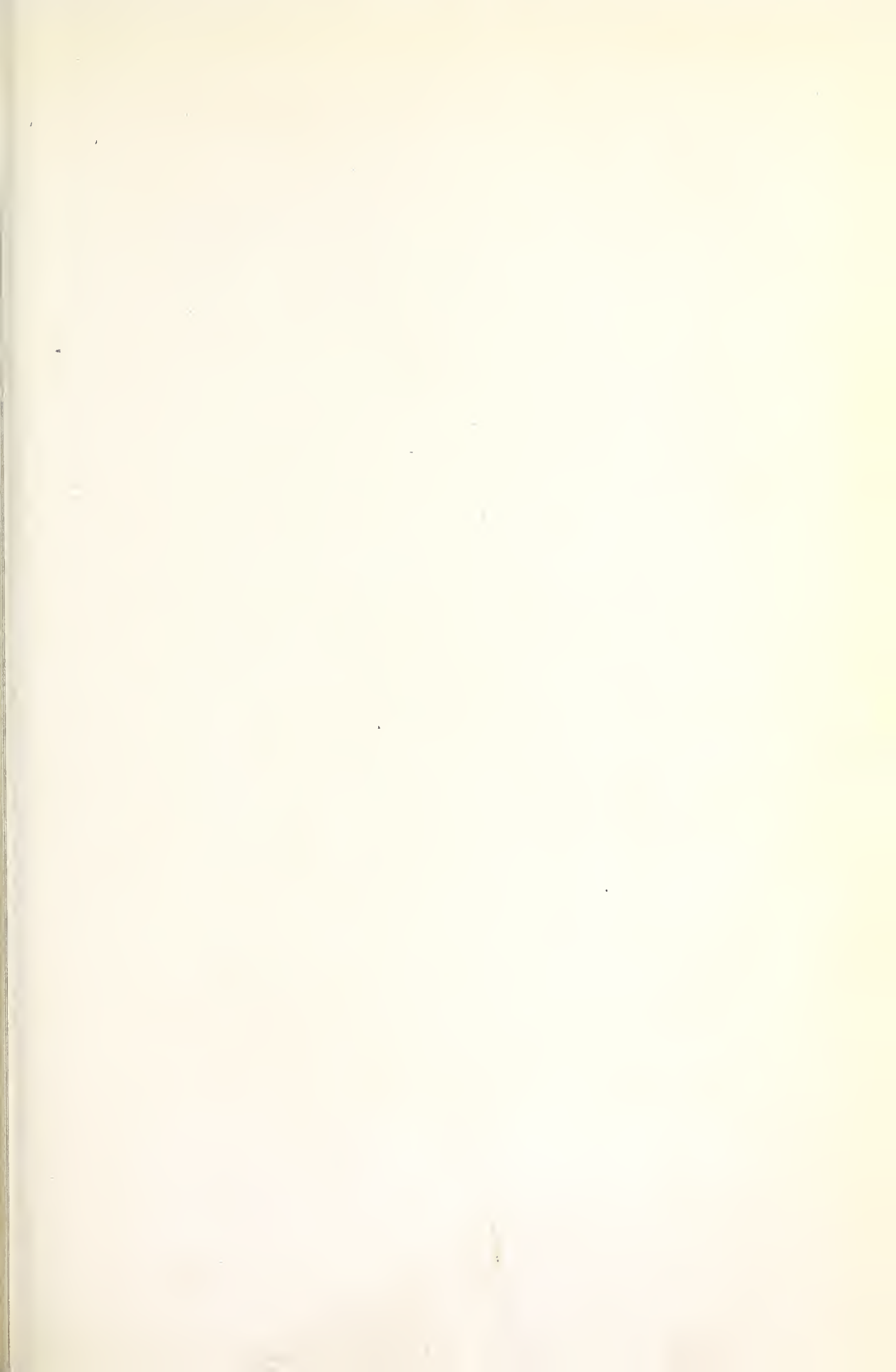
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JOHN PETER VAN NESS
Mayor of Washington, 1830-33

Courtesy of Columbia Historical Society

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A M E R I C A N A

July, 1930



Colonial Industries of New Jersey--1618-1815*

By JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS, PH. D.

TODAY New Jersey stands within six of the top in the list of states of the United States, graded according to their industrial output. The immensity of this fact comes home to us forcefully only after we stop to realize that the United States, in which New Jersey ranks so high, is itself the greatest industrial nation of the world. That is what the age of machinery has done for the State and for the country.

But what of the days long before? When Jersey's web of railroads was yet unspun? When Menlo Park was yet to witness the realization of a young man's dream? When, in fact, most of the articles of necessity now made in the State were not thought of even as luxuries—were quite unimagined?

In their colonial beginnings East and West Jersey gave little promise of industrial eminence. They were backward, perforce; and they remained obscure until the second war with England furnished them with several new kinds of encouragement. Up to that time even the daring Alexander Hamilton and his far-visioned associates were to fail, strange to say, in their bold efforts to make Paterson a manufacturing town. The fact was that in colonial times New Jersey could not become an industrial region in the true sense. Conditions were not far enough advanced. But New Jersey could develop crude industries strong enough to survive as long as they were needed; and she could foster in their beginnings a few of the many industries which are thriving today. After the colonial period, during which craftsmanship continued to be restricted almost entirely to

*This article is part of a thoroughly exhaustive review of New Jersey industry by Dr. Paddock, appearing in "New Jersey—A History," of which Professor Irving S. Kull is editor, soon to appear from the press of the Society.—ED.

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the modest requirements of the local market, there would come manufacturing of sufficient surplus for considerable export. In that later period New Jersey would be attaining industrialization. In the meantime their efforts at colonial industry showed what early Jerseymen could make of their opportunities.

The early Jerseymen—Swedes, Dutch and English—found that their environment severely limited their industrial occupations. Their raw materials they must unearth in the natural resources very near at hand. Their finished products must be of the kind demanded by their own immediate needs for food, clothing and shelter. Lack of transportation confined them in these narrow bounds. The reaction of the individual Jerseyman to his environment determined his weight in the industrial scale—determined to which of three general classes he would belong.

First, there was the isolated agriculturist, who manufactured on his farm a few articles absolutely necessary for domestic purposes; second, there was the farmer who lived in the village and practiced several trades, making things for fellow-villagers, meanwhile tending his crops on the farm in the outskirts; third, there was the mechanic, who did not hold much, if any, land because his community had so many needs that they kept him busy practically all of the time at his milling, or shoemaking, or ironworking, or lumber business, or tanning, or weaving, or shipbuilding, as the case might be. All three groups, practically from the beginning, worked side by side; and a fourth, much smaller group, came to furnish greater capital and to combine several industries and many workers of different kinds under the control of their wealth. But this fourth group was a mere handful in the early days.

Manufacturing a Derivative of Agriculture—In the experience of a large majority of the earliest settlers, manufacturing was merely a derivative of agriculture; they developed home crafts around their firesides and in their fields. The first class of workers listed above was, therefore, by far the most numerous. On the farms the women and girls trained like the men for farm work, counted among their accomplishments the manufacture of soap, candles and textiles. A few conveniently situated made cheese and bread for export to New York and Philadelphia, but for the most part their products were such as the family required to use at home. As God-fearing colonists, cleanliness had considerable appeal to them and soap-making was continually carried on. They, for this purpose, carefully collected the wood-ashes from their fireplaces into a barrel and added water to "leech" them. They then made a fire outdoors under a great

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kettle, strained the lye into the kettle, and boiled it with fat. The product was a dark-colored mass; strong, if not fragrant, and stored away in tubs for use as needed. Soap factories did not displace the domestic product to any extent until after the colonial period.

An allied household industry was tallow candle making. The women boiled pieces of fat, oftentimes chunks of mutton, until the suet was separated from the membranous part. Then they twisted several strands of cotton together to form wicks; these wicks they dipped again and again into the heated tallow until the candles were as thick as desired. Wicks might be dipped separately, or several might be tied to a stick and dipped all together. Some homes were blessed with candle molds, which were cylinders of pewter arranged in a wooden frame, the cylinders being open at the top and having a hole big enough for the wick to pass through in the bottom. With a hook the wick was fastened outside the hole and held straight in the mold by looping it over a stick or wire lying across the open end. The tallow poured into these molds quickly cooled to form the candles, which were readily removed by the wick loops. Tallow candles came to be superseded by sperm candles, for which the whale obligingly furnished the material from his head and parts of his body. These sperm candles were considered a great improvement in illumination, as giving more light, and as spluttering less than tallow. Wax candles, however, were the aristocrats of the guild. Farmers' wives and daughters would band themselves together for candlemaking in a neighborhood and the natural rivalry of the day sometimes resulted in an output of two hundred to two hundred and fifty candles. As in the case of soap, the factory product did not come to supersede homemade candles to any great extent until after the colonial period.

The home work on textiles was very laborious, for after the menfolk had sheared the sheep the women had a month of the hardest kind of work. After cleaning the wool they had to card or comb it in order to disentangle the fibres and arrange them longitudinally in small rolls. They had two instruments with teeth, called cards, with which they carded the wool after it had been well covered with grease or oil to make it move freely. The "cards" were first used by hand over the knee until carding machines came into the home. The wool, which was extra long, coarse or hard, had to be combed instead of carded. It was drawn through heated steel combs, which straightened the fibres and removed the roughness which might otherwise cause the cloth made of hard wool to thicken in washing, like flannel. Next came the spinning, which employed both

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hands and one foot simultaneously. The roll of wool fibres was attached to the spindle, which had a band passing over it from the rim of the wheel, by manipulation of which the fibres were twisted into yarn. The yarn, in turn, was wound upon a reel to form a skein. The family spinning was sometimes accelerated by young women who "went out spinning"—the origin of that term of dubious compliment of our own day—"spinster." Dyeing was often done in the yarn state, in the home, the wooden dye vat, strongly bound with hickory hoops, having a permanent place by the fireside. It was the children's seat when it was not filled with extract of sumac, black walnut bark, logwood or chestnut. The women were considered experts at dyeing, which may have been one reason why the industry was one of the earliest to prosper. By 1704 the settlers around Newark were using so much wool that they determined to hire a shepherd and they chose four men as "sheep masters" to have general charge and see that all branded their own animals.

Weaving the cloth was sufficiently complicated to cause most of the weaving to be done by people trained in the trade. The home might have a rude loom, equipped with spools, from which the yarn was stretched to the length of the proposed web. The thread was put through a sort of moveable harness called heddles, which were moved up and down by treadles, thus opening the web, meanwhile the shuttle containing the woof, or filling, moved from side to side filling in the cloth. Finally, there was a finishing process employed by the more well-to-do to smooth off the surface of the cloth. In the case of wool or hair cloth this was called "fulling," and consisted of stamping the goods backwards and forwards in a soap and water mixture. Cotton was "dressed" by using a hot iron cylinder to burn off the fuzz. Common domestic fabrics, however, did not get farther than the loom. In New Jersey flax was another important textile; but its process, while differing in detail, was the same in general principles. The Jersey women made a coarse, unbleached linen, which was the pride and joy of the bridal chests. Most of the families in the country and many in the towns throughout this period were clothed in "strong, decent homespun."

Out in the orchards the farmers carried on a manufacture more to their taste. They made peach brandy, and their applejack was justly famous until about 1840, when the temperance movement destroyed that industry. Cider early became a profitable industry and remained so more than a century. In 1700 the "town of Newark alone . . . made ready a thousand barrels of good cyder out of the orchards of their own plant-

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ing." Newark's "cyder" was voted better than New England's and brought from ten to fifteen shillings a barrel. Thus originated the barrel industry of the State. The first barrels seem to have been made of the bitter gum tree which, when old, rots at the center. The trunk was cut in sections, from which the centers were dug out. After one end of each section was plugged they made excellent barrels, casks, dyepots, etc. Vessels of this sort may be seen to this day at Washington's headquarters in Morristown. These rude makeshifts were displaced by the more finished products of white oak, for holding liquids, and of red oak, for storing dry commodities, with staves of hickory. A skilled barrelmaker with one helper could make two white oak or from four to five red oak barrels in a day.

Any of a number of liquors might be found in a colonial barrel. There was rum, which to a Jerseyman was as much a necessity as flour. Jersey fish was exported and exchanged for molasses, often an inferior grade, not costing more than fifty cents a gallon. Then the thrifty settler supervised a simple process of fermentation and distillation which gave him as many gallons of rum as he had had of molasses. Rum was not dethroned from its place in popular esteem until the Scotch-Irish introduced whiskey. Of course, gentlemen distilled their own liquor in colonial days, property so equipped bringing a tall price. For example, a Newark squire was minded to sell his home, built of stone, and he bid for a buyer in these ingratiating terms: "has a good well and brook before the house that never freezes; there is a large barn and a good distil-house (for making apple whiskey). . . . It is very convenient for distillers as there is a dam already made on the brook, with a gentle descent, so as to fill his cisterns without the help of a pump." Manufacturers of beer found the price of barley favorable and by 1698 Burlington was mentioned as having brewhouses and malthouses; in her vicinity the market for liquor was greatest at the May and October fairs, which were very disorderly. On the other side of the Colony, Perth Amboy was exporting beer in 1750. In 1787 a new brewery came to increase the industries of Union County through the kind offices of one John Town and Joseph Lyon, manufacturers of "Draught Porter, Malt and Spruce Beer." Another early brewery was Caleb Johnson's, at Newark, 1795, where "ale, porter and table beer" were offered a thirsty public. The "Newark Brewery" was the 1812 concern of Thomas Tool, who provided "ale, porter and brown stout." The per capita consumption may have been increased by legislation forbidding the keeper of an "ordinary" to run out of a stock

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of liquor, or to sell strangers less than two gallons at retail, or to collect debts for liquor; but on the whole domestic liquor-making was so universal that the brewers did not have a very successful time of it through the colonial period.

The manufacture of domestic furniture and tools was also carried on as a field craft of the farm, with the woodlots as an ever ready source of lumber and the home anvil, forge and tannery as important auxiliaries. Along the beach counties they made their casks and household chests of cedar, elsewhere of oak. They made their own cedar posts, shingles, bolts and staves, and, of course, their leather came from the hides of their own cattle. Naturally, the crudity of the results of their efforts, and the time consumed upon them, created a general demand for craftsmen trained in these branches. The consequence was that, while the crude home crafts continued to survive in isolated localities far into later periods, diversification and increase of skill grew apace in the villages and at seaboard centers. In other words, the number of tradesmen-farmers living in villages, and the number of out and out mechanics, increased.

Industrial Development had an earlier start in the democratic small towns of East Jersey than in the conservative county capitals of West Jersey, because the people of East Jersey were more commercially minded, lived more rigorously, intensively and individually. West Jersey, on the contrary, had a tradition of the landed estate class and more of an atmosphere of ease. How far diversification could go in either section would depend upon three main factors—the sum of available capital, the supply of skilled labor, and the abundance of water power. As to the first of these, Colonial Jersey was, upon the whole, a barter community, and the supply of money was totally inadequate for genuine industrialization. However, such capitalists as ventured into industries showed considerable courage and persistence and tried the most unique devices to offset the scarcity of money. Skilled labor, on the other hand, was not quite so hard to get as capital, although very hard at best.

Settlers who could carry on a trade were, indeed, at a premium. Towns divided their land into ranges, and these into lots, which were not parcelled off by lottery until certain portions, called "tradesmen's lots," had been set aside. Newark gave one of these six-acre lots to the first of every trade to settle permanently there. In some cases sums of money and various exclusive privileges were added to the free acreage as a bait for craftsmen. As an inducement to emigrants, it was advertised that

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laborers in Jersey had not the work required in England and fared much better. Less than twenty years after Elizabeth was first settled Governor Lawrence was appealing to a London friend (1684) requesting: husbandmen, a brewer, a baker, a carpenter or two, masons and bricklayers, a smith for ploughs and horses, a cooper. At that time ships of thirty to forty tons came up the river to Broad Street, Newark, and their outgoing cargoes, and those of ships sailing from Burlington and Salem, indicated the nature of the surplus products of the period. A statement of twenty-five years later declared that the trade of the colony was considerable, with agricultural products sent to the West Indies; furs, skins and some tobacco to England, and such provisions as oil and fish to Spain, Portugal and the Canary Islands. While Burlington and Salem sent most of their products to Philadelphia, a contemporary writer reported: "Burlington has a commodious Dock for Vessels, many fine wharfs and large Timber-Yards, Malt Houses, Brew Houses, and Bake Houses. They produce bread, beer, beef and pork, butter and cheese, with which they freight several vessels and send them to the Barbadoes and other islands." Salem, too, had her "deerskins, cedar posts, shingles and bolts, staves, wheat, corn, some beef, pork and tallow, sent chiefly to New York, Boston and the West Indies." These, then, were the approximate outside limits of surplus products in colonial industries at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The years between this time and the Revolution were marked with an influx of labor and a diversification in occupation, which expanded the cargo list considerably. Much of this expansion was due to the development of the water power with which the colony was so richly endowed.

Water power was of vital importance to New Jersey because it somewhat offset the scarcity of man power. From the moment of their arrival the industrious Dutch and Quakers had looked with pleasure upon the natural millsites. They promptly "improved" them with the erection of girst and sawmills, rude first affairs, constructed of unhewn logs. While horse mills seem to have been the first innovation, they were soon succeeded by wind, tide and water mills of various sorts. All the towns except those which, like Elizabeth, were too near the sea to have anything but sluggish streams, experienced a mighty stirring of mill erection about 1682. New Jersey then had eight or ten towns, of from 300 to 500 inhabitants—Newark with her 500, Shrewsbury to the south with her 400. Each had to have mills. Woodbridge and Salem were getting mills, likewise. At Amboy, five or six were soon under construction,

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besides two already at work. The owner of one of the finest of these hoped to make a profit of not less than £100 per year. Near Trenton, the proprietors, Robert Tracy and Thomas Olive, used the Delaware and the Rancocas Creek to erect water mills; these were eventually perfected to the point where they not only ground grain, but rolled and slit iron and ground plaster. At Salem the first settlers built three windmills, one of which gave its name to Windmill Island, between Camden and Philadelphia. After the Revolution (1798) there were said to be 1,100 improved mill sites in New Jersey, about 600 of which were either sawmills, or fulling mills, or forges, or furnaces, or slitting and rolling mills, or paper, powder, or oil mills. The natural question arises as to what the remaining 500 must have been and, of course, the answer is the inevitable grist or flouring mill, a prime necessity. From this respectable list it is evident what kinds of manufacture colonial Jersey was able to carry on and how dependent was that manufacture upon her water power.

The Manufacture of Flour well illustrates the dependence of the settlers upon water power sites and skilled artisanship. The earliest settlers brought hand mills with them, a simple device consisting of a nether stone, and an upper one, which latter was put in motion against the nether one by means of a peg grasped by the hand. Some settlers had a pestle and mortar to crush grain. Either process was very wearisome, because every day the housewife must grind the corn for the day following. In every settlement a movement was early on foot to secure a miller as soon as possible. The husbands of the suffering housewives of Newark, for example, voted in town meeting in 1668, in favor of engaging a miller who should "grind all the town's grist into good meal." Robert Treat and Sergeant Richard Harrison were appointed to "erect a grist mill on the brook at the north end of the town," where they were to have a miller to grind grain on the second and sixth days of each week. Yet it took until 1671 for Newark to obtain this boon. At Woodbridge the town meeting agreed with a miller that he should furnish "two good stones of at least five feet across," receiving a land grant in return and the privilege of asking one-sixteenth as toll for his service. The principle of the water power gristmill was similar to the hand mill, except for the difference in motive power, but the greater efficiency of the former was due to the refinement of the process obtained by specially prepared stones. The grinding surfaces had channels, or furrows, cut in them, proceeding obliquely from center to circumference. Each furrow was cut slantwise on one side, perpendicular on the other, so as to give each ridge a sharp

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cutting edge. The upper stone was a little convex and the nether a little concave; but there was a slight difference between the convexity and concavity of the stones, so that the space between them became less and less towards the edges, with the result that the nearer the grain approached the edge the finer it was ground. For local use the bran was often left in the meal; but for export the two were separated by means of a sieve which removed the bran, and a bolting cloth which separated the flour according to its fineness. A mill employed entirely in grinding neighborhood grain was called a "grist" or "custom" mill; but Jersey's grain supply led to exportation of flour, which was manufactured and packed in barrels at "merchant" mills.

Textiles and Leather—The miller was soon joined in the town by other craftsmen. He was contemporaneous with the weaver and fuller, the tanner and shoemaker, the carpenter and shipwright, each usually with his plot of land to eke out the gains from his craft, if, indeed, some of them did not handle more than one trade.

Next to the millers, weavers perhaps seemed the most important tradesmen farmers among New Jersey colonists. They were strenuously urged to migrate thither. The action of the Newark town meeting on the fifth of December, in 1670, well illustrates the mood of the colonists at the approach of severe winter weather. The meeting promised "Jonathan Sargeant for his Encouragement to settle in the Town, follow his Trade, and to Help Mend His Home Lott . . . that piece of Meadow that Lies at Beef Point which was formerly Granted to John Rockwell, the Boat Man." Before long Newark must have had plenty of weavers, or grown reckless with the approach of spring, for the town meeting of March 19, 1673, warned that "Weavers Thomas Pierson and Benjamin Baldwin" should make their "Lotts" shorter, having settled upon them too hastily when they originally came from Milford. Outlying settlers were visited by itinerant weavers, for whom a "weave room" might be maintained in the cellar. In the towns a "weave house" was the precursor of the cloth factory. From the weavers the cloth went to the dyers, unless it had been dyed in the yarn, and the dyers were for a long time the women in the home, who showed a predilection for blue. The fulling also came to be done by trained craftsmen before a great while; but needless to say, the tailor was a very long way behind, indeed. The women in the homes continued throughout the colonial period to fashion most of the garments worn among the local people, regardless of size or

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sex. Such were the primitive processes before the days of rayon for the ladies and Rogers Peet for the men!

In spite of all efforts, textile manufacturing remained inadequate throughout the colonial period. Labor remained very dear; because the artisans and tradespeople, whom the proprietaries induced with much pains to settle in the province, continually abandoned their trades under the lure of the independent and inexpensive land ownership. Whereas, in 1703, John Clarke had received a grant of twenty acres to encourage him in setting up a fulling mill on the Rahawack, nearly a century later (October, 1790) John Johnson was with reason inviting the people of Newark to consider his astounding feat. He had put "in complete order" a fulling mill, he had supplied himself with the best European workmen, and he would dress all kinds of cloth, dyeing them any color (in those post-Revolutionary days)—except scarlet!

When Jerseymen endeavored to enter the outside market for textiles they did best in woolen, not so well in linens, and rather badly in silk and cotton. The textile mill, with its fulling, carding, bolting and weaving, evolved from the machinery of the gristmills and other power developments. Textiles were a field (unlike timber and iron) where Jerseymen did not have predominating advantages; therefore, they could not go far beyond the local market. In woolens the depredations of the wolves, together with deterioration of the sheep to primitive types, made the breed inferior to that of Europe, and it was not until 1700 that the clip equalled the colonial demand. Quakers from Yorkshire and London, who settled round about Salem and Burlington (1677), soon commenced cloth manufacture. Within twenty years "Very good serges, druggets, crapes, camblets (part hair) and good plushes with several other woolen cloths beside Linnen" were mentioned by a supposedly well-informed English writer. The cloth was an active feature at the semi-annual fairs of the community; it is doubtful whether it traveled much farther. Parliament, in 1699 and 1732, forbade loading woolen cloth on any conveyance.

The textile people who ventured into the manufacture of hats, on the other hand, enjoyed a natural advantage in the abundant beaver supply, augmented by raccoon, sheep and other animals as substitutes. The hat-makers made felt by matting hair together, and when it was in cap shape they stiffened it with shellac; then three more layers of fur were applied to make the nap, and the nap was raised by beating the cap with sticks while it was wet. The cap was given the general form of a hat by drawing it over a cylindrical block on which it remained during the dye stage.

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About four dozen hats thus mounted were ranged on a wheel, which was turned over a vat in such a manner as to keep one-half of the hats alternately in the dye. After further washing and drying, a hat received final attention on the "finishing block," where the nap obtained the required elegance from the ministrations of a rattan to whip it up, a card and brush to dispose the fibres, and a hot iron to make it glossy and smooth. Hats thus fashioned, of white for the ladies and children and of drab and black for the gentlemen, became very popular. Colonial hatmakers prospered so far that they interfered seriously with British manufacture in this field. Hence the law of 1732, prohibiting the transportation of hats and limiting the number of apprentices, a law the colonials successfully evaded.

"Linnens" interested the Scotch settlers. They introduced the culture and manufacture of flax and hemp; and their letters of 1684 were speaking of the plentiful supply of linen material. Flax twice hackled sold at 9d a pound. It was cheap, like wool. Colonial linen, mostly homespun, was more durable if made from flax which had had the seed garnered from it; but at the same time this process made it less elegant. Elegant or no, it was of a quality sufficient to find buyers in New York—for a vessel which foundered in 1754 hailed from New Brunswick and carried linens valued at £10,000 to £12,000, "manufactured in the Jersies and bringing hither for sale." Jersey producers of hemp profited by their location in a shipbuilding community, making progress as cordage makers.

When the New Jersey Assembly, acting upon a recommendation of Governor William Franklin, in 1765, granted bounties on flax and hemp, they included the mulberry tree. This was the period when the British Government and the Society of Arts had strong hopes of rivalling France. Silk growing was followed with spirit (if not with much success) in New Jersey at the same time as Pennsylvania and Delaware were entertaining the same fond hopes. The silk was badly reeled on a hand loom and roughly spun on the large wheel used for spinning wool. It was too fine, uneven and badly colored to compete with Italian silk in the market. Families, however, might make five, ten, or even fifty pounds per year for their own use.

The manufacture of cotton cloth was an industry which was given a most dignified start in New Jersey, but it suffered a most inglorious end. After Samuel Slater had demonstrated what he could accomplish in Rhode Island, capitalists of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania determined to establish the making of cotton yarn and fabrics in the

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vicinity of New York. Alexander Hamilton enthusiastically encouraged the formation of the "Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures," which was organized at New Brunswick in November, 1791. The Falls of the Passaic became the chosen site of the city which these men were envisioning—a city chartered to cover six square miles, although scarcely ten houses then graced the site. Some 700 acres were bought for \$8,230 and, after some deliberation, it was decided not to name the city after the Secretary of the Treasury (who incidentally had invested no funds in the stock), but to honor the Governor of the State instead. Thus Paterson came into being.

The company had paid-in capital of some \$160,000 by October 1, 1792, and brought Nehemiah Hubbard down from Middletown, Connecticut, as superintendent at \$2,000 per year. Twenty thousand dollars was appropriated for a canal (as the falls had an elevation of 104 feet above tide water); \$5,000 for a weave shop and equipment; the same for a cotton manufactory, and \$12,000 for a print work. For the workmen the founders projected fifty houses costing \$250 each, generously planned, to cover twenty-four by eighteen feet, with cellar and garret both. These very presentable structures were offered to married mechanics on a lease system, permitting them to buy their homes in installments.

So worthy an enterprise would seem to merit the utmost in success; but Major L'Enfant (who succeeded Hubbard as manager) proved to have ideas too grand for the situation, so that Peter Colt, of Hartford, was summoned (February, 1793), to act as manager and to restrain such extravagances as L'Enfant might be inclined to be guilty of in his new position of engineer. This arrangement continued until the fall, when L'Enfant ceased to be connected with Paterson. That year some yarn was spun by oxen-driven machinery in a building thereafter known as the "Bull Mill." The next June spinning by water power was begun. It was a grand occasion. The brand new mill, ninety by forty, and four stories high, was opened with a parade and a ball; 125 workmen were engaged to operate the four carding machines, the twenty-five spinning jennies and the sixty single looms. Bleached and unbleached muslin bought in New York was in stock ready to be made into calico prints and other goods. A Sunday school was started for the factory children and the superintendent had orders from the society to plant mulberry trees and engage in silk worm culture. There was every expectation of success.

During the following months much yarn and several species of cotton fabrics were made, but failure dogged the steps of the industry. The

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engineer had wasted vast sums; the imported mechanics were "presumptuous and ignorant of the labor expected of them"; and nearly \$50,000 was lost by the failure of parties to certain bills of exchange bought by the company to buy in England certain plain cloths for printing. In fine, the effort was premature, no pioneer led the way, no experience existed in this country "relative to any subject of the enterprise." In January of 1796 the stockholders, weary of paying everything out and receiving nothing in return, voted to stop the manufacture when current orders should be filled. The next July the workmen were discharged and manufacture abandoned. A traveler reported that he had found the billets of the carding cylinders to be covered with mahogany and other aspects of the factory showed that it had been planned upon a noble scale. And to what did it descend? In 1800 one John Park leased the cotton mill to spin candlewick and coarse yarn. Seven years later fire burned the mill and it was never rebuilt.

As to colonial tanners, they formed a third very important class of craftsmen, because of colonial dependence upon leather, not only for articles of wearing apparel, but for mechanical pursuits of various kinds. Tanning seems to have been first brought into the colony by several of John Ogden's family, resident at Elizabeth, where the industry gained a momentum which made the town the mother of tanners for many a year, for it is related "men who learned the art in the tanneries of Elizabeth-town went to other colonies and established industries of their own." The generations of descendants of Ogden carried on the trade in extremely primitive fashion until the advent of Colonel William Edwards (born in 1770 at Elizabeth, with his Ogden blood enriched with the strain of Jonathan Edwards). William learned the business of his uncles, serving as apprentice through four years, while he received his board and the privilege of tanning "with his master's stock four sheep skins a year." At the end of that period he went to work "as a journeyman at \$30 per annum and board." He was yet under twenty when he commenced business for himself at Hampshire and began to demonstrate those inventive faculties which were responsible for a series of mechanical improvements, afterwards adopted and extended by others to the vast benefit of the trade. The Hampshire works became to a certain extent a model for those at Elizabeth and elsewhere and the business became infused with a greater spirit of enterprise throughout. Long before the day of William Edwards the colony had suffered from the high prices of hides and tanned leather, a condition doubtless relieved after processes were improved and the

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business became established in other centers, such as Newark, and later Trenton. At Newark tanning and leather work had been going on since 1676, when the town records announced "Deacon Lawrence is chosen to be the Sealer of Leather for this Town, according to the order of the General Assembly." The Deacon must have had an unsatisfactory experience in this office, for two years later the export of hides or tanned leather was prohibited, with the notion this would lower the prices. As increasing numbers of Jerseymen were raising cattle, the unpopularity of the law can be imagined. After about twenty years Newark achieved a new tannery when Hugh Roberts and Hans Albers established the industry at the "swamp or watering business," and went at it with such vim that Newark herself eventually came to be no mean rival of Elizabeth, producing for both the domestic and foreign trade, with New York as an important buyer. Throughout the colony tanneries on a small scale without labor-saving devices became very numerous. They would be planted above a meadow, where the tan vats were placed, on a hillside convenient to a waterfall. There "on the oaken floor a huge wooden-cogged wheel slowly revolved, crushing the black and red oak bark." It was this very abundant supply of bark and mill sites and the interest in cattle growing, which, together with the leather demands of a growing population, most encouraged the industry. Leather, for such reasons, took its place beside iron, nails and lumber as a manufacture produced in quantities greater than the local demand.

The industries allied to tanning, such as shoemaking, saddlery and harness making, soon established themselves in the larger settlements. After the tanner was done he would return to the farmer his half of the cured hides of the lighter parts, of which the family would make home-made uppers. Then the shoemaker would be invited to make a visit, a visit much looked forward to by the entire family, because the visitor would be so well informed of community gossip. Traveling shoemakers, who were described by the trade as "whipping the cat," because they "boarded round," came equipped with kits as well as information. They made their stay as long as necessary to completely serve an entire family at the work of fastening heavy soles to the uppers which were ready. Many shoemakers, whether itinerant or resident, made both uppers and soles. Also women's finer shoes were made of cloth occasionally. Until some time after the Revolution they did not use "lasts" (commonly called "rights and lefts") adapted to each foot, depending rather upon a somewhat free pattern drawn to the measure of the person to be shod. Simi-

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larly cramping or "crimping" the front part of boots was not practiced until about 1800. In sewing together the different parts of his work the shoemaker used threads of different lengths, each with a hog's bristle attached to the end of it to make it easier to pass the thread through the holes prepared for it by an awl. Sometimes wooden pegs or brass nails were used to fasten soles to uppers, but sewing was considered more durable, and more readily repaired. Everyone, of high or low degree, condescended to wear repaired shoes in those days! Journeymen in the trade were supposed to "understand the stuff and silk branch" also. Apprentices were taught the "trade, art and mystery of the business," were provided with "good and wholesome" food, washing and lodging, and a number of "quarters" of night schooling. Sometimes the apprentice "found" his own apparel. The master might, possibly, allow him money for it; but under all circumstances the master controlled the apprentice's "morals." A week's work averaged around seven pairs of shoes, which might bring as low as fifty cents a pair.

The master of a shop oftentimes carried the product of the previous day on his back, walking to the place where he proposed to sell it, regardless of the distance. At Newark, the Rev. Moses N. Combs, "a little, blacked-eyed man," had a penchant for tanning, which enticed him on into the shoemaking trade. He used to call his apprentices together after work for moral and religious instruction. At dawn the next morning he might be off to Jersey City afoot, where he would ferry to the market in New York, returning the same way in the afternoon. His industry seems to have been appreciated in the South, for the records indicate that in 1790 he filled an order for 200 pairs of seal skin shoes, the first ever sent from Newark to Georgia. At the beginning of the next century improvements in highways and bridges to New York fostered shoemaking, as it stood more in need of access to market than great increase of capital. The expansion on the market fostered improvement in the product. With complete self-assurance, therefore, when Charles Basham made his map of Newark in 1806, he inserted in the lower left corner an illustration of a shoemaker at work on his bench, explaining with more enthusiasm than accuracy that this was the true symbol of the town's prosperity, as one-third of its inhabitants were employed at shoemaking. In view of the fact that shoemaking was destined to be the chief industry at Newark about 1800, it is interesting to note that the town on June 23, 1680, was half-hearted in granting of permission to Samuel Whitehead, of Elizabeth, to "come and inhabit among us, provided he will supply

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the Town with Shoes, though for the present we know not of any Place of Land Convenient." The best authorities state that Samuel was not moved to accept this cool invitation. Such were the predecessors of Johnson and Murphy, L. Boyden, and Bannister.

Shortly before the second war with England, Newark was reputed to be employing nineteen-twentieths of her industrial population in handling leather. Some of these, as in other parts of the colony, manufactured saddles and luggage for colonial use. The saddlers took from woodworkers the frame, or "tree" of the saddle, which was made of wood and a little iron covered with canvas. On this structure the saddler superimposed in proper order "straining web," wool and hair padding, linen cloth, hog's skin, besides the necessary straps, girths and stirrup appurtenances. Luggage making was very simple, because most trunks were wooden boxes lined with paper or cloth and covered with skin or leather, which was fastened to the wood by means of tacks. Brass nails might add a decorative feature. More expensive trunks had frames of iron instead of wood and two coverings of leather fastened in place with seams of waxed thread. The same worker in the colonies often made trunks, saddles and harness. In the last named the worker had another simple task, it being necessary merely to cut the leather with a crescent-formed knife or a blade set with guage, and then stitch it together with the kind of thread used by shoemakers. Passing the thread through the awl holes was further assisted by a needle usually instead of the shoemaker's pig bristle.

Wood-working—No less important than the tanner was the worker in wood. Sawmills sprang up like mushrooms and their advent naturally decreased the price of lumber. As long as the province had so large a supply of practically free timber, the chief factor in the price of boards would continue to be the labor of sawing. Particularly was this true in the southern portion of the region. There the pines stood as a great wall between the Delaware and the sea, ready and waiting to become timber. Cedars there were also. They produced timber, pipe staves, poles, pipes, turpentine. This gave an opportunity to such men as Robert Styles, of Gloucester, who became known for his tar and rosin industry before 1700, to make money as long as the timber lasted. The sawmill processes were so wasteful and thievery of supplies was so common that the colonial government attempted to take steps toward conservation, at the same time aiming to lower the price of ship building materials and, mayhap, lessen the trade dominance of New York. An act of 1694

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placed a duty on the export of pipestaves, etc., to the neighboring provinces; "the reason assigned was that the exportation of staves would cause a waste of timber and was a great discouragement to trade." New Yorkers had their own opinion of the object of the law. Wrote Governor Fletcher to the Lords of Trade: "But they are now making war upon us in point of trade, having prohibited by Act of their Assembly the transportation of Pipestaves, shingles, or Plank to New York, by which they will draw the shipping thither and establish a free port to the great prejudice of this place and sink the Trade of it, they pay no duty to the King and all will flock to it." East Jersey psychology is readily understandable, in view of the fact that she had not been allowed, until 1680, any other port of entry than New York, and was keenly conscious of her "degradation" as a "supply territory tributary to New York." While these duties were repealed within three years, they were reenacted for a period of ten years later on, and thus served to confuse the industry and hinder its development. Beginning in 1705 the British offered bounties on naval stores, which somewhat encouraged the production of tar, masts, yards and bowsprits in New Jersey.

Those shipwrights to whose "malign influence" the law of 1694 was attributed were a fairly numerous class of artisans. The early maps show that nearly all the settlements were located within reach of tidewater and identified with maritime interests. One of these interests was located along the seashore fronts of Cape May, Atlantic and Ocean counties, where settled the hardy souls attracted by the whaling industry in the nearby waters, an industry flourishing most of the first century of the settlements. On all waterfronts ship carpenters constituted an important industrial class, building first for the whaling and coasting trade, and from the profits of those ventures (all opposition of Parliament to the contrary notwithstanding) for the West India trade. An abundance of good oak and pine, a population accustomed to the sea, and financial backing in New York and Philadelphia, created Jersey's colonial merchant marine, which fared forth from Amboy and Salem to all the main sea-coast towns, when they did not venture further. Jersey's marine was patterned from tiny, but complete, wooden models. The oak and pine materials were prepared by girdling the trees in the beginning of winter, when the sap was down; and, after sufficient drying, the trees were felled, the timber roughly hewn and stored for further drying. For the crooked timbers to make the ribs of the vessels, careful search was made to find trees which had obligingly conformed to that design, and great care was used to avoid impairing the strength of the timbers by cutting contrary to

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the grain. When the parts of the frame had been made ready they were put together on the stocks by inserting the keel into the sternpost and the stem and fastening the ribs to the keel. Each rib was a branch and part of the body of a tree. Then came the planks fastened to the ribs, those which had to be bent being heated by steam, forced into place with levers. Thereafter came the caulking to keep out the water and the "sheathing" to keep out the worms. After water had been pumped into the hold to make sure the vessel did not leak, she was carefully launched and brought to the wharf to have her masts, spars, rigging and sails fitted, the last being done by a worker fitly called the "ship's tailor."

An early appreciation of the importance of shipping marks the records of the first settlements. Newark welcomed one John Rockwell "upon consideration that he doth this very spring season (1669) come and settle here in our town and maintain this or such like sufficient boat for the use of the town or particular persons in the town . . . so long as the Lord shall enable him thereto." The town would graciously "forbear him for some time the present rate of purchase money." Amboy granted Miles Foster a town lot because he had built the first sloop there. At Elizabethtown "the elevation of the shores ten to twenty feet above the tide made it possible to build ships without docks." Samuel Groome, one of the original twelve proprietors, did not let a year pass after his arrival (1682) before he had a vessel on the ways. Little Egg Harbor carried on its quota in the same field, the brothers Lee founding Leesburg as a place for building coastal vessels, while Tuckerton Creek and Dorchester built ships to carry their pine and cedar boards, rails and shingles coastwise to the cities and the West Indies. Salem and Burlington prospered at their docks and shipyards, Governor Coxe's "own great ship" being built at Burlington. Bridgeton, being at the head of navigation, carried on a considerable business of taking lumber to Philadelphia, although not more than three or four vessels were owned in the place. Alloways Creek did its little best in the same industry.

The exact proportions which Jersey's colonial shipbuilding industry attained are problematical. The modest size of many of the ships is suggested for 1705 by the sixteen-ton "Adventurer," owned by John and Richard Townsend, who obtained a license to trade between Cape May, Philadelphia, and Burlington. The records show that yachts, schooners and some larger craft were achieved, and ships were built for British as well as colonial owners, because colonial shipwrights were skillful and built thirty per cent. cheaper than the British. Whatever may have been the true volume of the building, Governor Morris reported to the unsym-

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pathetic Lords of Trade in 1742 that "the foreign trade is not considerable," that a handful of brigantines and sloops might be reaching Madeira and the West Indies, but most of New Jersey's European commodities were entering through New York and Philadelphia. It appears that Jersey-built ships were busiest at ports outside the State and that the largest of them were sold with the cargo in foreign waters. With the approach of the Revolution shipbuilding languished, only four vessels around twenty-five tons each being built in 1769 and but one in 1772. The Revolution finished the destruction with Delaware ports shut off by the British occupation and the eastern coast open to the ravages of war. As late as 1780, Bridgeton, up on the Cohansey, ventured to fit out a letter-of-marque schooner, under the dignified name of "Governor Livingston"; but her temerity was rewarded with the capture of the ship and her valuable cargo by the British on her second voyage. With the rebirth of shipbuilding after the War for Independence, New Jersey again entered the field to a modest degree.

Diversification in the wood-working trades began in New Jersey with the advent of the town sawyers, such as the versatile Sergeant Harrison, of Newark, who first took up the trade there and enjoyed a monopoly of the business until Thomas David (in 1695) was permitted to erect another sawmill—in the southern section of the town. Beyond the sawmill stage came those craftsmen of the villages and towns whose talents made them architects, carpenters, joiners, turners, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, chairmakers, coopers, wheelwrights, brushmakers and undertakers, all rolled into one very useful individual. Such a village factotum was found in every settlement of any size, keeping his plot of land, and farming it when not busy at any of his numerous trades. One of their number has preserved to posterity a very human document—being his account book, which shows the life led by the jack-of-all trades in the Revolutionary period. He was Robert Nichols and lived with his numerous family on Washington Street, in Newark. The liberties which Captain Nichols took with his spelling but enhance the general historical accuracy of his narrative! From a few of his items one can gather the general tenor of his account book:

| | 1763 | £ | s. | d. |
|---|------|---|----|----|
| Aug. 11—To Caleb Gilbert, Dr.— | | | | |
| To a coffin and screws for your Wife. | | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| To a half Dolar in Silver you had of Josiah | | | | |
| Crane that was left of my Buckels to | | | | |
| make your Buckels with. | | | 4 | |

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| | 1764 | £ | s. | d. |
|--|------|---|----|----|
| June 15—Put an axeltree in David Johnson's cart..... | | | 3 | 6 |
| —Sold 200 clams..... | | | 2 | |
| 19—About on State affairs and went down to the great swamp to mend fence..... | | | | |
| Aug. 21—Afternoon at the Syder mill and am to have some Syder | | | | |
| Dec. 15—Finished a Cobard for John Barbor..... | | | 15 | |
| 24—Mad 3 wipeltrees and a nec yoak for Mr. Mchor- tor worth six shillings and gave it..... | | | | |
| | 1765 | | | |
| Nov. 12—At night went to Osturing at Amboy..... | | | | |
| 28—All of us at home about raising my house..... | | | | |
| | 1766 | | | |
| Jan. 16—Myself for Dr. Johnson woodfrolic, the boys in the shop | | | | |
| Mar. 11—Town meeting, myself after Pegions..... | | | | |
| 29—Canew at the ferry for which I had some rum... | | | | |
| June 12—Much making of window frams, 18 lites 8 x 10 at 6d per lite..... | | | 9 | |
| Oct. 30—Myself and both boys and Jerry Bruen, all for the county, at a gallows and hired Joseph Whelan and Aaron Pierson for the same the whole is | | 3 | 3 | 7 |
| | 1769 | | | |
| Feb. 2—To a pare of shoes for Elizabeth..... | | | 8 | |
| —To 17 Quarts of Milk at 2d pr qt..... | | | 2 | 10 |
| | 1785 | | | |
| Jan. 27—John Smith Dr. to a neat gum Coffin for his wife, I found screws..... | | | 32 | |
| Feb. 14—Myself and John went up to David Bruen's to Draw Logs To the Sawmill, Came back on Sat. the 19th, Drawed for myself 11 White- wood and 2 Whiteoak Logs the oak for Laith Johnson at home about Sashes and others, one Day work at the New Town Dock | | | | |
| 25—Myself Drawing a Drauft of a house for brother Lewis Nichols, the boys in the Shop at Con- gor's Loom | | | | |
| Mar. 25—Made our Rudder and Tiller for my Conew.... | | | | |
| 26—Myself with five hands at the New Town Dock beside my Teeme which makes five Days.... | | | | |
| —Nathaniel Camp Dr to a Desk draw..... | | | | |

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| | | £ | s. | d. |
|-------|--|----|----|----|
| Apr. | 1 & 2—Myself and both Boys two Days over the River hewing Timber for Uzal Ward..... | | 16 | |
| | 9—Myself and John half day for Robt Watts at the frame the other half Day for Major Ward at his Skiff Calking and Baying for wich I got 2 gall tar..... | | | |
| May | 3—Myself forenoon sowing my flax..... | | | |
| | —Afternoon at work for Isaac Alling silling a building | | 4 | |
| | 5—Elish Bodinot Esq Dr to making and puting in 2 sellar windoframs..... | | 9 | |
| | 30—Benjamin Coe Jur Dr to making a Bedstead.... | 12 | | 1 |
| June | 4—The Widow Jonas Pierson Dr to 3 small jogs of wood from my wood pile and one load out of the woods | | 16 | |
| July | 18—Myself at harvest..... | | | |
| | 25—All hands at my corn..... | | | |
| Sept. | 1—All hands Clearing Swamp for Myself..... | | | |
| | 16—Stacking my hay..... | | | |
| | —To making 10 Barels of Syder, 6 of them at 1/ the other 4 Barels at 1/3..... | | 6 | |
| | | | 5 | |
| Oct. | 25—John and Johnson both at work for Benjamin Coe Jur and Myself as good as one Day setting out the Work but Coe got Affronted and hove the Work into the Streat so I Charge nothing | | | |
| Nov. | 9—Myself 3 days at New York carried to Isaac Nichols one Barel of Applebeer and 4 Bushels of purtatoes | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| | —To Lewis Nichols one Barel Appelbeer..... | | 16 | |
| Dec. | 7—Myself cuting and salting my meat..... | | | |
| | —The Boys in the Shop made a Bed Teaster and Head Fram for Moses Baldwin..... | | 4 | 6 |
| | —Col Alling to making 2 sellar Dors to fold together he found Stuf..... | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| | 26—(Monday) to keeping Christmas..... | | | |

1786

| | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. | 7—Isaac Hays Dr to Glewing a gun stock, made new glew on purpose..... | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Feb. | 2—This Morning about 2:o'clock there was an Unhappy affair hapned at Neighbor Coe's his Negro Woman Some way or other Caught on Fire and lay on the floor till allmost Con- | | | |

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| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|----|----|
| sumed before it was Discovered. Benjamin Coe Dr to making a box to put the remains of his Negro in..... | | | 4 |
| Mar. 2—In the Shop made a pair of Brushes for Samuel Congor and also a Dressors and found the Stuf for the same Congor..... | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 13—Myself at work for Elisha Bodinot Esq Diging and seting out Balsom of fir Trees..... | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| —To making 236 Venetian Blinds for his Windows at 3d pr Blind..... | 2 | 19 | 0 |

This last item undoubtedly refers to the great Boudinot residence so long a landmark in Park Place, Newark, known for its display of windows. Thus runs the record of town life as New Jersey knew it in Revolutionary days.

Iron Industry—In these days when so much of our iron comes from the vast surface mines of Lake Superior and is manufactured at Gary, Indiana, and in the Pittsburgh district of Pennsylvania, it is difficult to realize that the iron industry attracted a great deal of New Jersey's colonial capital. There were four reasons for the persistence of the industry there at that time. In northwest New Jersey the several spurs of the Appalachian chain which diversify Morris and adjoining counties had an exceptional abundance and variety of magnetite and hematite ore; in Southern New Jersey the swamps and watercourses were rich in a deposit of brown hematite termed bog-iron; throughout the State numerous mill sites furnished water power needed to operate bellows and stamping mills; and on all sides grew a supply of wood awaiting conversion into fuel—a ton of charcoal being needed to smelt twenty-five pounds of iron ore. Such were the resources which the early Jerseymen found to their hand, and they proved of first importance as a source of iron for domestic and foreign use. The Dutch along the Raritan and Delaware rivers were instrumental in discovering and starting rumors about these resources. For some years little but rumor persisted concerning them.

A gentleman names James Grover is said to have had the honor of being the first iron master. He may have heard the adage "wherever you find a Leonard you find a forge"; at any rate, it appears that about 1674 he sent up to Lynn, Massachusetts for a Leonard to build him a forge on the Shrewsbury, where there was bog iron to be had. Henry Leonard came down and the so-called "Tinton Manor Works" were built. Within a couple of years the future of the works was considered of enough public

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moment to warrant the Assembly in granting the proprietors of them exemption from taxes for seven years. At this moment Colonel Lewis Morris, an adventurous merchant from Barbados, took over Tinton Manor, a property of some 3,500 acres, on which he and his heirs were given freedom "to dig, delve, and carry away all such mines for ore as they shall find or see fit to carry away to the iron work . . . he or they paying all such damages to the owners of the land where they shall dig as shall be judged is done by trespass of cattle or otherwise." Within half a dozen years Colonel Morris was employing sixty or seventy Negroes besides white servants and dependents, all busy upon the industries made possible by the bog-iron of that region.

The iron manor of New Jersey was not essentially different from the plantation manor of the colonies further south, except that whereas your Virginian was treating his manufacturing as subordinate to his agriculture, your Jersey ironmaster regarded his agriculture as subordinate to his manufacturing. The ironmaster might own industries in several small settlements. He owned some forges and furnaces, of course, as they were the places where the ore was changed into usable things. But he also, as a necessary corollary, owned a gristmill where corn was ground for his workers, a sawmill where timber was cut for every industry on the manor, a wheelwright shop making the wheels for the carts after the forges had supplied the tires for them, a blacksmith shop where his own workers shod the manor oxen, a charcoal furnace where the fuel for the furnaces and forges was charred, and last but far from least, numerous farms where farmers worked on shares with him and labored in the manor industries the rest of the time according as they were fitted to do so. In addition to all of this, the ironmaster controlled all the transportation in his domain, this being before the advent of canals and railroads. Thus the iron manor existed as a self-sufficient unit, with its own agricultural, industrial and financial life. A farmer who was giving his time for a number of days to the carting of ore from the mine to the forge received a ticket or piece of writing giving him trade at various shops owned by the master. Iron was to all intents and purposes the measure of value in such a community.

But this is getting ahead of our story a bit, because most of the forges and furnaces did not start as units in a huge holding, but gradually fell into the hands of bigger capitalists as time and vicissitudes and debt forced them there. The other large manors will be mentioned as they enter the story of the iron industry.

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Whether Tinton Manor was too ambitious an undertaking for the early part of the colonial period, or whether bad management wrecked it, is not known; but it appears that it did not survive a great number of years. Further north, however, the course of events was inevitably moving toward the development of community life in the region of the magnetite and hematite ores, taken from hillsides rather than watercourses. Tradition has it that iron was what attracted the early settlers to Morris and Sussex counties, in the neighborhood of Hanover, particularly. People came there from older New Jersey settlements, as well as from New and Old England, and their settlements long were known as "the old forges." Some writers assert that Hanover was settled first as early as 1685, while others put it as late as 1710; but there is universal agreement upon one fact of greater importance than the exact date of the settlement; that is, that the workers went fifteen or twenty miles away for their ore—to the famous Succasunna mine—loaded it into leather bags on pack horses for the journey over into Hanover, where they smelted it, and then by the same tedious method of transportation to the forges at various places in Morris and Essex counties and, finally, as bar iron across the Orange Mountains to Newark. The richness of the ore, some of it yielding over seventy per cent. of iron, permitted this uneconomical practice to survive a long time. Curiously enough, Succasunna ore for a long time was free to all comers, until one Joseph Kirkbride put a stop to this largess in 1717 by taking over the land himself. The mine itself is known to this day as the "Dickerson" because Jackson's Secretary of the Navy took over the mine when he went to Dover to live and worked it extensively. The property has been a sort of godfather to innumerable furnaces, forges and bloomeries in the vicinity, sponsoring the industrial welfare of the people of Randolph, Mount Hope, Morristown, Dover and other places for many a year.

The number of "ironworks" was destined to multiply through much of the colonial period. The favored counties were perforce Morris, Sussex, Passaic and Warren; in addition, Gloucester, Mercer, Monmouth and Burlington. It is difficult to guess exactly how many works there were at any one time, because statistics of that period did not lend themselves to exactitude. The entire State, in 1784, is said to have had seventy-nine forges and eight furnaces; Morris County alone, in 1800, is said to have been blessed with ten mines in operation, two furnaces, three rolling and slitting mills and about forty forges of two to four fires each; by 1802, 150 forges are credited to the State as a whole. This last figure

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seems to be a high water mark, due to the fact that, a little later on, the substitution of coal for charcoal and the puddling furnace for the forge were destined to divert some capital into other fields. But in the meantime the iron industry was closely identifying itself with Jersey fortunes and misfortunes, most of the large works suffered severe reverses, and the industry as a whole simply refused to be discouraged, persisting in supplying the local market and a little of the foreign with its sturdy product. As the largest colonial forges did not produce more than 100 tons of bar iron in a year, one can see that there was room for many, even in as small a State as New Jersey. The biggest boom in the business seems to have been about from 1740 to the Revolution; and in this period a few projects great enough to be classed with those of Colonel Morris and the "Dicker-son" were attempted and prove interesting.

The "London Company" was fathered by "Baron" Peter Hasenclever, who brought a colony of German miners and iron workers into New Jersey, buying land and properties at Pompton, Ringwood, Long Pond and Charlottenburg for them to work. The enlargement and prosecution of this huge undertaking taxed the patience of the stockholders back in the "tight little isle," who wearied of furnishing much capital and getting no dividends. So they sent a canny Scot named Robert Erskine as manager a few years before the Revolution broke out. The magnitude of his responsibilities was not to be minimized by the new manager, who wrote a friend: "The concerns of the company for whom I am engaged are very great, the amount of their inventories at New York in iron goods, cattle and moveables alone was upwards of £30,000 currency; the annual circulation of cash and supplies is between £20,000 and £30,000. . . . I have eight clerks, about as many overseers, forgers, founders, colliers, woodcutters, carters and laborers, to the amount of 500 or 600. The care of this centers in me besides a cash account of £1,000 or £1,500 per month rendered monthly." This was the same Erskine who asked the Continental Congress and General Washington to exempt his workers from service in the campaigns, except in special emergencies; being Scotch, Erskine at the same time had provided against contingencies, organizing, drilling and equipping a company of his own ready to march.

Another iron development of equal interest was the "Hibernia," or "Adventure," in Pequannock Township, Burlington County; this works, with others, received from the Provincial Legislature in 1769 certain privileges by way of encouragement. This was an act of foresight, it would seem, because Hibernia cast shot and ordnance for the Revolution-

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aries, like Mt. Hope Furnace (built in 1772), which added cannon to its achievements. Joseph Hoff, manager of Hibernia in 1776, wrote General Knox for salt, in order that he might provision his works, adding that his furnace was the only one he knew of in the colony then in blast; however, we know from various sources that the next year Jersey was giving aid and comfort to the cause of liberty at both Mt. Hope and Hibernia. Incidentally, the promoter of the Mt. Hope Furnace was John Jacob Faesch, who had been discredited as manager for the London Company, but later became "one of the great men of Morris County, regarded as its greatest ironmaster, one of its richest men, and one of its most loyal citizens."

One reason why there was not more activity in the iron works during the Revolution is to be found in the fact that some of the largest works were then owned by royalists. An important one of these was the "Andover" works of Sussex County, located on land which William Penn had owned in 1714. These works were first developed about 1740 and had exported their product, *via* horseback, cart and boat to Philadelphia. Before the war most of the capital at Andover had fallen into royalist hands, and as a splendid quality of iron was produced there, the Continental Congress found itself faced with a problem. The Congress finally took action a few months after the Saratoga victory by passing a clever resolution. It authorized the Board of War to contract with Whitehead Humphreys, of Philadelphia, for steel manufactures, stipulating that he should make his steel out of Andover bars. The Congress providently directed that a letter be sent to the Governor and Council of New Jersey asking that a person connected with the Revolutionary cause be placed in possession of the Andover works. Thus the desired steel was obtained. Incidentally, this procedure also meant that such of the owners as were royalist were widely dispersed during the war and the mine thereafter remained for some time both unclaimed and unworked.

The number of Jerseymen who devoted their time to iron was sufficiently great to justify a description of the way they did their work. The first stage, that of getting the ore out of the ground, differed in the south and north. The bog ore was simply dug up on the branches of the Little Egg Harbor River in Burlington County, for example, and left to dry before working. This bog ore was a sedimentary mass containing from forty-seven to fifty-three per cent. of metallic iron in its lower deposits and somewhat less in its upper; as the neighborhood afforded a ferruginous green sand and marl which furnished a silicious ore, this was at hand to be mixed with the bog ore and lime to make a very good iron.

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Sometimes the bog ore was shipped to Maryland to mix with other ores of this region. Among the bog iron furnaces that employed many of the settlers in the south were the Martha, Speedwell, Mt. Holly, Batsto, Atsion and Hanover Furnaces of Burlington County, the Bergen of Monmouth, the Weymouth of Gloucester, and the Cumberland of Cumberland County. In patriotic activities the Batsto particularly distinguished itself with the casting of cannon, shot and bomb shells, not to mention boilers and with salt works equipment. The charcoal furnaces and forges of Southeastern New Jersey performed a double service, which partially accounts for their large number in that region. "If a proprietor had a tract of marshy woodland which he wished to clear up, he threw a dam across the upper part where the streams entered and there fixed the wheels for an Iron-work." (For he was canny and realized that the most economical use of the pine thereabouts was to burn it into charcoal to form the fuel with which to smelt the bog ore, which was no less ready to hand than the pine trees.) "In a few years, in place of a vast pond filled with green or blasted pines, well-inclosed fields and green meadows met the eye of the traveler, and the sounds of rural labor replaced the noise of the furnace and the forge hammer." Thus the bog iron works came, fulfilled their function, and (after the adaptation of anthracite to smelting) departed.

The mining of magnetite and hematite ore from the hills and mountains to the north presented more difficulties. The ore was raised to the surface, if it could not be dug from an outside vein on a hill, from pits, shafts and tunnels by handwindlass in buckets. Such mines were kept clear of water by pumps and of gas by a chimney fire and a flue connected with the shaft. Ore was commonly washed by a waterwheel turning a lateral shaft with spiral teeth by means of which the broken ore was forced along a water trough.

The process of making the charcoal fuel was the same in all parts of the State practically. A stack of wood, of whatever kind was convenient (although the harder woods made the best charcoal), was built in a conical shape, with a central opening, and airholes were left near the ground. Fire was applied to the wood at the top, after the wood had been covered with a two-inch layer of dirt or sand as was convenient. This layer was necessary to keep the fire from flaming, and the colliers had to watch it night and day, lest the covering cave in, admit too much air to the fire, and thereby reduce the wood to ashes instead of to charcoal. When the wood had been reduced to the proper point, the fire was par-

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tially extinguished by closing the airholes. The charcoal was drawn from the pit by means of an irontoothed rake. A week was required to char an average stack of 40 cords of wood. Wood also later came to be charred in brick kilns. On the big manors the charcoal workers stayed in huts near the charcoal pits. When anthracite displaced charcoal as a fuel, the furnaces in the Northern part of New Jersey simply substituted the new for the old and continued their smelting. In the south the lack of facilities for getting anthracite without too much of an outlay was what prevented the bog iron furnaces from surviving, especially in view of the fact that bog ore needed to be combined with other ore for finer purposes.

The next stage in the process was the smelting of the ore. This was done in a blast furnace, located on a hillside in order to feed it from the top and take out the product from the bottom. The furnace might be anywhere from twenty to thirty feet in height, the outside being built in pyramidal form of brick or stone. Next came an insulating partition of mortar or clay and within this was the furnace proper of several layers of brick built as a round-topped cone. The cavity of the furnace was egg-like in shape, with the larger end at the bottom, and it was linked with firebrick or stone to withstand intense heat. Below the cavity was the hearth, which was composed of four or five large, coarse, sandstones split out of solid rock and chiselled so as to fit exactly. Into the hearth came the iron and dross as it was melted above, the slag coming in at a higher level than the heavier metal. When every preparation had been made, occurred the "blowing in." The furnace was gradually heaped with charcoal, and when it was nearly filled a small quantity of ore was thrown in, with limestone or oyster shells to serve as flux, and blast was applied at the bottom. The blast was a rude bellows operated by a water wheel to force air through the stack. When once a furnace was "blown in," or in other words put "in blast," the work of dumping in alternate layers of ore, charcoal and flux continued on an average from eight to ten months. The charcoal was measured in baskets holding about a bushel and a half, the ore in boxes holding about a peck. Six baskets of charcoal and as many boxes of ore as the furnace could carry was called a "half-charge," to which limestone was regularly added. A weekly output of twenty-five tons was expected if the "blast" was not interrupted. As fast as the hearth filled with molten metal, the slag on the top of the metal was removed and the clean metal drawn off into a bed of sand called a pig-bed, which was twenty to thirty feet long and five or six wide. From this pig-bed the iron went into either of two forms: it might be run off into

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sand trenches and laterals, known as "sow" and "pigs," in which case it emerged as "pig-iron," ready for further refining at the forges; or it might be run into sand-molds of pots, pans, kettles, firebacks and stoves, in which case it emerged as cast iron ready for immediate use. The name of the furnace was proudly stamped on the articles, together with the date.

The pig iron went from the furnace to the forge, where it was the recipient of considerable attention. The old forge was usually built below a dam with a flume on one side to furnish the power for lifting the great hammer and a raceway on the other side for operating the bellows. The forge was a rectangular building. Within, on either of the two sides, were the forge fires (usually two in number), while behind and midway between them the hammer raised its huge bulk. Into the hammer head was fitted a long handle of stone maple, which extended its lengthy way toward the side of the building nearest the flume. There the handle met a shaft connected with the waterwheel outside. This shaft had a large iron band with four cogs in it, and as the wheel turned, these cogs in rotation caught the hammer handle and lifted it about a foot, then letting it drop. The hammer rose and fell four times for every turn of the wheel. The bellows were large leather affairs at first. Toward the end of the eighteenth century came into a use a new device, which consisted of two or three tub-like structures of wood, from which the air was forced alternately as the raceway revolved their wheels. In an adjoining building, or perhaps in a corner of the forge, were "stompers" for crushing ore by water or by hand.

Early in the morning the forgesmen came in for their twelve-hour day, relieving the night shift. In a busy forge there might be four men to handle the fires and two to do the hammering. The men at the fires threw on iron, which formed a congealed mass at the bottom which was called a loop; this loop was taken over to the hammer either with a hand crane or with tongs, and there the hammermen, firmly grasping the loop with their tongs, manipulated it as the hammer rose and fell, until it was battered into a bar about eighteen inches long and four inches in diameter. This was called a "bloom." Further hammering made the bloom an "ancony." To manipulate a bloom or ancony, so as to hammer it out properly, required long experience; but some forges went further. They reheated the ancony, drew it out, reheated again, etc., etc., and thus made "merchant," or "finished," or "bar" iron. If bar iron was made for a distant customer who had to transport it over the country roads, it was roughly hammered into a shape fitting the horse's back. At special fur-

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naces adapted to the purpose bar iron was made into "blister" steel. Bar iron and pig iron were the two forms most important for colonial trade purposes, being in demand among blacksmiths and shipbuilders for anchors, carriage and mill iron, hammers, tools of architecture, nails, etc.

In the days of small capital and tiny, rude forges, one man might be the sole owner of a forge and he might get his ore by helping himself wherever he found it. If he got into financial difficulties, he might sell one of his fires outright, with the curious result that two competitors might be found using the same hammer. After lands came to be surveyed, the small capital forge gave place to the larger one, even to chains of forges, such as those controlled by Charles Read and John Lacey. Charles Read, who ruled Jersey politically for more than a generation, turned to iron manufacture for a thrill and selected the Batsto River and its tributaries for his activities; John Lacey, the "Quaker General," selected Burlington and Ocean County sites.

The development of the forge business was not an industry upon which the British Lords of Trade looked with kindness. An act of 1729, if enforced, would have required the importation by the colonists of such simple products as wagon axles. This act proving ineffective to stop the natural evolution of the industry in New Jersey and elsewhere, Parliament proceeded to make the situation even more ridiculous. They responded to an address of 1741 begging encouragement for Jersey iron by sending out the fiat of 1750 that no more slitting mills, plating forges or steel furnaces should be erected. But pig and bar iron were encouraged by free importation into London. At a few forges iron continued to be hammered into sheets or plates; at a few slitting mills iron was rolled and cut into strips for making nails. In connection with the 1750 law the old Boonton slitting mill has a hoary tradition which may be within the facts. It is related that when Colonel Samuel Ogden was the manager and one of the owners of old Boonton, he illegally built a slitting mill and prudently erected a fake gristmill over it. Governor William Franklin, hearing that there was a slitting mill at Boonton, came with his suite to investigate in person. Now the colonel was an hospitable gentleman, with a well-stocked cellar, and nothing could deter him from doing the honors to his visitors. A bounteous collation was spread before them with liquid nourishment to correspond. After the honors had been done the gubernatorial party prepared to search for the slitting mill. But in the meantime Ogden's thoughtful workers had shut down the slitting mill, had replaced the boards of the gristmill over it, and had started the

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water wheel to turning two very genuine looking stones. Ergo, the Governor is reported to have declared there must be nothing in the rumor that Colonel Ogden was disobeying the royal mandates. Some narrators add a sequel to the effect that Governor Franklin was himself a silent partner in the Ogden venture!

Whether or not the above delightful tale be within the facts, there is ample proof that forges continued after 1750 to make a variety of articles demanded by the local conditions. An advertisement of 1768 ran: "Wanted. A person that understands the nailing business in its different branches, or has been employed in that manufactory. Such a person bringing proper recommendations will meet with good encouragement, by applying to Joseph Riggs, Esq., or Joseph Hadden in Newark, New Jersey, who are entering largely into the business." Not to be outdone, Ogden, Laight & Co., situated at the corner of Washington and James streets in the same city of Newark, advertised the following year what could be bought at the "Newark Stove Foundry": "Makers all kind . . . forge hammers, anvils, pots, kettles, griddles, pyepans of various sizes, potash kettles and sugar boilers, calcining plates, plain and ornamental chimney backs, jamb and hearth plates neatly fitting each other, Bath stoves for burning coal, iron stoves for work shops and ship cabbins, Dutch and perpetual ovens, boiling plates, boxes for carriages of all kinds and sizes, half hundred and smaller weights. . . . N. B. Bar iron will be taken in payment for hammers and anvils, at market price."

The taking of iron as part payment for goods was but one aspect of the universal custom of bartering "in kind" in colonial communities. What the "kind" should be simply depended upon the nature of the industry which formed the backbone of any particular community. In Morris County, where iron was so important, several instances are known of cases where the agreement with the minister stipulated that the parish reserved the right to pay in iron. In one case this was to be done at the rate of 20s per hundredweight, and in another at 24s; and this in a community rating shillings at 12½ cents meant that bar iron was worth from \$50 to \$60 per ton. Prices for pig iron are indicated by a letter from Charles Hoff, manager of "Hibernia," to his New York correspondents: "We make 15 or 16 tons weekly (which) pig metal I have sold, some for £12, some for £15, some for £20 and some for £30 per ton." Hoff was doing very well, for the average price before the Revolution was but \$64, and in 1791 \$80. This same writer was eager that the colonial government let him try his hand at making cannon, being sure

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that his shot-making already was beyond doubt. At any rate, the continental government exempted twenty-five men from military enlistment in order that they might enter the Hibernia iron work, an action "which caused an abundance of candidates for the places."

Of course, various iron works were known for various things. Oxford Furnace, near Dover, had ore of a quality fitted for gun barrels, cutlery and machinery. At the High Bridge Iron Works of Allen and Turner, near Somerville, the early output was shoes for oxen, horses and mules, wagon iron, nails and crude farming implements marketed by wagon to Philadelphia. The blast furnace at Millville made a specialty of casting lamp posts and water pipes. At Weymouth the first New Jersey pipe foundry was established to supply the need of Philadelphia's water system. At Cumberland the nail product developed in amount and quality to an extent justifying a marked decrease in price. They began at ten cents to fifteen cents per pound and went down to three and a half cents. The wrought iron ploughshare, appearing in 1776, was the invention of a New Jersey farmer named Newbold, who had twenty years of uphill work convincing people that the cast iron would not poison the soil and ruin the crops. Some of his more timid neighbors, not quite bold enough to risk an entire wrought iron ploughshare, ventured to experiment with mold boards plated with strips of iron from hammered horseshoes. A number of Jersey's ironworks provided munitions for the two wars with England, for which efficiency one of them, the Mount Holly Forge, in operation since 1730, was destroyed by the British on the retreat from Philadelphia to Sandy Hook in 1778. The service of Mount Holly had, indeed, been peculiarly exasperating to people out of sympathy with the colonial cause. For in May, 1775, the Continental Congress had ordered from Maybury's sheet iron manufactory five tons, which the blacksmith, Thomas Bales, proposed to convert into camp kettles, provided he could have the sheet iron on credit. Such faith in the cause was truly annoying to the pessimistic. During the Revolution Trenton craftsmen were making steel. And four years after the peace, Aaron Miller, clockmaker in "Elizabethtown," was advertising the arts of peace. The "New Jersey Journal" informed a waiting public that Miller "makes and sells all sorts of clocks, after the best manner with expedition; he likewise makes compasses and chains for surveyors; as also churchbells of any size, he having a foundry for that purpose, and has cast several who have been approved to be good; and will supply any persons, on a timely notice, with any of the above articles, at any reasonable rates." Shortly after this (about

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1790), there was a considerable outburst of forge erecting in Morris County and elsewhere. Then in a year or two came the Algerian War, which gave the Hanover Furnace an opportunity to cast Decatur's twenty-four pounders under his supervision. Mount Holly was not to be out-classed, and William Denning, a patriotic artificer, there made a successful attempt to make wrought iron staves, which he hooped firmly together, bored and breeched, all of bog iron. The result, nothing less than wrought iron cannon. In such fashion wars and rumors of wars employed the more inventive of the Jersey artificers.

Jersey's total annual output of iron at the Revolutionary period has been estimated at 1,200 tons of bar iron; 1,200 tons of pig iron; 80 tons of nail rods; vast quantities of hollowware, and various castings. At this period the business was lagging because wood was growing scarce, labor was high, and Baltic iron was competing. The situation was such that patriotic and enthusiastic parties advocated that people engage in agriculture, designed to encourage manufactures, so that homemade goods might usurp imported articles in the field of iron, as well as elsewhere. Hamilton reported in 1791 that the increase in the price of iron was "chiefly to be attributed to the increase of manufactures of the material" and that these were far more extensive than "commonly supposed." He singled out nails, spikes, implements and tools for special mention as numerous. At any rate, a few things are certain regarding the place of iron in the State's industrial system. New Jersey stoves were being used to a large extent in Philadelphia, in the northern part of New York, and in other eastern states; iron, like leather, was manufactured in sufficient surplus to find sale outside the State; and the continuation in production of some articles, like nails, was resulting in a lowering of the price. In fine, the iron manufacture was one of the three or four industries in which the Jerseyman of colonial days succeeded in advancing his farthest.

Other Mining—While some colonials were prospering with their iron works, others were attempting various less lucrative kinds of mining. In that same Sussex County, where the Andover Works were located among the Hamburg Mountains, there were older metamorphic rocks containing iron associated with zinc and manganese and called "Franklinite" from their proximity to Franklin Furnace. The ore, as well as the iron, made Franklin Furnace famous from the time of its establishment shortly before the Revolution. Edwin Post used the Franklinite to make iron at Stanhope by a catalan forge or bloomery; his success was such that the French National Establishment for the manufacture of chains and anchors

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for the navy reported it to be more tenacious than any other iron they had tried. This made Post's product high priced because adapted to cutlery and other refined uses. Franklinite also was mixed with ores known to produce red short iron, and came to be smelted for its zinc, which in a later period was valuable for its use in paints. In the same county a good grade of marble of considerable extent was discovered. Sandstone and brownstone came into the market and a freestone deposit of excellent quality, mined in the vicinity of Newark, was able to hold a position as an export for a long time. The quarrying industry evidently encouraged colonial artistic instincts, for an advertisement in 1745 announced: "William Grant, cutter, and Samuel Hunterdon, quarrier, of Newark, lately arrived from England, carves and cuts all manner of stones in the neatest and most curious fashions ever done in America."

The most important colonial mining, next to iron, was copper; but, unlike the former, exploitation of the latter was chiefly confined to the colonial period. One day in 1719 a negro servant of Arent Schuyler was walking about on his master's land, which lay between the Passaic and Hackensack rivers, and picked up a piece of native copper. His master, being a thrifty emigrant from Holland, straightway investigated and discovered a mine which some Dutch predecessors evidently had explored, for they had left some hammers and other tools in it. From these beginnings came to the Schuylers much renown and no little money, for the ore was rich and marketable at a good profit. The miners originally received one-third for raising the ore to the surface, which they packed in quarter barrels, six to a ton. These they transported a short distance overland to the Hudson, then through the port of New York to Bristol, England, where it brought £40 sterling per ton. Tradition says that Schuyler's ore was eighty per cent. pure copper and yielded more than four ounces of silver to every 100 pounds of cupreous metal. This famous "Belleville" mine was worked at intervals from 1726 to about 1870. Parliament, wishing to secure this fine ore permanently for the English market, passed an act making it an article which could be shipped only in British vessels. In a dozen years nearly 1,400 tons had been exported in this manner. The popularity of the product induced the owners to dig deeply, and this in turn made them suspend work frequently, because colonial ingenuity had not devised an adequate means for keeping the mines free from water. Perhaps this was the reason why the mine was offered for sale, in 1746, with its "utencels" and its lease, and "two slaves whome understands mining." Colonel John Schuyler, the son of the original proprietor, was not

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to be daunted by this obstacle. He engaged a Staffordshire gentleman by the name of Josiah Hornblower to come over and erect a steam engine (the first brought to the American colonies) at his copper mines. Hornblower packed up the engine in parts, crossed the ocean with it, and erected it in fine shape, at a cost of some £3,000. It proved capable of doing the work expected of it, and kept on doing it for more than forty years, during which period the young engine builder securely established himself as a factor in colonial industries.

All over the colony the Schuyler discovery led the freeholders to search for ore. The Governor, in 1723, reported to the Crown that silver and gold were to be found, but "there must be a great allowance made for the humour that now prevails to run a mine-hunting." A group of investors at Perth Amboy announced their willingness to rent copper and other mining lands, offering owners one-sixth of the product free of all charges. Some of the ore was found in Orange and Bloomfield, but little mining was done in these locations after 1760. Near New Brunswick, about 1750, several masses of virgin copper of from five to thirty pounds were turned up by a plow on the farm of Phillip French, whereat a Philadelphia gentleman of imagination and affluence organized a company to lease the land for ninety-nine years. They opened a pit on the low river ground, finding a vein of bluish stone charged with copper, and occasional large lumps of virgin copper. From the stamping mill erected after these findings many tons of excellent copper found their way to England; but labor costs were so high that the venture had to be abandoned. Doubtless the tunnels under the Rutgers University campus at the present time date back to this industry. Similar ventures were undertaken at Rocky Hill, at Bridgewater, at Bound Brook, and other localities. Perhaps the Revolutionary period was the time of the most copper working; at any rate, the Schuyler mine furnished copper for the bronze cannon of the colonial forces. The British made a point of destroying some of the works.

Other Industrial Activities—From the standpoint of export there is very little to say about New Jersey's industries after one has discussed the various branches of lumber, shipbuilding, iron and leather manufacture, because the remaining output was absorbed by the local demand. Nevertheless, several industries obscure in this period are of interest because of what they were to develop into in the later periods. Among these are the industries using Jersey clay and sand, such as brickmaking, pottery and glassmaking.

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The farm buildings were in most cases rude wooden dwellings, but the wealthier proprietors either made or imported brick; or used stone, for their houses. Amboy, in 1684, had what for that time were very elegant homes of brick; a decade later Salem and Burlington were known for the "many fair and great brick houses" which the "gentry" had built in the outskirts as country places. The Friends, at Salem, paid out £415 13 shillings for their meetinghouse, whether for domestic or imported brick is not disclosed. The fair Elizabeth Haddon, in 1710, imported the brick for her great house, but all of her well-to-do neighbors did not follow her unpatriotic example. At least the industry attained a size leading to regulations for it, which regulations are believed to account for the enduring quality of the old brick in the Salem homes. Bricks must be "2 and $\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, 4 and $\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and 9 and $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, to be well and merchantably burnt. They were to be viewed and appraised by 2 persons authorized by the court; and if they found the bricks faulty, they were to be broken, and the makers of them fined by the court." Part of the market for domestic brick came from gentlemen placing malt-houses on their own estates, a genteel custom which rather declined before the Revolution, because of the popularity of cider and distilled spirits. During the Revolution a few bricks were made on Acconpink Creek near Trenton, thereafter not far away at Hamilton Square, and a little later at Maidenhead, near Lawrenceville. It was the custom to dig up the clay late in the fall, or in the winter, and leave it in a heap exposed to frost until spring. Then they "tempered" it by mixing in water with a spade and drove oxen round upon it to mix it the better. Then it was "moulded" and the bricks let lie on a "floor" a day or two until dry enough to be stacked in the kiln without losing their form. The trick was in burning them just long enough—too much fire would vitrify them and too little would leave them soft and unable to stand exposure. The stint of a gang of three persons was a "tale," but as that might be a "long tale" of 2,332 bricks, or a "short tale" of 2,000, it left room for the vagaries of colonial human nature.

Pottery, so successfully made in Jersey today, was of a pretty crude sort in the colonial days. Apparently the first pottery was made near Burlington, about 1685, when Dr. Daniel Coxe, of London, established a manufactory through his agent, John Tatham. In the midst of the Revolution, Philip Durell and Robert Hunt experimented in the business at Elizabeth, and in May, 1793, Ichabod Halsey advertised himself as "having erected the Elizabethtown Earthen Manufactory," a concern destined

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to change hands rather soon, but to continue in operation until after 1800. Most of the pottery used by colonial Jerseymen evidently originated outside of the colony, the local factories being more notable for the daring of their operators than the success of the operation.

Glass was carried a little further. Caspar Wistar, of Salem County, ventured in 1738 to send for European glass workers, whom he employed about two and one-half miles from Allowaystown, the workmen living nearby at Freeburgh—as long as they stayed at their trade. But Wistar, like so many other colonial manufacturers, was continually losing his indentured and other workmen on account of their uncontrollable desire to become landholders, regardless of the privation involved. In legislation, however, there was a little aid from the tax act of 1767, which roused so much spirit in the colonies. Wistar managed to keep going until 1770, when he gave up on account of the desertion of his laborers. One family of them, the seven Stanger brothers from Germany, reestablished the industry at Glassboro, about ten miles southeast of Woodbury. At the close of the Revolution Lord Sheffield, who perhaps was scarcely an unbiased commentator, wrote that "Bad glass is made in New Jersey for windows, but there is not any quantity of glass made in America as yet, except bottles." Not a great while after James Lee obtained Philadelphia capital to start making window glass at Port Elizabeth and Millville, at which latter place bottle glass was substituted after a few years. Some of these bottles have been described as of a rich, even blue, others of amber and of green effects. There was a percentage, of course, of uneven moulding and of cloudy effects, but the simple household utensils sometimes achieved a rugged beauty. "When they made a beer mug, they gave it distinction; it looked like the work of an honest man." Such glass as New Jersey colonials were able to achieve had to come from the silica sand and pine of the southern region. The cheapest kind of window glass, broad glass, was made by blowing the metal into cones, about a foot in diameter in their base, and while one of these was still hot, it would be touched on one side with a cold iron dipped in water. This produced a crack the length of the cone, which caused the glass to spread out into a fan-like sheet. A better quality of glass, known as "crown glass," was blown into the form of an inflated bladder, and then spread into a smooth sheet by rapid whirling: this glass was of uniform thickness, except at the point where the iron whirling rod had been attached. Bottle glass of the colonial variety did not require much more than a

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simple blowing process. This accounts for the fact that colonial workmen could do better at the bottle business than at window glass.

It would be impractical to attempt to list every tiny industry which attempted to raise its head in New Jersey during the colonial period. The weakest industries need be included only in so far as they were significant in themselves or became important later on. Such an absolute necessity as salt, for example, was not produced to a satisfactory extent, remaining one of the most expensive necessities. But the Revolutionary War gave the industry impetus and it figured in the situation because the iron works could not be kept going if salt were not portioned out to meet the needs of those communities. There had been small evaporation plants along the shores; and in the interior some rock salt had been mined. The Batsto, Atsion and Mount Holly works set up their own salt plants and Dr. Harris had one near Townsend's Sound. British troops aimed to burn or demolish the salt properties of persons sympathetic to the cause of their enemy, and in fact did destroy a number of works, including several on the south side of Squam Inlet, Monmouth County; but Dr. Harris, who was particularly odious to the British, because he sold gunpowder to the colonists, seems to have managed, somehow, to escape the vengeful torch.

Another infant among the colonial industries was tobacco. As William Egbert explained in the "New Jersey Journal" (1786): "The subscriber having erected a tobacco manufactory at Springfield, informs the public that they may be supplied with cut or roll tobacco of as good a quality and as cheap as it can be purchased in New York. He hopes this infant institution will meet the countenance of the public, by which considerable sums of money will be retained in the State and diffused among its citizens."

Paper making received a start from William Bradford and his son, Andrew. As publishers of the New York "Gazette" and the "American Weekly Mercury" they were irked by the necessity of importing paper, especially as they had a monopoly of the government printing. So the father bought a mill at Elizabeth (1728), where he started to make his own paper; and from this beginning the industry spread into Springfield, Westfield, New Providence, Rahway and Plainfield. The work was done by hand until after 1800. They purchased rags, cut and mashed them into pulp of the desired consistency, by means of a sieve-like "mould" shook the pulp into sheets, pressed the resulting paper between felts, and "sized" it in a thin solution of glue and alum. An additional treatment of

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hot-pressing was given paper designed for letter use. By 1770 there were forty paper mills in the three states of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey combined, and their output was supposed to total £100,000 annually. Shepard Kollock, who owned and edited the "New Jersey Journal," also owned one of the Springfield paper mills and published books. Occasionally he advertised for bindery help. His success in the industry, which was considerable between 1786 and 1800, probably was assisted by his nearness to New York and by the connections he had made while editor of a New York weekly.

At Newark a late colonial industry appeared which was to be known better in the future. This was the jewelry business. When Benjamin Cleveland advertised himself as a gold and silversmith, in 1792, his readers readily assumed that most of his work would be in the cheaper metal, because gold was pretty well out of the reach of the colonials. Cleveland made articles from dollars and other coins, from buckles and miscellaneous cast-off ornaments by melting, casting, forging and rolling the old metal until it took a form convenient for its new shape. A teapot, for example, required the manufacture of about fifteen different individual pieces, which had to be soldered together to create the whole. Spoons, knives and forks were forged from strips of silver cut from rolled sheets. The silversmith was the forerunner of the jeweler. About a decade after Cleveland published his advertisement, Epaphras Hinsdale, who is regarded as the pioneer jeweler of Newark, set up on Broad Street, north of Lafayette, a business exclusively devoted to jewelry manufacturing. Soon he took as partner John Taylor, a journeyman in his employ, and the plant started on its historic career. It was to become the style for fine ladies to drive up to "Hinsdale's" to inspect his wares. Probably his total salary roll was at first not more than half a dozen workmen, but in a few decades the Hinsdale business and others like it were to grow to the point where they could meet most of the domestic demand, cutting importations to a low point.

In addition to these factors, such as labor supply, limited capital and small population, which have been mentioned as hindering New Jersey's industrial development, there were other influences in the way. Bad market facilities severely hampered the colony. Such manufacturers as had the man power and the capital with which to produce a surplus dared not do it as long as there were no buyers in prospect. In a day of bad roads, worse bridges and poor communication generally, the most strenuous efforts must be made if an appreciable volume of goods were to travel

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any distance from the place of its origin. Small communities could meet their needs by instituting weekly markets, often set for Tuesday, and carefully stipulated in legislation. Larger areas could be served to a certain extent by semi-annual fairs, usually held during two days each of May and of October. On these days all persons were free to buy and sell all lawful goods, wares and merchandise. All were free from arrest during the fair and for two days before and after it. Under such regulations the liquor industry prospered too well and the fair days became too disorderly. Therefore, the regulations were altered so as to limit liquor sale to local citizens for the sobriety of the populace. Both the weekly markets and the semi-annual fairs bid for a little increase in production.

But the surplus had to find more distant buyers, which meant by sea. In that direction intervened from time to time the Lords of Trade, Parliament and the nearby cities of New York and Philadelphia. Prohibitions from London tended to be ineffective under the circumstances, so that colonial initiative continued to be exercised in those taboo industries of hat-making and iron manufacture, which Britain had thought to check. On the approach of the Revolution visions of industrial prosperity appeared before the imaginations of the patriots. Manufacturing was preached as a patriotic duty. Meetings were called urging the necessity of encouraging home manufacture such as in cloth; and the committees of correspondence established markets, encouraged spinning and weaving, regulated prices and arranged to forward supplies to the army. However, little appeared in print to indicate that the Revolution brought any immediate industrial stimulus. It hardly could be expected to do so as long as New Jersey remained the bloody battle ground of Cornwallis and Washington.

New York and Philadelphia were harder to combat than Parliament; and those cities were the object of considerable bitterness of feeling among colonial Jerseymen. The incorporation of Trenton, for one thing, was looked upon as an anti-Philadelphia move. But the fact remained, as Governor Franklin wrote in 1774: "There is some little trade carried on from several of the Ports of New Jersey to the West India Islands, chiefly with Provisions and Lumber, and there is one or two vessels in the Madeira trade. . . . But as the chief part of the produce is sent to N. York and Philadelphia, without being entered at the Custom houses here New York and Philadelphia are in reality the Commercial Capitals of East and West Jersey." Altogether, it is not surprising to find that New Jersey favored the movement toward a Federal government as tend-

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ing to free her from the industrial dominance of New York and Philadelphia. Indeed, New Jersey took matters into her own hands in 1783. The Legislature acted upon the advice of Governor Livingston and passed a resolution favoring free ports, in order to try "to offset the advantages of size, greater credit and established commerce" of the two greater ports. Accordingly, Perth Amboy and Burlington were declared free ports for twenty-five years; but "it is doubtful whether this free port policy had any considerable effect."

Considering her sum total of disadvantages, it is scarcely surprising that New Jersey was not much of a manufacturing colony; and it is surprising that she produced articles to the extent and variety which she did. She needed additional stimulus from any sources and some of the most effective of these came at the time of the War of 1812. Transportation improvements then were multiplying within the country; and the conflict on the sea so cut off foreign supplies as to add encouragement to timid capital to go into industrial occupations. Yet more important was the development in the use of machinery. This, more than any other one factor, brought a change; the industrial revolution was in progress in New Jersey. Hence, from that time, a new industrial era may be said to have begun in the State.

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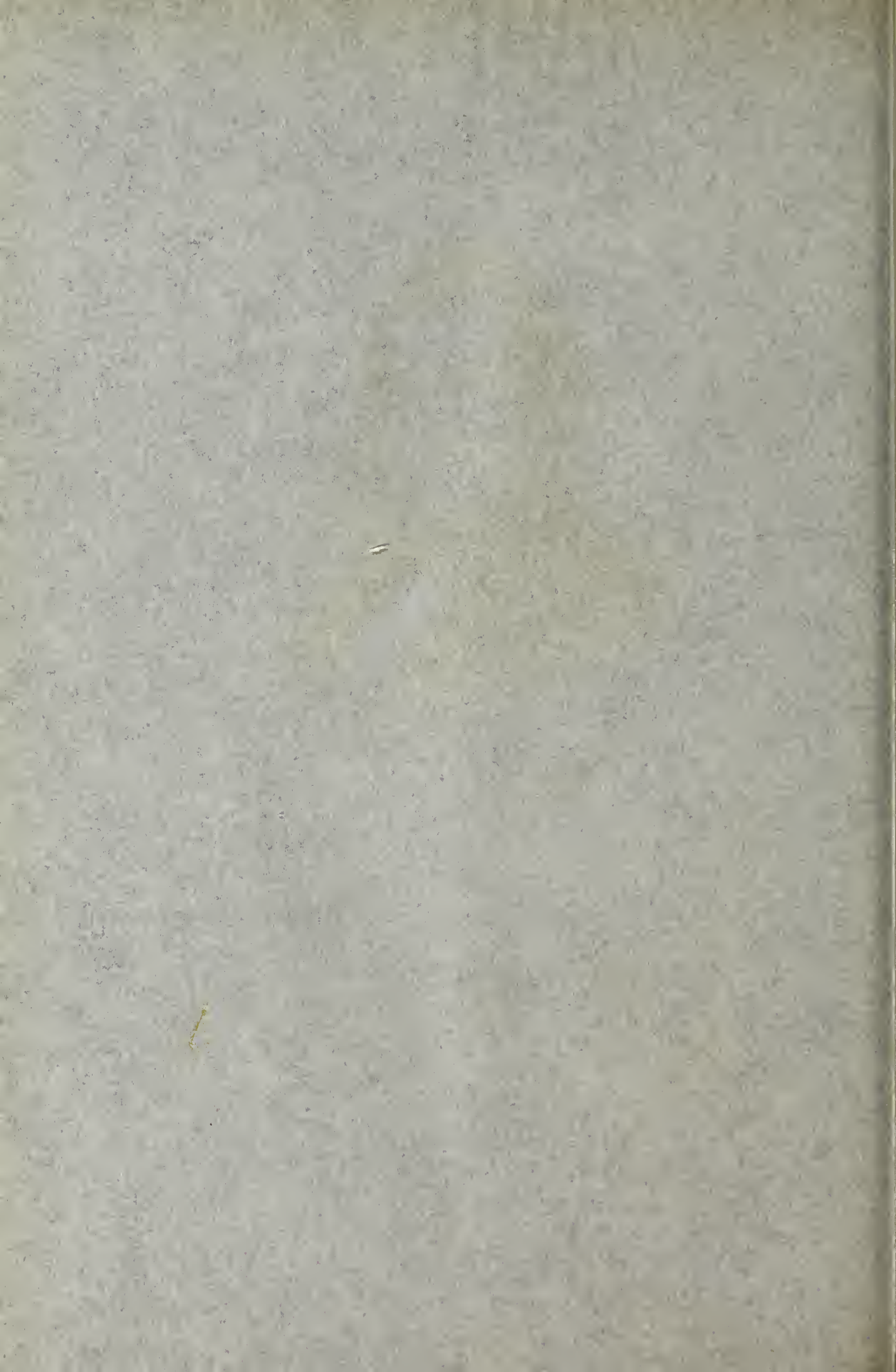
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James H. Falk



James K. Polk, the First "Dark Horse" Elected to the Presidency

BY CORA MILEY, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA



NO American President has ever been able to boast of a more goodly array of sturdy ancestry than the "First Dark Horse." The lineage of James Knox Polk, on his father's side, goes back to the eleventh century to one Fulbert who lived in Scotland in the time of Malcolm the Third. It was Fulbert's son, Petrius, who took the surname Pollok from the estates which he inherited. Some time between the years 1680 and 1687 Robert Bruce Polk—the name had been contracted by usage—and his wife and six sons came to America and settled in Somerset County, Maryland. Their grandson, William Polk, later removed with his family to Mecklinburg, North Carolina. His son, Ezekiel Polk, a colonel in the Revolutionary War, was the grandfather of James Knox Polk, the eleventh President of the United States.

On his mother's side President Polk was a descendant of that fiery, religious old rebel John Knox, who was the leading spirit of the Protestant movement in Scotland when the beautiful Mary was queen. It is a wonder that Mary, ardent Catholic as she was and member of the league for extirpating Protestants, did not have the old man beheaded for heresy. History records on the contrary that she accepted many restraints and rebukes from him. Without doubt she recognized his loyal heart among those many disloyal ones and trusted him in spite of his religion.

The environment of James Knox Polk was no less rigid and severe than his ancestry. In 1806, when he was but eleven years old, his father migrated West and settled in the valley of the Duck River in Tennessee. The Polk family was one of the first to locate in that wilderness. The soil was untouched by the ploughshare. The population which had drifted in from other states was cosmopolitan and not the best. The farmers raised all their supplies, save sugar and coffee, as well as corn, cattle and tobacco for the market. Two hundred dollars in cash, according to a Tennessee historian, was enough to supply a family with the necessities not raised on the farm. These pioneers were usually content to clear up a few acres around their rough cabins, to buy a horse or mule,

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some hogs and cows, shoot game, of which there was plenty, and "get along." But Samuel Polk, the father of James, was more progressive and ambitious than his neighbors, for it was not long until he was known as a very prosperous farmer.

Thomas Jefferson was pioneering in those days also, pioneering in ideas of free government. Samuel Polk was one of his ardent followers, and the father's faith in the soundness of those doctrines was accepted by his son James. In fact, the correspondence in the Polk papers indicates that the whole family, mother and daughters included, took a keen interest in politics.

As a young boy James was not strong enough for farm work, so all his time was spent in acquiring what education he could from the limited opportunities available. Being studious and ambitious he applied himself so assiduously that he injured his health. His father, believing that a more active life would be beneficial, placed him, much against his wishes, with a merchant. But the business of trade was so distasteful to young James and he plead so earnestly to be allowed to quit it that his father took him away and placed him in an academy near Columbia, Tennessee, where he read the usual Latin authors, the Greek testament, and Lucian's dialogues. When he finished there he entered the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1815. In school he manifested those qualities which characterized him later as a statesman. Setting aside the activities of college which were more attractive, but which he thought less profitable, he spent his entire time working at his studies. "His ambition to excel was equalled only by his perseverance," said one of his classmates. The records show that he never missed a recitation or failed in a duty while at school. But neither as a student nor as a statesman did Polk pose as a brilliant man. "My opinions are arrived at only as the result of unremitting labor," he said again and again. At his graduation from the University of North Carolina he received first honors in mathematics and the classics, studies which appealed to his taste in industry and precision. He invariably chose the useful and substantial. After finishing school he returned to Tennessee, his health much impaired by close application to his books. After a year's rest he began the study of law in the office of Judge Felix Grundy and was admitted to the bar in 1820. His academic preparation was so thorough, his knowledge so accurate, his resourcefulness in debate so well known and his attention to business so meticulous that he soon became a leading practitioner.

In 1823 he was elected to the State Legislature from his county and

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from that time his political career extended successfully to his election to the Presidency of the United States in 1844. The Whigs' derisive cry, "Who is Polk?" had no justification, for he had served in Congress fourteen years, had been Speaker in the administrations of both Van Buren and Jackson, had been Governor of Tennessee, and was the logical and accepted candidate for Vice-President at convention which nominated him for President.

James K. Polk's first official position in Washington was as member of the House of Representatives during the administration of John Quincy Adams. There were no political parties at the time, but there was much political confusion, sectional disharmonies and personal vindictiveness. Indeed, men carried their animosities and political differences to great lengths in those days, often settling them in duels. It was a difficult period in which to keep one's composure and balance. As a member of the House, Polk soon displayed his ability as a debater. In his second term, during the Jackson administration, he was the President's aide-de-camp in the war on the United States Bank, where he bore a part which required a thorough knowledge of the subject, alertness of mind, industry, and sound judgment. His report on the bank which was given in clear-cut and logical, though scathing and merciless, language showed exhaustive preparation, and his arguments which were based on that report, were unassailable.

There are indications that even in the first days of his membership in the House he was looking with a desirous eye at the Speakership and that he was making plans for securing that position. It was characteristic of him that he sought through political maneuvering whatever political office he wished to occupy. He served as Speaker in both the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren. As Speaker he presided with ability and great dignity. A press correspondent said of him, "I have never seen a man preside over a popular body with more dignity and effect than Mr. Polk. In person he is rather below the middle size and has a firm and upright carriage which gives great self-possession and command to his manner. His head is finely formed with a broad and ample forehead and features indicative of a character at once urbane and decided. He is scrupulous in his dress and always appears in the chair as if he were at a dinner party."

The position of Speaker of the House is a more or less difficult one at any time and it was particularly so for Mr. Polk. His enemies were many and vitriolic. John Bell, of Tennessee, hated him because he had defeated

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him for Speaker not once, but several times. Bailie Peyton, who had fought a duel with General Jackson, hated him because of his close friendship with the old war hero. Sergeant Prentiss hated him because he had cast the deciding vote against him in a contest in Mississippi which was referred to the House for decision. Henry Wise hated him because of sharp political differences. They were all abusive in the extreme. Bell called him the "President's creature and obedient slave." Wise tried to provoke him to a duel by shouting at him on the floor of the House, "I distrust you, sir. You are a damned petty little tyrant. I mean this personally—pocket it." Bailie Peyton annoyed him at every opportunity. And Prentiss resorted to the petty and unprecedented course of opposing the ordinary vote of thanks upon his retirement from the office of Speaker. He charged Polk with partiality. "A more perfect party Speaker, one who is disposed to bend the rules of the House to meet his own side in politics has never pressed the soft and ample cushions of that gorgeous chair," he said.

This puerile act against Polk was entirely without justification and the motion lost, although it was supported by fifty-six other members. However, there seems to have been an opinion among those present that a number voting with Prentiss were afterwards thoroughly ashamed of themselves and so expressed themselves to Polk.

The Speaker met these onslaughts with dignity and composure and, while he did not forget easily, and there are evidences that he sometimes afterwards gave an "eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," he treated these insults with silent contempt at the time and did much to establish a new precedent in "affairs of honor." No one ever questioned his personal bravery, and his bearing during his years as Speaker met with approval and admiration. His farewell address to the House after Mr. Prentiss' insulting motion elevated him in the minds of all fair-minded men. He made no reply whatsoever to the charges, nor did he deal in recriminations. "No one can please everyone," he said with a smile; "I consider the resolution of thanks just offered as the highest and most valued testimony I have ever received from the House because it was not, under the circumstances, a merely meaningless formality." It was during his term of office as Speaker that the discord began over abolition petitions between John Quincy Adams, then a member of the House, and the Southern members of that body. Nearly all Northern members held that all petitions from American citizens must be received and that after reception Congress might dispose of them as it pleased. Southern members did not

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deny the right of petition in the abstract. They were willing, they said, to receive "bona fide" petitions, but they agreed that inasmuch as the petitions in question were asking something which did not fall within the power of Congress to perform there could be no obligation to receive requests to do the impossible. They said also in establishing the "gag-rule" that the right of petition extended only to those who would petition for other people. The right of petition for a redress of their own grievances was never denied by the most belligerent of Southern members. Adams, of course, protested violently and continually on all occasions against the constitutionality of the gag-rule. And each side accused the Speaker of unfairness and harrassed him hourly and daily with hair-splitting questions of procedure. Fortunately Polk's knowledge of detail, his methodical mind, his habitual coolness under those most trying ordeals enabled him to preside at this time with dignity and success under circumstances in which a more brilliant man would have met failure.

Mrs. Polk did not accompany her husband on his first trip to Washington. The journey was made on horseback in company with several other members of Congress. At Baltimore they took the stage coach, leaving their horses until their return in March. On his second journey to Washington Mrs. Polk accompanied him in the family carriage. The money paid to members in mileage at that time was small compensation for the hardships encountered on a journey from remote Southern and Western states. Still the pioneer statesmen endured such hardships without complaint. They even found pleasure in the hard tedious journeys. There was little ostentation in Washington at this period of history. The life of the average Congressman's family was extremely simple. It was the custom for two or more families to rent a single house and "mess" together. Among the messmates of the Polks were Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, both of whom later became Polk's bitter political enemies.

A number of incidents were responsible for the political loss of Tennessee from the Democratic stronghold at this time, chief among them being the defections of David Crockett, John Bell, and Hugh Lawson White. After White carried the State for President, never again in Jackson's lifetime was the Tennessee vote cast for a Democrat, even though one of her own sons was a candidate in 1844. The Democrats were so humiliated and so indignant at their loss of power and prestige in Tennessee after White's majority that they were determined to win the State back. Nothing seemed more propitious for this end than to have

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James K. Polk retire from his position in Congress and announce himself as a candidate for Governor of Tennessee. Realizing that something had to be done and, being a good party man, Polk consented. A short time before he announced his candidacy for Governor he was examined by a phrenologist, whose findings and Polk's subsequent actions are a surprise to all who read of him because they are so unlike him at any other period in his life.

"He is very quick of perception," the record reads, "what he enjoys he enjoys remarkably well and what he suffers he suffers intensely." The equanimity of Polk makes this somewhat difficult to believe. "His is a remarkably active mind, restless unless he has something important to do. He cannot be idle a moment, he is by nature one of the most industrious of men, loves mental labor and hard study as he does daily food, and is throughout a most positive character. He thinks well of himself, often asks advice and then does as he pleases, is one of the firmest of men, slow in committing himself, but once committed does all in his power to carry through his measures; has many acquaintances, but few bosom friends, has an abounding command of facts and can call to mind with great precision what occurred long ago." So far there is nothing contrary to what we know of Polk. The phrenologist made an accurate judgment, but he continues: "He could have succeeded on the stage, for he has great ability in the use of pungent sarcasm and ridicule and can take off the peculiarities of others if he would indulge in that propensity." This statement is rather amusing. That Polk, abstaining from all pleasure to study, keeping his austere dignity when men were resorting to onslaughts and insults, attentive to his duty even to the most infinitesimal portion of it, was capable of mimicry and ridicule, is past all belief. But it was true, for in the gubernatorial contest against Governor Cannon he used this propensity to the delight of his audience and the discomfiture and defeat of his opponent. While he stated the issues of the campaign, which were mainly national, in a clear and logical manner and in simple and forcible language, he used every sort of wit from the grotesque and ridiculous to the sparkling and subtle to enlighten his point and enliven his audience. He was the first stump speaker, full of his subject, ready with quick retorts, apt in illustration and anecdote, clever in turning the enemies' guns against themselves, adroit in avoiding what was disadvantageous. People in those days took a delight in political campaigns. No debate was too long for them to sit through, provided the speeches dealt in personal recriminations and humorous stories. They knew nothing, and

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cared nothing for logic, issues or parties. What they wanted was pungent thrusts. These political harangues usually took place at picnics and barbecues, for the festal side of the campaign was as important to the people as the forensic. Governor Cannon, entirely lacking in force and magnetism, soon retired from active campaigning, and Polk was elected by a three thousand majority.

Abuse of candidates was a characteristic of the press of the time, and the popular taste demanded extravagant statement and personal abuse. Vindictive editors delighted in it. The Nashville "Union," which supported Polk, had as its editor Jeremiah George Harris, who was particularly accomplished in the use of a venomous pen. Lacking equal power in invective, the editors on the opposing paper resorted to coarse vituperation of Polk, calling him a "crouching sycophant," "a man lost to decency and honor," "a pliant tool," "an apostate" and a "traitor." Polk never so far forgot himself as to retaliate in like manner. His language was always dignified and gentlemanly even when scathing and exasperating.

His gubernatorial administration had no particular outstanding features. His accomplishments were on the broad and general lines laid down in his campaign speeches. And intermingled with his gubernatorial actions was continual political activity. The party was busy. One of the things discussed at the Democratic meetings in Tennessee was the placing of Polk's name on the national ticket in 1840 as Vice-President with Van Buren's as President. His principal competitor for that nomination was Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who had been Vice-President when Van Buren was President. Polk seems not to have been unwilling for his name to be used. Although he stated time and again that he was passive and was at the party's service, there are indications that he was more active and interested than he pretended to be. Being an extreme party man and a believer in party solidarity, however, he would not become a candidate of a portion of the party. Colonel Johnson was nominated at the convention and Polk decided the most expedient thing for him to do was to become a candidate for reelection to the office of Governor of Tennessee in 1841.

The Whigs were ready for him, however. From the day of his election they had been marshalling their forces for his defeat. The national victory of 1840, the "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too" campaign with its log cabins and its coonskins, and the previous manner of conducting a gubernatorial campaign as exemplified by himself, had shown them what manner of campaign would be most likely to win. Consequently they chose

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as their candidate Major James C. Jones. Jackson, scoffing at the "Major," said he'd never even been a corporal; "Lean Jimmy," as he was affectionately called, was a horny-handed farmer, who possessed many of the grotesque personal attributes made famous by John Randolph. Where Polk was amusing, Jones was absurd; where Polk illustrated with pungent anecdote, Jones told a funny story entirely irrelevant. Where Polk was a wit, Jones was a clown. Realizing that he was no match for Governor Polk in argument and debate Jones resorted to hectoring tactics, calling Polk, who was but forty-six at the time, "my venerable competitor." All through the campaign he relied on amusing rather than convincing his audience. Polk soon grew tired of the speaking campaign which had descended to one of "foolery and coonery." But since he had invited Jones to make it with him he could not stop it. Ludicrous, grotesque, unfailingly good-humored, his mind replete with nonsense and tomfoolery, Jones convulsed his audience and won the votes. One auditor said, "Governor Polk makes an ass of himself trying to talk sense to a lot of fools." Another said, "Why doesn't the Governor take a stick and crack Jones' skull and stop this nonsense?" Polk kept to issues, but Jones contented himself and satisfied his audiences by reiterating statements which had been refuted again and again by his opponent and by misquoting the Governor on all occasions. Polk was defeated; his own weapon had been used against him. Two years later Polk, feeling that he was serving his party and his own best interests by so doing, entered the gubernatorial race against Governor Jones again. In many respects it was a repetition of the campaign of 1841, although there was somewhat more of an argument and less mimicry. Jones was reelected by a majority of four thousand. This is the last time on record where Polk used humor, anecdote and mimicry. He must have thought either that his power with it was ineffective, or that it was unbecoming in one aspiring to great office, for even then he was campaigning for nomination to the Vice-Presidency.

The national campaign of 1844 began as early as January. There was no doubt that Clay would be nominated by the Whigs, for he was the logical candidate notwithstanding Webster had announced his willingness to accept the nomination. Van Buren's nomination at the Democratic convention in Baltimore seemed certain, not because of his popularity—that he had never had—but because he was the heir apparent of Jackson and because he had the advantage of being considered the candidate of the party. There was considerable hostility to his candidacy, but it was from those who had allied themselves with an even more unpopular candidate

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and was of little moment. Therefore, ex-President Van Buren, unless something occurred which would make the public question his fitness, seemed practically certain of the nomination for President. It was felt by many that if Van Buren must be accepted, Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who had been Vice-President under him in his previous administration, should be eliminated, and it was the consensus of opinion among many party leaders that Polk should be chosen in his stead. These leaders felt that, if New York had the nominee for President, the South should have the nominee for Vice-President. Ardently desirous for this office, Polk began in 1843 to speak to his friends and to ask their support. These friends and some of the leaders of the party worked to that end. In the hope of securing Polk's nomination in State conventions General Jackson wrote letters and addressed them to these bodies. Newspapers friendly to his nomination sounded his praise. Several of the State conventions nominated him. Then the Texas question came up, and the people began to question Van Buren's fitness for the Presidency. In March, 1844, W. H. Hammett, a member of Congress from Mississippi, addressed a letter, entirely friendly, to Van Buren, asking his views on annexation. On April 20 Van Buren sent a reply to this letter to his most intimate friend, Silas Wright, for consideration before sending it to Hammett. Wright read it to several of Van Buren's friends, all of whom approved of his stand on the matter. Wright, with Van Buren's consent, had the letter published before Hammett ever saw it. In the letter Van Buren said that the United States had a perfect right to annex Texas, and he gave a history of the question and of his own attempt to purchase Texas while Secretary of State under Jackson. "But," he said, "as conditions are now, annexation will mean war with Mexico, and it will not give the United States good standing with other nations. It is a question to treat with care. I am of the opinion that annexation would not be wise at this time." On the day that Van Buren wrote to Hammett, Cave Johnson wrote to Van Buren, saying that in a few days the Texas treaty would be sent to the Senate and that he and other friends hoped that he would favor annexation. As it was well known that Clay would oppose annexation, Johnson urged him to make known his views without delay. But Wright had already had Van Buren's letter published. The fat was in the fire! On the publication of the letter the South immediately withdrew its support. The central committee of Virginia released its delegates from the obligation to obey instructions which had been given them to vote for Van Buren; delegates from other states announced publicly that they

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would not vote for him. Friends of Texas called a meeting at once to discuss another candidate. Van Buren had never been a popular candidate. His Texas letter was a loop-hole of escape for the South. General Jackson had been in a most embarrassing situation. He was for Van Buren and he was also for annexation. He finally came out boldly against his old friend "Matty" and said Texas must be annexed immediately.

In May an anti-Texas delegation met in Cincinnati and drafted a letter to Polk asking his views on the annexation of Texas. He was in Mississippi when the letter arrived, but, as soon as he reached his home in Columbia, he wrote unequivocally that he believed in immediate annexation. He emphasized the point that our original title to Texas had been valid and that our ceding of that territory to Spain had been unwise. His letter was written three days after the Van Buren letter and without knowledge of its contents. As late as May 4, when he read Clay's letter against annexation, he did not know of the Van Buren letter and at that time he expressed the hope that Van Buren would announce himself in favor of annexation. The question of annexation hopelessly divided the Democratic party. Benton, of Missouri, and New York, were for Van Buren, Calhoun and his supporters were against him. The South was strong for some man who favored annexation. "I see no hope," Cave Johnson wrote, "unless some man can be found, not connected with these elements, who is for annexation." Only Polk could qualify. In his subtle communications to leaders, to delegates, in his suggestions for bringing about harmony and for plans of procedure Polk showed a shrewdness which marks him as one of the most astute of politicians. The result was that before the delegates reached Baltimore there was private campaigning for him for President. Immediately after the convention opened, over the objections of the Van Buren delegates, the rule of two-thirds majority was adopted. On the first ballot Van Buren received a majority, but not a two-thirds vote. From that time on his vote steadily decreased. On the third day Polk's name was brought forward. On the eighth ballot he received forty-four votes, following which Frazer, of Pennsylvania, shouted: "James K. Polk, a pure, whole-hogged Democrat, friend of Jackson and enemy of banks, has my vote." The ninth ballot, the last, was unanimous for him. His nomination, coming as it did through a combination of the elements of the party for him as a compromise candidate, was almost inevitable; a majority had gone to Baltimore to support him for Vice-President; when it became impossible to nominate Van Buren, they naturally turned to him since he was not unobjectionable to

any faction. But the country at large set up a mighty howl. Surprise may have had something to do with these wholesale condemnations. Certainly many of the men who spoke disparagingly of Polk after his nomination had praised him previously. Horace Greeley, who thought his nomination absurd, had previously said of him that he was one of the ablest and most powerful speakers in the Southwest. There were many others who were outspoken in their disapproval of him as a candidate. Judge Story was "thunderstruck." Governor Letcher, of Kentucky, said, when he heard the result of the convention, "Polk! Great God, what a nomination!" But Henry Clay, the gay "Prince Hal," was in high glee and the Whigs predicted an overwhelming victory.

Suggestion played a powerful part in the campaign. The derisive question of the Whigs as to Polk's identity did much to establish the opinion of his mediocrity which history has so well preserved. Somehow, probably because of his great charm and magnetism, Clay had been, and still is, regarded as a great man. Yet he was an opportunist and an adventurer riding a hobby only so long as it was expedient and then abandoning it for another. But he was spectacular, and spectacularity seems to have been the *sine qua non* of greatness in this period of our history. Polk had none of it, he was not an experimenter in government, he was a follower of Jefferson. He was not a creator of issues, but a good judge of those presented. He was not a charmer, but a politician, and a statesman, and he was a master of detail.

Being the candidate for President he could not make a speaking tour; but he could, and did, direct the national campaign in Tennessee to the minutest detail, even to the arrangements for the barbecues. And although he strengthened the Democratic vote in Tennessee he lost the State in the final count by a hundred and thirteen votes. Much to their delight and satisfaction the Whigs carried the precincts of both Polk and Jackson. But the Democrats had the last laugh in the result of the general election. Jackson wrote to Polk gleefully in his usual careless way, "Who is J. K. Polk? will be no more asked by the 'coons.' A. J."

Polk received the news of his election some hours before it was known in Columbia or Nashville. The New York mail arrived in Nashville at nine o'clock in the evening. On the outside of the mail package the Cincinnati postmaster had written a note to General Robert Armstrong, the postmaster at Nashville, stating that Polk had been elected. General Armstrong, who was a friend of Polk's, sent a note to him by a private messenger, notifying him of the facts. The man reached Columbia at

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dawn, but Polk, saying nothing about it all day, calmly received the condolences and sympathy of his friends who thought he had been defeated. A sphinx-like manner was one dear to his heart.

After the news of his election became known, his life was threatened many times by admirers of Clay, but no violence was attempted. During the period between election and inauguration, when there is such a stew and stir of prospective officeholders and politicians, the President-elect seems to have listened respectfully to all and to have followed his own plans and inclinations without having been influenced by anyone. Even Jackson's admonitions went unheeded for, while Polk respected and loved the General, he seldom took his advice.

Selecting his cabinet occupied much of his mind during the busy month after his election. On two things he had determined, he would not be a candidate to succeed himself, and he would allow no man to make a place in the cabinet a stepping-stone to the Presidency. With this in mind he wrote his invitations to prospective cabinet members. "Should any member of my cabinet become a candidate for the Presidency or Vice-Presidency of the United States it will be expected upon the happening of such an event that he will retire from the cabinet—if you can concur I shall be pleased to have your assistance as a member." And he was unmistakably the guide and leader of his cabinet. None but Buchanan, Secretary of State, ever had the temerity to try to substitute his opinions for the President's, and he invariably had to withdraw them.

On the day of the inauguration rain began to descend in torrents and continued throughout the day. "The new Executive delivered his long address to a large assemblage of umbrellas," writes the sharp-tongued John Quincy Adams, who adds this in his diary, "at night there were two balls, one at Carusi's saloon for all parties at ten dollars a ticket; the other of pure Democrats at five dollars a ticket at the National Theatre. Mr. Polk attended both, but supped with the true blues five dollar Democracy. My family and myself received invitations to both, but attended neither."

The foreign diplomats suffered much annoyance that day on account of an order issued by the chief marshal of the inaugural that no carriage should enter the Capitol grounds, for they were forced to alight at a side gate in the rain and walk through the mud to the Senate entrance, thereby damaging their feathered chapeaux and embroidered uniforms. But their displeasure was as nothing to compare with that of the soldiers, many of whom returning down Pennsylvania Avenue, which had become a sea of

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mud, slipped and fell ingloriously on the march. The ten dollar ball at Carusi's saloon was attended by the leaders of Washington society, the diplomatic corps, officers of the army and navy. The one at the National Theatre for the "true blues," as Adams called them, was attended by immense crowds, whose rush and scramble for supper was emblematic of the rush and scramble for office which they made later. When the guests were about to depart from the National Theatre it was found that the best hats, cloaks and canes had been stolen. A like occurrence happened on the same day at the White House. Commodore Ellis had his pocket picked of a wallet which contained a letter from General Jackson and a lock of his hair, and a letter from Mrs. Madison and a lock of President Madison's hair. The women who attended the ball at Carusi's saloon were elaborately gowned, among them being Madame de Bodisco, wife of the Russian minister, who wore the superb court dress which she had worn while on her bridal visit to the Court at St. Petersburg. Her dress contrasted strongly with Mrs. Polk's costume, black silk dress, long black velvet cloak with a deep cape, trimmed with fringe and tassels, and purple velvet bonnet decorated with a satin ribbon which she had worn at her husband's inaugural that morning.

The White House was not very gay during the Polk administration. Mrs. Polk, a rigid Presbyterian, was an austere Puritan in her ideas. She allowed no dancing, no card playing in the White House, and wine was abolished from the tables. Someone has said facetiously that she allowed nothing to meet there but the Ladies' Aid Society. She was of medium height and size, had very black hair and dark eyes. She had been described as proud, dignified and handsome. A striking brunette of the Spanish donna type, she wore handsome fabrics and bright colors well. She was a good housekeeper, well read, a good conversationalist and her weekly receptions were popular. She was the daughter of a well-to-do farmer of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and was educated in a Moravian institute in Salem, North Carolina.

Prior to Polk's administration attempts had been made to establish the separate claims of England and America in the Oregon country and to fix a boundary between them. In 1842 a bill had been introduced in the Senate which gave opportunity for debate. Both Calhoun and McDuffie, of South Carolina, opposed activity on the matter, Calhoun because he thought it might involve us in a war with England, McDuffie because he regarded the whole territory as an incubus not "worth a pinch of snuff, a territory totally unfit for the homes of civilized beings." But promise of

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the settlement of the Oregon question had been made by Polk in his campaign and he was determined to settle the dispute. In his inaugural address he stated "our title to the country of Oregon is clear and unmistakable." He based his statement on the number of claims. The Louisiana Purchase had given the United States whatever claims France had to territory lying west of the Mississippi; Spain had ceded to the United States in 1819 by the Florida treaty, all of her claim to territory lying west of Louisiana and north of the forty-second parallel; the United States laid claim to Oregon upon discoveries and settlements made by Captain Robert Gray, who had explored Columbia River, and by John Jacob Astor, who had founded a trading post in that region.

The British claim to the Oregon country was no less positive. It was based on exploration made by Captain Cook in 1776 and by Alexander MacKenzie in 1793. The Spaniards, who had previously laid claim to all this region, sent out an exploration expedition from Mexico in 1779, but in the adjustment between that country and England the Spaniards had admitted the rights of the British to trading posts there. Russia had previously relinquished everything south of 54-40, the southern boundary of Alaska. The unsettled question between Great Britain and the United States since 1825 had been: Does either country have a valid title to all the land between the southern boundary of Alaska and the northern boundary of California? If not, how shall it be divided? Settlers from both countries had become so numerous there that a provisional government had been organized and on two occasions compromises had been made between Great Britain and the United States by which the country was opened for joint occupancy, but such an arrangement could not be permanent.

Polk was for 54-40 and had said so repeatedly, but when he learned after his inauguration that James Monroe and the succeeding Presidents up to his own time had advocated a compromise of the forty-ninth parallel he advised James Buchanan, Secretary of State, on July 12, 1845, to offer the acceptance of that boundary to Pakenham, the English minister. Pakenham categorically, almost insultingly, refused the offer, and the President immediately withdrew it.

And in spite of much persuasion from Buchanan he would not make another move toward settlement. It was England's time to make an offer, he said, and on this stand he characteristically remained firm. Once his mind was made up on anything he would not be persuaded, frightened or coerced to change it. Discord and strife might shake the pillars of the

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Capitol, but he quailed not from his duty. Whether frowns or smiles, favors or dislike, followed his decisions, he did not stop to inquire. He would not sever a single hair's breadth from what he conceived to be right, regardless of consequence personal to himself. Buchanan vacillating back and forth, urging according to his mood, slyly maneuvered between Pakenham and the President, the Senate discussed the matter of boundary heatedly pro and con; his enemies criticized him, his friends misunderstood him, England talked of preparations for war, but Polk "let the matter rest" until the British government made an offer. On June 3, 1846, this offer came. Polk, waiving his rights, submitted the matter at once to the Senate for advice, a decision he had previously reached by discussion with his cabinet. After two days' deliberation that body by a vote of 38 to 12 advised the President to accept the offer of the forty-ninth parallel which had been made by Great Britain as the compromise boundary between Canada and the United States. And on the fifteenth of June, Buchanan and Pakenham signed the treaty and terminated the long debate and the threat of war over the Oregon question.

For over half a century James K. Polk has been accused of starting the war with Mexico. He brought it on for the extension of slavery, he brought it on for national expansion and his own aggrandizement, he brought it on without cause or reason; these are the accusations against him.

That Polk with the connivance of Southern slave-holders started the war for the sake of the extension of slavery is most unwarranted. In the first place, Polk, although he was a slave owner, was not an ardent advocate of slavery himself and was exceedingly impatient at the injection of the subject into every governmental measure. "Slavery was one of the questions adjusted in the compromises of the Constitution. It has not and can have no connection with the war in Mexico or the terms of peace. Why will Congress insist upon discussing the subject of slavery in regard to territory which we do not and may never possess?" he writes in his diary when Congress was discussing the extension of slavery into territory possibly acquired as a result of the Mexican War. Slavery was a question Polk avoided whenever possible. It entered into his considerations not at all. In the second place Polk could not have had the "connivance" of the Southern slave-holders, because when Texas had sought admittance once before she had been denied it by the vote of fifteen Senators from slavery states.

It has been generally conceded by fair historians that there had been

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trouble between the two countries for a long time, but the annexation of Texas to the United States was the immediate cause of the war with Mexico. It was John Tyler, however, not James K. Polk, who signed the treaty for annexation. This treaty was signed six days before Polk's inauguration; the concluding of the matter was left to him, but he did not begin it. The annexation of Texas to the United States was not, however, a questionable transaction. There was no reason why she should not have been annexed. She had been an independent republic for almost ten years. The United States had recognized her as a nation from the first. She had sought admittance to the United States previous to this time, but had been denied affiliation. Tyler, at the time he signed the treaty, was convinced, after secret investigation, that both England and France, in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine, were intriguing for an alignment with Texas. He was positive that if annexation of Texas meant war with Mexico, the failure to annex Texas would mean war with one of these greater powers. So, if annexation of Texas brought on the war with Mexico, it was the result of the judgment of Tyler, not Polk.

After the war began, the Whigs declared that Polk had invaded Mexico and brought on the war over the question of boundary lines for the sake of national expansion. There was no misunderstanding about boundary lines. It is true that the boundary of Texas at one time extended only as far as the Neuces River, but in 1824 the Province of Coahila, which extended to the Rio Grande, was included in the Texas territory by the Mexican government. The resolution for annexation by the American government specified no boundary, but said, "subject to the adjustment by this government of all questions of boundaries that may arise with other governments." By an act passed December 7, 1836, Texas had declared the Rio Grande her border, basing her claims on her revolutionary rights, her agreement with Santa Anna after the battle of San Jacinto, her rights under the Louisiana Purchase and her capacity to maintain her claims by force.

Mexico, claiming all of Texas, raised no question at the time about the boundary. Polk accepted the claim set up by Texas herself, and, since she was under the protection of the army and navy, he ordered General Taylor to her territory immediately, saying to him that he would regard as an act of war any assembling of the Mexican Army on the borders of Texas or the crossing of the Rio Grande by that army. On May 4, 1846, President Polk received a dispatch from General Taylor giving an

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account of the killing of sixteen American dragoons on the east bank of the Rio Grande by Mexican soldiers. On May 11 war was declared.

After the actual beginning of war Polk did make up his mind to acquire New Mexico and California. There were claims of indemnity against Mexico which she could pay in no way except by the ceding of territory, but the President showed that he was willing to pay an additional sum by authorizing John Slidell, whom he sent as minister to Mexico, but whom the Mexican government refused to receive, to offer twenty millions or even forty millions for the territory, provided it could be procured for no less.

Perhaps no war President ever had a more difficult time than this one. Politics had permeated the army. The generals in command were Whigs, the President a Democrat. They accused him of political preferment in making appointments; he accused them of seeking the Presidential nomination and of neglecting their military duties. It is quite likely that both General Scott and General Taylor did have Presidential aspirations. The enthusiastic majorities of General Jackson and General Harrison made it seem quite possible for a successful military man to be a successful candidate for the Presidency. In any event President Polk felt that all through the war General Scott and General Taylor were much more intent on criticizing the administration and promoting their own political aspirations than they were in winning the war. There are many facts to justify the accusation.

Soon after Scott's appointment as commander-in-chief, in May, he announced, without consulting the War Department, that he would not leave for Mexico until September. When Polk, through the Secretary of War, ordered him to proceed at once, he replied with an insulting and vainglorious letter which showed his utter lack of respect for the administration. When the false report of Polk's death reached Taylor on the Rio Grande he said he was glad to hear it. While in New Orleans, on his way to Vera Cruz, Scott with his usual vanity, revealed all the plan of campaign to the newspapers. At about the same time Taylor, chagrined over a reproof, wrote to a friend criticizing the administration and revealing his plan of campaign in a long letter the friend had published in a New York paper.

From the beginning Polk did not think well of Scott. He considered him visionary, unsuited to command and his opinions of little worth. He looked with more favor on Taylor, but Taylor was suspicious of the administration, and when congratulations for victories won did not come

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fast enough he fell to grumbling and criticizing. When the President, not being familiar with the topography of the country, asked for advice and suggestion, and Taylor, afraid of being misunderstood refused to give them, there was nothing for the President to think except that he was incompetent and lacking in initiative.

All through the prosecution of the war Congress gave Polk trouble calling the war the "President's War," questioning him severely on irrelevant matters, criticizing his methods, demanding all kinds of impossible things, refusing appropriations, and delaying measures for the concluding of the war.

No wonder Polk cries out from the pages of his diary, "I am in the unenviable position of being held responsible for the conduct of the Mexican War when I have no support either from Congress or from the two officers in command. How long this state of affairs will continue I cannot foresee."

On January 3, 1848, by a vote of 85 to 81, the House of Representatives declared that the war had been "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States." Among the number voting with the eighty-five was Abraham Lincoln. It is a matter of wonder whether he remembered the resolution and regretted it when the storms of criticisms beat about his own head twelve years later. There was no excuse for such a vote against the President for, although he was firm and determined to annex Texas, he was no less energetic in trying to settle matters peacefully with Mexico and in deterring her government from hostile movements both before and after actual hostilities had begun.

Being a master politician, Polk tried all the means he had to win the war by psychological strategy. Before the war began, he sent a confidential agent both to Mexico and California to gather information that would be helpful; he appointed Catholic priests to attend the army as chaplains to assure the Mexican clergy and the Mexican people of America's friendship; he had General Taylor distribute among the Mexican people a proclamation printed in Spanish assuring the people of religious freedom and kindly treatment from the American Army; he also ordered General Taylor to send officers to headquarters of the enemy for military purposes, real and ostensible, where they were to say the American people preferred to negotiate rather than fight; he allowed Santa Anna to pass the lines of the American Army and get back into Mexico because he had promised an early peace if he were but allowed to pass; he sent a peace commissioner to travel with the army vested with the power to make peace if the

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circumstances should arise. But not one of these political maneuverings was effective in bringing about peace. On the contrary, the peace commissioner, N. P. Trist, sent to attend the army, probably caused more trouble than any other one person in the whole army. He assumed powers never given to him, he quarreled with the generals, he defied and insulted the Secretary of War and the President, he refused to leave headquarters after he was discharged and remained there after the President ordered him forcibly removed, and he finally made the peace when the Mexicans were ready to negotiate. The President accepted the transaction because it was exactly along the lines he had originally specified and he was too sensible a man to refuse to accept the treaty simply because it had been made by a man not in authority.

The burdens of the administration were by no means over with the cessation of the war. It is said on competent authority that the Democratic party under the lead of Polk achieved two notable victories, the successful termination of the war with Mexico and the passage of the Walker tariff bill along the lines of Democratic policies as laid down in the platform of 1800. The Walker tariff was the practical crystallization of the general views which the Democratic party then held on the subject of raising revenue by imposts on imports and was an eminently successful one. The years that followed until the Civil War were the most prosperous our country had enjoyed up to that time. Notwithstanding the moderate duties, manufacturing industries grew; the manufacture of cotton goods advanced steadily, very nearly doubling its consumption of raw material, the increase in woolen goods was no less striking; in iron the growth was less marked, but there was an increase; and in miscellaneous manufactures there was a steady advance. Yet President Polk spent many anxious hours over the passage of this bill. He had a very small majority in Congress and this majority, conscious of its powers, constantly vacillated back and forth between its own party and the Whigs until Polk came to believe that they had not a particle of faithfulness to principles in them. For the passage of the Walker tariff he was compelled to use all the maneuvering, the manipulation, and the influence in his power.

During all of Polk's administration office-seekers and beggars were numerous and persistent. In those days annoying individuals addressed their pleas to the President in person. It was an unwritten law of democracy that he be available to the people whenever they wished to see him. There was no army of door-keepers, secret service men and secretaries as

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there are today to protect the President from the public and would-be-assassin. It was fifteen years or more before a President was assassinated and no need for protection was felt necessary, for although attempts had been made on Jackson's life these were regarded as attacks on the man rather than the President. President Polk had a private secretary to help him with his mail and a porter who attended to his other needs. Other than these he had no attendants. The President usually rose very early, shaved himself, took his morning walk at sunrise alone around the square, worked at his desk, had breakfast at nine, met with his cabinet and at twelve received visitors, then worked at his desk again, dined at four, worked at his desk, took another walk around the square at twilight, saw callers in parlor or worked at his desk in the evening. The visitors at twelve were numerous—men and women begging money for churches and schools, well-dressed people asking for money to educate their sons and daughters, women with babies in their arms, namesakes of the President, demanding gifts, men seeking minor appointments, and plain beggars. As late as 1848, when his term of office was almost over, an entry in the diary says these office-seekers and vagrants were as numerous as ever. One writer says that Polk was kind and patient with them, but he says they tried his patience sorely and that he learned the only way to rid himself of them was to treat them harshly. One day a man named Emanuel Fisher, who had repeatedly called on the President to ask an appointment as keeper of a lighthouse and had been told each time that the Secretary of the Treasury had these appointments, came in, and when the President told him he would not interfere in his behalf, became profane and insolent and had to be removed from the room by force. One office-seeker gave Judge Mason his papers of recommendation to give to the President. No particular office was specified and when the President asked what office the man wanted Judge Mason replied, "Well, I asked him. He said he wasn't particularly qualified for any, but he thought he'd be good at treaty making and as he understood there were some to be made he'd like to be a minister abroad." "This is about as reasonable as many others that were made," Polk makes entry in the diary.

He was no less annoyed by office-seekers than by members of Congress petitioning for offices for their friends and members of their families. "The passion for office among members of Congress is very great, if not almost disreputable. It greatly embarrasses the operations of government. They create offices by their votes and then seek to fill them themselves. Under such circumstances I shall always refuse to appoint

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them, even if I incur their great displeasure. I am aware that by refusing application I may reduce my administration to a minority in both Houses of Congress, but if such be the result, I shall have the satisfaction of having discharged my duty in resisting selfishness of members who are willing to abandon duty to provide places for themselves. The selfishness of these men who make their public duties bend to their personal interest proves at least that they are no better or purer than the mass of other men. I can usually trace attacks upon me in the House, to pique against me for having refused the attackers some office," he says in the diary.

His troubles with patronage went further. There were instances when men would come to him with recommendation from a Senator for a certain office, and while he would be in the act of reading it the porter would hand him a communication from the same Senator requesting him not to appoint the applicant. And there were several occasions during his administration when names were sent to the Senate for confirmation, that the Senators who had asked for these appointments voted against them. President Polk had at one time fully made up his mind to write an exposé of the situation when he should retire from the Presidency, "his health permitting." Unfortunately, it did not permit. He did not live to consummate the exposé. "Two evenings a week," he writes, "there is company in the parlour." The President liked these evenings because they were rather pleasant and because they left him free to do his work on other evenings. He very seldom mentions anyone in particular who was present, although he does speak of the granddaughter of John Quincy Adams, who came in one night in the last days of his administration. It was the first time that a member of that family had been near the White House during the time that the Polks had lived there, for the doughty old ex-President had thought liberty enslaved with Texas annexation and Polk's election. At one time President Polk had expressed his willingness to invite ex-President Adams to dine and had asked Mr. Bancroft, a member of his cabinet, to intimate his disposition to ex-President Adams. When Bancroft approached the matter to Mr. Adams he replied very pepperily that General Jackson had sent him a similar commission which he had declined. Mr. Adams then continued that he was for the President in the Oregon question and intended saying so in the House, but that President Polk had referred to him in an uncomplimentary manner in the annexation of Texas matter and he would have to make an explanation and apology to him for that before he would dine with him. To which Polk replied to Mr. Bancroft's message, "It is a mat-

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ter of no consequence whether Mr. Adams dines with me or not," and let the matter drop. He was happier in his single instance of hospitality to Clay. On the night that the Great Compromiser dined at the White House the President invited an equal number from both parties, and records in the diary the next day that "all had a delightful time." Clay charmed wherever he went. Apropos of this dinner party a public journal published the following anecdote:

Shortly before his departure from the Capitol, Mr. Clay attended a dinner party, with many other distinguished gentlemen from both political parties, at the President's house. The party is said to have been a very pleasant affair, the viands were choice, good feeling abounded, and wit and repartee gave zest to the occasion, while Mrs. Polk, the winning and accomplished hostess, added the finishing touches of her excellent housewifery in the superior management of the feast. Mr. Clay, of course, was honored with a seat near the President's lady, where it became him to put in requisition those insinuating talents which he possessed in so eminent a degree and which are irresistible even to his enemies. Mrs. Polk, with her usual frank and affable manner, was extremely courteous to her distinguished guest, whose good opinion, as of all who share the hospitalities of the White House, she did not fail to win.

"Madam," said Mr. Clay, in that bland manner peculiar to himself, "I must say that in my travels, wherever I have been, in all companies and among all parties, I have heard but one opinion of you. All agree in commending, in the highest terms, your excellent administration of the domestic affairs of the White House. But," continued he, directing her attention to her husband, "as for that young man there, I cannot say as much. There is," he said, "some little difference of opinion in regard to the policy of his course."

"Indeed," said Mrs. Polk, "I am glad to hear that my administration is popular. And in return for your compliment I will say that if the country should elect a Whig next Fall I know of no one whose elevation would please me more than that of Henry Clay."

"Thank you, thank you, Madam."

"And I will assure you of one thing," Mrs. Polk continued, "if you do have occasion to occupy the White House on the fourth of March next, it shall be surrendered to you in perfect order, from garret to cellar."

In making note of another dinner party President Polk says that Mrs. Alexander Hamilton was there and that he "waited on her at table." "She is a most remarkable person. At eighty-eight she retains her intellect and memory perfectly and my conversation with her was highly interesting," he says. This was a long comment, for the entries about social

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affairs usually ran "Thirty people for dinner," "Fifty people dined at the President's house."

President Polk's personal pleasures were fewer than his social activities. Besides his walks at sunrise and at twilight around the square his other pleasures consisted of a horseback ride every six months or more, and once in a great while an outing with friends in the carriage. On one occasion a musician entertained in the parlors, but the President had to be sent for several times before he came and then he says he did not enjoy it because his mind was on weightier things. He went down to Mount Vernon to visit Washington's tomb and once or twice to Alexandria to see his nephew, Marshall T. Polk, who was in school there. He had two short vacations during his term of office. He became so ill from overwork that it was decided he should go down to Fortress Monroe for three or four days. He was seasick on the way down and when he reached the fort, weakened by his long labors and his recent indisposition, he was indeed ready for rest and quiet. But the people of Norfolk were importunate that he must be entertained. He told them he could give them half an hour, but no more, as he must have rest. When he reached the town they had him walk half a mile on a terrifically hot day to the hotel, where he shook hands with the people for an hour and a half and then, at their insistence, dined, after which they had him walk back through the streets because it was "Democratic." By the time he reached Fortress Monroe he was desperately ill and had to retire to his bed, but the people at Fortress Monroe, wanting to do something for him, serenaded him with a brass band and gave a display of fireworks. As a consequence he went back to Washington feeling much worse than when he left. The other vacation could hardly be called that because it was taken for political purposes. As the trip through Maine seemed expedient for the party, he went. The diary at that time is simply an array of dates, "Arrived in Baltimore," "Arrived in New York," "Arrived in Boston." Not a word is written about whom he met, what they said or what he saw. As a vacationer he seems to have been a failure.

President Polk was exceedingly attentive to his religious duties. Only when illness prevented was he absent from church, always attending the Presbyterian, because that was Mrs. Polk's choice, in spite of the fact that he "leaned to the Methodists," but he never joined any church until he was on his death bed. At that time his aged mother came from Columbia with her pastor, hoping he would join the Presbyterian church, but as he had promised Reverend McFerren, of the Methodist church,

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that when he was ready for baptism he should perform the ceremony, he refused her request and it was as a Methodist that he spent his last hours on earth. That was a time of adherence to creeds and dogmas rather than one of independent thinking along religious lines. People believed in the interference of God in personal affairs. Polk always believed that the sudden death of Senator Barrow, which occurred while he was arranging a duel, was the hand of God smiting him for his part in doing a wrong. When his little niece, Sarah Knox Walker, fell desperately ill, it was the President who insisted that she be baptized in the faith before it was too late. He never received guests of any kind or did any work on the Sabbath.

Honesty and integrity were essentially a part of him; particularly was he anxious to be under no obligation to anyone while he was President. Shortly after his inauguration a friend sent him a fine saddle horse which he promptly returned. An acquaintance sent him a case of wine; he asked his secretary to ask him for a bill and if he did not send one to ask him to come and get the wine. He would not accept anything more than a book or a cane. The same rule applied to Mrs. Polk and his nephew, Marshall T. Polk. When the Indian tribes brought Mrs. Polk gifts she gave them others of equal value. During his term of office he bought some United States bonds for Marshall Polk with money from the boy's estate. After thinking the matter over he decided that it was unethical for his nephew to own these bonds while he was President, so he sent for the broker and asked him to sell the bonds. The bonds had increased since their purchase, but the President would not accept the increase. By mutual consent he and the broker decided to give it to an orphans' home.

James K. Polk's chief activity, if not his sole aim in life, was work, not particularly work for a purpose, but to get the business in hand done and done well. He wanted to do what he had to do, what had come to his hand thoroughly, honestly and justly. He had no ideas of reform and he was not a constructive statesman. He was certainly ambitious, but for what purpose one cannot determine. It was not for the pomp and glory of position which was so dear to Clay's heart. Nor was it for the exercise of power. Polk was determined when he thought he was right, but there was no evidence of arrogance and love of power. He never enjoyed the office of President. He respected the position and made others respect it, but he spoke of himself as the hardest worked man in the universe and he sighed for the day of his retirement. He had none of

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the charm of Clay nor the affectionate nature of Tyler. He never had an intimate friend. He had no children to make him human and, while he speaks of Mrs. Polk with the consideration due her, he never forgets his dignity enough to speak of his love for her. Cave Johnson did more for him than any other man, but even to him there was vouchsafed no deep and abiding friendship. There were many great men of his time: John Quincy Adams, the scholar; Henry Clay, brilliant and convivial; Calhoun, a dreamer and an extremist; John Randolph, the erratic and irresponsible; Webster, the profound and spectacular; Thomas Hart Benton, a power in the Senate for thirty years; Van Buren, the polished diplomat; Jackson, lovable and irascible; but Polk was like none of them. He was more like Coolidge, silent, methodical, sphinx-like, clever in politics, a worker, an enigma, and cautious in money matters. It is said that before his inauguration he wrote to a friend in Washington asking him to engage him rooms in the Coleman Hotel for the few days previous to his occupancy of the White House. "And please make the bargain beforehand," he concludes the request. His diary, begun sometime after he was President, emphasizes his personality. If he ever enjoyed a deep intellectual and spiritual life it is not mentioned, nor is there any evidence that he read deeply. He tells reporters that he never reads the newspapers and he never quotes from the classics. In fact, he was not given to philosophizing. Only once, after the death of Senator Ashley, did he seem to ponder on the mysteries of life in his entries. "What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue," he writes. The diary in no way compares with the record kept by John Quincy Adams. The Adames were diarists who kept a record of life itself, the people about them, of the events, of the customs and habits of the times, of their own emotions and reactions. Polk's diary, a dry record of facts, came about almost accidentally.

In order to prevent misunderstanding concerning his directions to Buchanan in the Oregon matter he began the simple recording of governmental matters day by day. It was seldom ever more than that, although he made entries almost every day of his administration long after the Oregon matter was settled.

The enthusiastic demonstrations of regard that attended him on his journey back to his home in Tennessee after his administration were exceedingly gratifying to Mr. Polk. At Richmond, Virginia, he was complimented with a public reception which was given by the citizens and the Legislature which was then in session. At Wilmington, North Carolina, the people of his native State came together in crowds to welcome

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him. At Charleston, at Savannah, and at New Orleans, in fact at every place where he paused on his route, welcomes and congratulations were showered upon him.

Previous to his return he had purchased the old home of Judge Grundy, situated in the heart of Nashville, and had renamed it Polk Place. Here, surrounded by those comforts which his ample fortune allowed, he had expected to spend a number of years in ease and retirement. There was no reason to think that he should not live out his allotted time of threescore and ten years. His constitution still seemed strong, his strictly temperate life seemed to promise a continuance of health. But coming up the Mississippi from New Orleans he was seized by an attack of diarrhœa, to which he was subject at times, and reached Nashville somewhat enfeebled. In a few days, however, he was out attending to the improvement of his grounds and he was seen there every day aiding and directing the workmen, overseeing the carpenters and giving instruction to the gardeners.

"It is not a fortnight since I saw him," said one of his friends and neighbors, "on his lawn directing some men who were removing some decadent cedars. I was struck with his erect and healthful bearing and the active energy of his manner which gave promise of long life. His flowing gray locks alone made him appear beyond the middle age of life. The next day being rainy he remained within and began to arrange his large library; the labor of lifting the books from the floor and placing them on the shelves brought on fatigue, a light fever and a return of the diarrhœa. For the first three days of his illness he did not seem alarmingly ill, but the next day the fever increased and he rapidly grew worse. His brother-in-law, Doctor Hay, of Columbia, was sent for, but his efforts were also of no avail." He died on June 15, 1849, at the age of fifty-three.

Her devotion to her husband led Mrs. Polk to insist that he should be buried on the east front of their own grounds. The elaborate tomb of native marble which she had erected over the burial place was in the form of a temple with Doric columns supporting a dome-like roof. Three sides were covered with inscriptions in Mrs. Polk's own words recording the principal events of his life and his character as a citizen and statesman. Mrs. Polk lived on for many years, during which she received the most distinguished consideration. All noted visitors to Nashville were taken to pay their respects to her; the Legislature, the courts and all other bodies, convening there, invariably paid her respect. During the

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Civil War her home was guarded by both the Union and the Confederate soldiers when in occupancy of Nashville. Dying at a ripe old age she was laid beside her husband beneath the temple which she had erected. The bodies were afterwards removed to the grounds of the State Capitol.

A kindly biographer, resenting that Polk should be classed among the mediocrities of the White House, says :

By his public policy he defined, established and extended the national boundaries of our country. He placed American laws on the Pacific. His influence and counsels tended to organize our national treasury on principles of the Constitution and to apply rule of freedom to navigation, trade and industry. But he remains forgotten even though his tariff led to prosperity, and the constitutional treasury proved successful, his policy of expansion added fifty thousand square miles to the United States and gave access to the Pacific.



Development of the Plan of Washington *

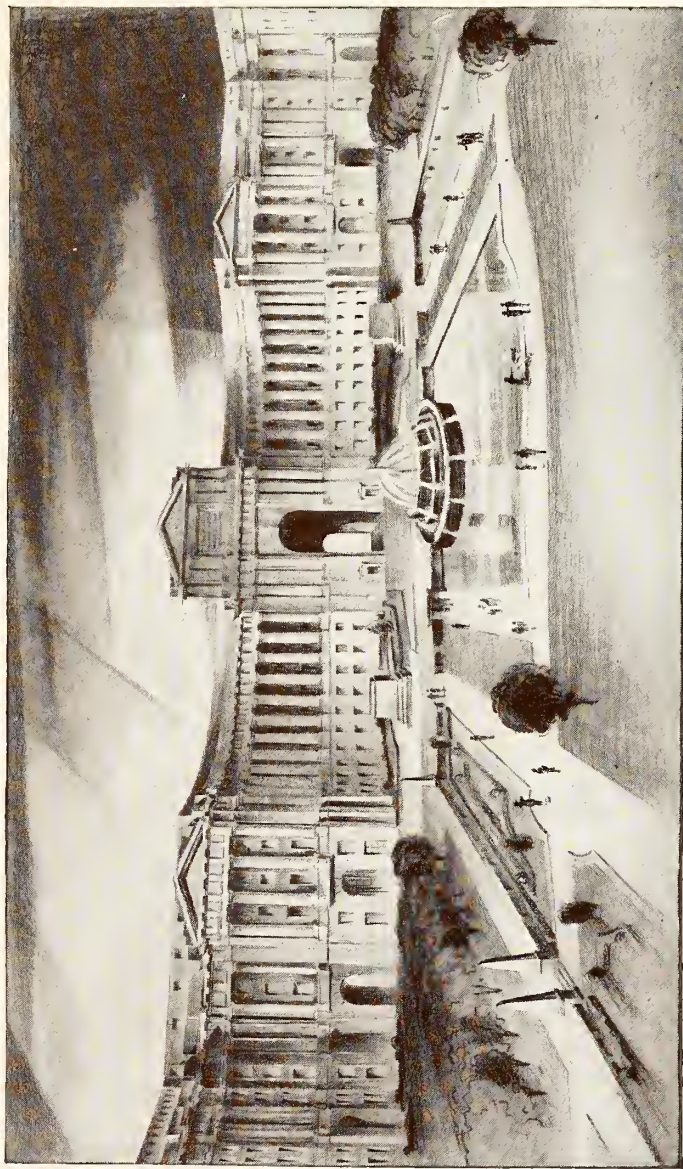
BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ULYSSES S. GRANT, 3D, WASHINGTON, D. C.



AMONG American cities Washington has unique interest not only as the Capital of the United States, but also because it was originally laid out in accordance with a well thought out plan, and this plan, revised from time to time, has been generally followed in the city's development. The selection by President Washington of Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, an officer of the Corps of Engineers, who had come to us from France on one of the ships of Beaumarchais's somewhat ephemeral "Hortalez & Co.," and had "done his bit" with credit during the Revolution, to survey the site selected for the new Federal City and make a suitable plan for it, has already been mentioned in this history. However, because he produced a plan that experience has shown to have been preëminently suited to its purpose and because in its preparation he showed a foresight and a soundness of both practical and æsthetic judgment unsurpassed as yet in that of any other city, its principal features are deserving of more detailed consideration, not only because of their purely historic interest, but also because of the lessons they teach in the art and science of city planning.

In the first place, and this is important for city planners, it is evident from Major L'Enfant's correspondence that he based his plan primarily upon the topography of the site, utilizing the accidents of the ground to their utmost for the utilitarian needs of facilitating traffic and the initial growth of the infant city, as well as for the commanding sites they offered for the public buildings of a Nation's Capital and for the park system requisite to its appropriate adornment. While he planned for a city of about 75,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, almost an excessive estimate of the probable size of the capital of a Nation that then numbered a total population of less than 4,000,000 widely scattered inhabitants; he adopted a scale that has proven adequate for the capital of nearly 120,000,000 persons, with a total capacity of approximately 1,250,000 that can comfortably be contained within the Federal District, not to mention great suburbs in the adjacent states of Maryland and Virginia.

*This article constitutes Chapter LXXXVII of "Washington, Past and Present—A History," of which John Clagett Proctor, LL. M., is editor-in-chief. This work, in four volumes, has just been published by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., by whose permission this section is here presented.—Ed.



COURT OF THE TRIANGLE

An enclosed court 500 feet wide, extending eastward approximately 900 feet with entrances at Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets, will be bounded on the west by the Department of Commerce, on the north by Governmental establishments, on the south by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Department of Labor.

*Courtesy of Woodward and Lothrop,
from "The Washington of the Future."*



DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN OF WASHINGTON

The general location of the Federal City having been fixed by Act of Congress, President Washington selected the boundaries of the District so as to include the confluence of the Eastern Branch, now generally known as the Anacostia River, with the Potomac itself, placing one of the diagonals of the square, ten miles square, on the north-south meridian and including in the southernmost angle the old township of Alexandria in Virginia. For the first development, Major L'Enfant, with the President's approval, selected the peninsula on the Maryland shore included between the two rivers. This area, roughly triangular in shape, comprised the flattest forest and farm land in the District, thus entailing a minimum cost for the initial development, and yet contained several commanding sites with easy slopes overlooking the two rivers. It included the then existing little municipality of Georgetown and the Tiber Creek, which flowed from the plateau on the north and northeast in a westerly direction into an estuary of tidal flats on the Potomac.

As may be gleaned from L'Enfant's reports and letters, he began by selecting certain commanding points for public buildings and other structures of special interest. On the basis of these selected sites, he laid out a system of north-and-south and east-and-west control lines for his system of streets. Then he connected them to one another and to points he had chosen for the main entrances to the capital with a series of oblique streets, or avenues, which provide beautiful and impressive vistas of the principal buildings and other focal points. It is of special interest to note that he had in mind especially the traffic value of these direct lines of communication between principal points. Perhaps it is best to let the major speak for himself by quoting passages from his report presented to the President on June 22, 1791, the involved and very quaint language of which will be only the more intelligible to the reader after the foregoing explanation:

My whole attention was directed to a combination of the general distribution of the several situations, an object which, being of almost immediate moment, and importance, made me sacrifice every other consideration—and here again must I solicit your indulgence, in submitting to your judgment—my ideas, and in presenting to you a first drawing, correct only as it respects the situation and distance of objects, all which were determined and well ascertained having for more accuracy had several lines run upon the ground cleared of the wood, and measured with posts fixed at certain distances to serve as bases from which I might arrange the whole with a certainty of making it fit the various parts of the ground.

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Having determined some principal points to which I wished to make the others subordinate, I made the distribution regular with every street at right angles, north and south, east and west, and afterwards opened some in different directions, as avenues to and from every principal place, wishing thereby not merely to contract with the general regularity, nor to afford a greater variety of seats with pleasant prospects, which will be obtained from the advantageous ground over which these avenues are chiefly directed, but principally to connect each part of the city, if I may so express it, by making the real distance less from place to place, by giving to them reciprocity of sight and by making them thus seemingly connected, promote a rapid settlement over the whole extent, rendering those even of the most remote parts an addition to the principal, which without the help of these, were any such settlement attempted, it would be languid, and lost in the extent, and become detrimental to the establishment. Some of these avenues were also necessary to effect the junction of several roads to a central point in the city, by making these roads shorter, which is effected (by directing them) to those leading to Bladensburg and the Eastern Branch—both of which are made above a little shorter, exclusive of the advantage of their leading immediately to the wharves at Georgetown. The hilly ground which surrounds that place, the growth of which it must impede, by inviting settlements on the city side of Rock Creek, which cannot fail soon to spread along all those avenues which will afford a variety of pleasant rides, and become the means for a rapid intercourse with all parts of the city, to which they will serve as does the main artery in the animal body, which diffuses life through the smaller vessels, and inspires vigor, and activity throughout the whole frame.

While the diagonal avenues superimposed on the usual grid system of north-south and east-west streets may seem complicated to persons from other American cities visiting Washington, they have developed even more than the traffic value that could then be foreseen, as they have proven to be adequate thoroughfares in these days when automobiles are so numerous that other cities are being forced to cut such avenues through their congested sections at costs ranging from \$4,000,000 to \$10,000,000 a mile. In addition, the impressive and inspiring views of the Capitol and other great public buildings afforded along the converging streets and avenues are one of the special and characteristic elements of the plan, while the intersections afford a multitude of less important sites for the monuments, fountains, and other decorative features that appropriately seek recognition in the capital of a great Nation. These intersections were given the form of rectangles or circles, anticipating the devices of the present day to obtain gyratory traffic where more than two streets

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intersect in one place, and so again providing for a volume of automobile traffic which L'Enfant could, of course, not have foreseen.

Perhaps the most unusual feature of L'Enfant's plan is that he proposed to build his city about two great parks as its coördinate axes, whereas most cities have grown up about a central business street. Having selected a hill near the center for the "House of Congress" and another nearer the Potomac for the "President's House" and executive offices, he proposed a broad bank of park and gardens going directly south from the latter to the river and a great avenue, with several hundred feet of park on both sides of it, going west from the former; where they met he proposed a monument to General Washington. The tributaries of Tiber Creek from Capitol Hill were to be collected and run down in cascades over the west face of the hill, so that the falls would have been visible all along the Mall Avenue, and the creek itself was to be canalized and restricted to a channel along the northern edge of this Mall Park. The tidewater flats of the Tiber estuary, most unsuited for buildings, were thus to be reclaimed and built up into a park system joining the seats of the Chief Executive and of the legislative branch, which would afford unusual opportunities for dignified treatment at the same time that it preserved against interference by new buildings the commanding views of the river from these two principal groups and provided ample park space for recreational purposes.

A central business street was provided by an avenue directly joining the Capitol with the "President's House" along the diagonal of the right triangle. This street was named Pennsylvania Avenue, for the State in which the Federal Government had had its seat for so many years, and would have preserved the direct vista between the Capitol and the White House had not a wing of the Treasury Building been interposed by later builders. Under the circumstances it is somewhat surprising to find that the White House was not built in the center of Pennsylvania Avenue extended, but on the north side of it. Indeed it appears that Major L'Enfant intended the White House to be centered in this avenue, but he expected it to be square in plan and marked the center of the north doorway by a stake. Then Hoban's plans were accepted for the White House, proposing a rectangular building, long and narrow. After considerable discussion, the commissioners and President Washington decided to build it with the center of the main north entrance on L'Enfant's stake, so that the south front extended only a little way into the avenue.

Much has been said and written to show whence L'Enfant drew his

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ideas and to contest the originality of his plan. It was almost inevitable that many of its main features should have assumed geometrical shapes that had been found useful elsewhere and that the whole should show the influence of the surroundings in which he was raised. However, from his reports and correspondence it seems evident that he worked his plan out, as explained above, to fit the ground and to develop the full possibilities of the local topography, without any preconceived notions other than certain principles for the combination of utility and beauty requisite to a great Nation's capital. "L'Enfant claimed complete originality for his plan, and he is justified. No other person gave him substantial aid in the design and he did not get his ideas from the city plans supplied by Jefferson. As a Frenchman, however, he had inherited the great tradition in city building. . . . The cardinal features of L'Enfant's plan—the long vista from one focal point to another, the radiating avenues, and especially the conception of the whole city as a well-articulated unity—these ideas and ideals were already realized in Versailles, planned as the capital of France, the city in which L'Enfant's early years were spent."¹

L'Enfant himself foresaw that "the means now within the power of the country are not such as to pursue the design to any great extent" and so he drew up his plan "on such a scale as to leave room for the aggrandisement and embellishment which the increase of the wealth of the Nation will permit it to pursue at any period however remote."² Indeed, for nearly three-quarters of a century the infant capital did not grow up to its plan and presented the ludicrous spectacle of a small child parading in its parent's clothes. L'Enfant himself resigned in February, 1792, because of a misunderstanding with the commissioners charged with the laying out and government of the new city, because he felt they did not support him in his efforts to prevent the encroachment of a private building on one of the public streets in the plan. However, he had already obtained their approval and the President's to his plan after making a few modifications and changes suggested from various sources. It, therefore, remained for Major Andrew Ellicott, who had been selected as surveyor, and was later to be Surveyor-General of the United States, to lay out the city in accordance with the approved plan and to supervise the engraving and publication of the master plan³ according to which lots were to be sold.

Congress had made no appropriation of funds to carry on the work

1. Charles Moore, Chairman, National Commission of Fine Arts, in "L'Enfant and Washington." Institut Francais de Washington, 1929.

2. Letter of September 11, 1789, to President Washington.

3. The Ellicott Plan, published by Thakara & Vallance in 1792 in Philadelphia.

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assigned to the original commission under the Act of July 16, 1790, for which commission President Washington selected Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, and Dr. David Stuart, of Virginia. But Maryland and Virginia, in ceding to the Federal Government jurisdiction over their shares of the land needed to be included in the new district, appropriated \$72,000 and \$120,000, respectively. Washington then entered into an agreement with the then private owners of the land, nineteen in number,⁴ for the dedication of streets without cost to the Government and for the acquisition of the additional land, needed for public buildings and other governmental purposes, at a cost of \$66.67 an acre. It is interesting to note that Washington foresaw the need in a Capital City for public control over private building developments and secured the inclusion of the following item in this initial agreement: "And that the conveyance of lots to any purchasers should be 'on such conditions as thought reasonable by the President for regulating the materials and manner of the buildings and improvements generally in the said city, or in particular streets or parts thereof for convenience, safety, and order.'"

When President John Adams moved the Federal Government to the new city in the spring of 1800, only one wing of the Capitol, designed by Dr. William Thornton, the Treasury Building and the White House were built, the interior of the latter habitable, but far from complete. A very few private houses had been built or begun and speculation in city lots had started. Indeed, the commission itself had been forced to have recourse to various shifts to get its work along even this far, including the sale of lots acquired at the basic acreage price.

From the first, President Jefferson had taken great interest in the capital, and during his administration good progress was made in its development. The Capitol was completed all except the dome, the east and west terraces were added to the White House, and some pretense to dignity was given Pennsylvania Avenue by lining it with a double row of poplars on each side. However, he signed a bill in 1802 superseding the commission by a municipal government having the usual composition of elected mayor, council and board of aldermen. Georgetown was left independent of and outside this municipality, and other communities that subsequently grew up outside the limits of the L'Enfant plan were also

4. The complete list: Robert Peter, David Burnes, James M. Ligan, Uriah Forest, Benjamin Stoddert, Notley Young, Daniel Carroll of Duddington, Overton Carr, Thomas Beal of Georgia, Charles Beatty, Anthony Holmead, William Young, Edward Pierce, Abraham Young, James Peirce, William Prout, Robert Peter as attorney in fact for Eliphas Douglass, Benjamin Stoddert for John Waring, and William King.

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allowed to retain political independence, even though within the limits of the District of Columbia.

With this change the Nation's interest in the National Capital as such became dormant, and its development was left largely to the municipal authorities. Congress exercised its prerogative under Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution only on rare occasions, usually in connection with railroad and street car franchises, and its contributions to the cost of building the city were generally limited to the cost of the public buildings needed for its own use, with such unimportant exceptions as an appropriation once of \$100 for replanting the trees on Pennsylvania Avenue when Jefferson's short-lived poplars had disappeared.

Architecturally the public buildings of this period were a valuable and important contribution, but only too often they were allowed to intrude upon important features of the city plan. Thus the Patent Office Building (1848) has a portico which denies to traffic one-third of the city's busiest shopping street, and the Treasury was so located (1837) that when completed its south wing blocks the view between the Capitol and the White House and enhances the traffic problem at one of the city's most congested corners. In 1822 President Madison allowed himself to be persuaded to suspend the regulations which Washington had imposed upon private building operations under the original agreement, and since then Congress has authorized building regulations based solely on considerations of safety.

For years members of Congress and other officials did not establish a permanent residence in Washington, but habitually lived at hotels and in boarding houses when their official duties required their presence. The regular population remained small until the Civil War, and the resources of the municipality were entirely inadequate to pay for streets and other public works on the scale called for by Major L'Enfant's plan.

The latter made ample provision for city parks, but little or nothing was done to improve them. The Jackson Monument was built in Lafayette Park (1853) and Clark Mills's equestrian statue of Washington was placed in Washington Circle. Some improvements were attempted (1853) in Garfield Park, and the Smithsonian grounds in the Mall were improved (1853) when the building was built, but in accordance with the landscape plan of Andrew Jackson Downing, entirely disregarding and contrary to the treatment proposed by L'Enfant for this area.

The Washington Monument was started in 1848 on a natural elevation some 123 feet south and 370 feet east of the site selected by Major

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L'Enfant, so that it is distinctly to one side of the north-south axis of the White House Park and the axis of the Mall has had to be deflected slightly to the south in the revised plan for its development. The people living within the District of Columbia on the south bank of the Potomac found themselves paying urban taxes and yet outside the benefits of the few urban improvements, schools and streets, that had been carried out, and also without a vote or representation in national affairs; so in 1846 (approved July 9) they secured an Act of Congress re-ceding this area to the State of Virginia in which it now constitutes Arlington County and the municipality of Alexandria, although the act gives as the only reason for retrocession: "Whereas, no more territory ought to be held under the exclusive legislation given to Congress over the District which is the seat of the General Government than may be necessary and proper for the purposes of such seat; and, whereas, experience hath shown that the portion of the District of Columbia ceded to the United States by the State of Virginia has not been, nor is ever likely to be, necessary for that purpose;"

The retention or the conquest of administrative powers in the municipality became the chief object of local politics and absorbed the energies of the political leaders, although the need for municipal improvements became one of the chief issues of all political campaigns and retained its importance as such during the first six decades of the nineteenth century without, however, leading to any material accomplishment. When the Civil War brought to the city large numbers of troops and civilian visitors from all over the country, they were surprised to see the shortcomings of the National Capital as compared with other cities. Doubtless, the interest aroused throughout the land in this way and the recollection carried away by so many widely scattered persons helped to secure favorable consideration by Congress of the legislation of 1871.

The great increase in the city's population during and after the Civil War emphasized its shortcomings and made them irksome. Besides, some new building projects provided suitable homes for a few members of Congress, whose example of setting up a more permanent residence in the city was followed by many more, and they were all dissatisfied with the local conditions and insistent upon their improvement. What these conditions were was widely reported and discussed.

The necessity for repaving Pennsylvania Avenue had been discussed for twenty years. An English visitor had the following to say about Washington streets: "The number of private carriages is very few and

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people are afraid of buying good horses to be mired by the rut tracks which serve the purpose of streets in Washington."

The Federal Government for the supply of its buildings had caused the construction of an aqueduct to bring water from the Great Falls of the Potomac, but private homes were still dependent upon local springs for their water. Only a very few blocks were lighted at night. There was no general system of sewage disposal. The canalization of the Tiber, such an essential part of L'Enfant's plan, had never been attempted and the stream had become obnoxious as an open sewer, while along its banks runaway slaves, improvident freedmen, other slum dwellers and even criminals had gathered to eke out their precarious existence, so that its northern shore obtained an unsavory reputation and earned the name of "Murder Bay." Indeed, the city was notorious for its disorderly characters, its saloons, and its blatantly operated gambling houses.

The parks were but barren, unkempt commons. It was found necessary to protect the two or three, the improvement of which had been attempted, by fences against the inroads of the hogs, goats, sheep and cattle that roamed the streets. The animals had become so numerous that they were mentioned by Senator Edmunds in a speech before the Senate, and were recognized as a nuisance sufficient to be made the object of action by the Board of Health in 1871. It is characteristic of the impotence of the town government that the Board of Health was forced to rescind its order.

The condition of the parks and unimproved public land, indeed, was the first evil to be the subject of effective legislation by Congress, and the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act, approved March 2, 1867, contained an item removing them from the jurisdiction of the municipality and placing them directly under the chief of engineers of the army. From this act may be said definitely to date the improvement and extension of the city's park system, and it was reaffirmed and enlarged upon by the Act of July 1, 1898, which more specifically defined the park areas and the jurisdiction of the chief of engineers.

However, this was not enough, a National Capital had to be built and evidently could not be built without a change of government and a contribution of Federal funds from Congress, if obtainable. The citizens themselves realized this, and with the help of President Grant a bill was passed and approved February 21, 1871, doing away with the city government and setting up a Federal territorial government for the entire District of Columbia, with a Governor, Secretary, Board of Public Works

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and Council appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and a Representative in Congress and a Territorial Legislature elected by the people.

Mr. Henry D. Cooke, a banker, was selected as Governor, and Mr. Alexander H. Shepherd, who starting as a plumber had become a very enterprising, influential and successful builder and who had suggested the type of government that was actually adopted, was appointed chairman of the Board of Public Works. General Norton P. Chipman was appointed Secretary, but on his election to represent the District in Congress, he was succeeded by Mr. Edward L. Stanton, son of President Lincoln's Secretary of War. The other members of this board were: Mr. A. B. Mullett, the supervising architect of the treasury; S. B. Brown, who had been a government contractor during the war; James A. Magruder, an engineer; all citizens of high standing, but too progressive not to have incurred the enmity of those ultra conservative "cave dwellers" who had until then retained the affairs of the municipality in their hands for so long. But Mr. Shepherd was not the kind to be stopped by such opposition and, as he afterwards told the Investigating Committee of Congress, "The Board of Public Works when they entered upon their duties concluded that it had been created for something or nothing, and if for anything, it was to devise and carry out as rapidly as possible some system of improvements, in order that in this respect the capital of the Nation might not remain a quarter of a century behind the times."

The President had acted promptly and within three months, by June 1, 1871, the new government was organized and inaugurated. Mr. Shepherd soon proved to be the dominating personality of the Territorial Government, and was naturally selected as Governor to succeed Mr. Cooke, when the panic of 1873 necessitated the latter's resignation to attend to his banking firm's business.

It is not the part of this paper to tell the political story of the Territorial Government, but only to enumerate its great accomplishments in building the National Capital and benefits that resulted immediately therefrom. In truth the amount of work done in three short years was phenomenal, especially in the face of the bitter and well organized opposition it had to overcome from the very start: The street improvements appear to have comprised $28\frac{1}{3}$ miles paved with concrete and $58\frac{1}{2}$ of wood, and 93 miles otherwise improved in Belgian blocks, cobble and macadam, in all 180 miles of road; 208 miles of new sidewalks and 154 miles of curbstone set; the grading alone amounted to 3,340,000 cu. yds.;

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6,000 trees were set out during the two years of great activity; connections by two new mains were made with the terminal reservoir of the new government aqueduct and a water distributing system installed, a most essential feature of healthful urban life which had been neglected until then. In all some 30 miles of water mains and 133 miles of smaller distributing lines were laid. The gas company was prevailed upon to undertake a more adequate lighting of the streets, which until then had remained in darkness with rare exceptions, and by 1873 some 3,000 new lights had been installed.

The fear that the urban improvements proposed would cost more than could be paid for from the city's resources and would burden property owners with an intolerable weight of taxes, the same fear that had from year to year prevented the work being done in the past, impelled the administration's enemies to organize their resistance as early as 1872. When due process of law failed to stop the work, when the necessary credits were voted by the people and Congress authorized the loans required, the opposition had recourse to Congressional investigation—a method which proved practically effective in stopping further helpful legislation while the investigating committee was in session, although no accusation of malfeasance could be substantiated or proven against the Territorial Government. The most that could be said was that in his haste to secure results "Boss" Shepherd had acted arbitrarily and informally, and that his fellow-members of the Board of Works had too readily delegated their authority to him.

Of course, so much work did cost a great deal, and the normal cost was increased by the interference by injunction which forced recourse to temporary short time loans to make cash payments and to tide over unexpected delay in collecting assessments for benefits, while the Congressional investigation and the 1873 panic so disturbed public confidence that at the end the city's securities could only be disposed of at a large discount. Certain it is, that the bitter opposition when carried to Congress, with its manifold accusations, even though the latter could not be proven before the investigating committee, destroyed the well founded hope the Territorial Government had entertained of a contribution from the United States Treasury towards the building of the National Capital, outside of an appropriation of three and a quarter million dollars for the improvements in front of public property.

The investigating committee of 1874 found that the city's debt, including \$3,500,000 inherited from the old municipality, had risen to about

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\$12,000,000. The opposition alleged that there was another \$11,000,000 pledged in the floating debt, but the exact amount of this was not established. The economic justification for these expenditures is found in the immediate results: The city's population increased nearly seventy-five per cent., from 103,000 in 1870, to 177,624 in 1880, an increase that would have been impossible without the new streets, water supply, sewers, etc.; in spite of the 1873 panic the value of property increased sixty-five per cent. in five years, from \$58,639,000 in 1869, to \$96,433,000 in 1874. Even without help from the United States Treasury the debt could have been liquidated reasonably quickly from the return on the investment, but the panic-stricken opposition could not see this.

Congress apparently thought that a form of government which could obtain and expend so much in so short a time had too much authority, even though it was honest and by its efficiency had made up for half a century's neglect. So it did away with the Territorial Government and set up a commission of three, and then *adopted the policy of paying half the city's budget from the Federal Treasury*. With this help it was not hard for the commissioners in the following years to pay off the debt and reduce taxation to a point that aroused the envy of other cities whose higher taxed inhabitants were contributing to the Federal appropriation.

The Shepherd régime, effective as it was, had to concern itself with immediate utilitarian needs. Except for the removal of a hilltop that cut off the view from the Capitol to the southeast, and the appointment of a Parking Committee, which began the systematic planting of street trees, it attempted little in the way of beautification. The sad state of architecture at that time prevented the new Department of Agriculture Building, the State, War and Navy Building, and the Pension Office from having decorative value, but these buildings were started by the same impetus for action, for results, and were quickly followed by the completion of the Washington Monument (1884), the Bureau of Engraving and Printing (1890), the Post Office Department (1892), and the Government Printing Office.

The purchase of the Rock Creek Valley north of Calvert Street for a great sylvan park and zoölogical garden was authorized in 1890. The filling in of the fish ponds and remaining Potomac tidal flats and their transformation into a little less than 1,000 acres of river bank park land with almost unlimited recreational potentialities was authorized in 1882.

Meanwhile the ever-increasing population sought homes in new subdivisions outside the limits of the L'Enfant plan. The sub-dividers

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arranged their streets without regard to those of the nearby city, and as the two grew towards one another the evils of this procedure made themselves felt. While these ill-planned and unrelated sub-divisions remain and today still present the most difficult problems of the city, an effort was made to stop the spread of the evil and the commissioners were instructed by Act of Congress in 1893 to prepare a complete highway plan for the entire District. In 1898 this act was amended and a highway commission, consisting of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior and the Chief of Engineers, was formed to pass on all changes to this plan that might be requested or found desirable.

The highway plan, however, referred only to streets and failed to provide for large parks or for any extension into the new areas of L'Enfant's system of small parks. L'Enfant's plan was, in fact, gathering dust in the files of the Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, while the Federal Government and the District Commissioners were industriously engaged in doing work entirely inconsistent therewith, and the city was rapidly losing that balance and harmony among its parts and that utilization of the topography for æsthetic emphasis which had been such essential features of the original plan. Under the condition that it would build a station at least the equal of that in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Railroad had been allowed to lay its tracks across the Mall and to build its terminal⁵ at Sixth and B streets, NW. But when, in order to bring the tracks in at more than one level, legislation was asked to build a high masonry viaduct across the Mall and so make L'Enfant's great park avenue from the Capitol to the Washington Monument an impossibility, the then Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, Colonel Theodore A. Bingham, got out L'Enfant's plan, and dusted it off and started a campaign for its recognition. He was able to obtain the support of the Secretary of War, Mr. Root; the ear of President Roosevelt, and the important help of Senator McMillan, chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia.

The time was propitious. The year 1900, as the centennial of the Federal City, directed the country's attention once more to its capital, and under the auspices of the American Institute of Architects, Mr. Glenn Brown published an able collection of papers by experts on the L'Enfant plan and the city's needs and possibilities. The centennial exercises added emphasis to the discussion, which in 1901 resulted in the appointment of

5. This station received some historic significance from the fact that President Garfield was assassinated in it on July 3, 1881.

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a commission of great artists, who were also city planners, to study and report to the Senate the needs of the National Capital and the best steps to be taken for its beautification: Mr. Daniel H. Burnham, presiding spirit of the Chicago World's Fair; Mr. Charles F. McKim, closely associated with him in that great adventure, and the Nation's foremost architect in the classic style; Mr. Augustus St. Gaudens, our greatest sculptor, and Mr. Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr., our foremost landscape architect; as secretary, Senator McMillan loaned his own secretary, Mr. Charles Moore, who as chairman of the National Commission of Fine Arts, has carried its principles and teachings into recent years.

The commission's report proved inspiring and carried conviction; and although its plans never received general sanction of law, one by one their main features have been adopted and there is now promise of their realization. And so, "a full century after that (L'Enfant's) plan was adopted, a commission composed entirely of artists (who were also experienced planners) was called upon to do for the entire District of Columbia what L'Enfant had done for a portion of that area. After mature study, in the light of the finest examples the world had produced, this commission reinstated the authority of the L'Enfant plan and carried it to its logical conclusions in new territory. This action reflected credit not only on the genius of L'Enfant, but also on the commission itself, which had the vision to recognize the supreme merit of the original plan and the good sense—and modesty—to build upon it.⁶

There was opposition, as was to be expected, to the commission's proposals, largely on the ground of their probable cost; but the Pennsylvania Railroad set the example, removed its station and lines from the Mall, and with the other railroads, built the new Union Station, an appropriate portal for the National Capital, through which a majority of the visitors enter and leave it.

The more important of the Government projects already adopted are: The Lincoln Memorial and reflecting pool, extending the central axis beyond the Washington Monument to the river; the Arlington Memorial Bridge, carrying this axis on to the Arlington National Cemetery and the Virginia road system; the Grant and Meade monuments as the main features of a great plaza at the east end of the Mall Avenue and the development of the latter itself; the Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway, joining these two major parks; the Anacostia Park development, comprising reclamation of the tidal flats on both sides of the Anacostia River;

6. Charles Moore, Foreword to "L'Enfant and Washington."

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN OF WASHINGTON

some parts of the Fort Drive, a parkway joining the Civil War forts around the circumference of the city; and a memorial highway to Mount Vernon.

Other new projects in harmony with the general plan have also been adopted by Congress, such as a provision for a great group of buildings for the executive departments between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Mall, a new building on the Capitol Plaza for the Supreme Court, the extension of the Capitol grounds to the Union Station, a new office building for the House of Representatives south of the Capitol, a National Arboretum on and around Mount Hamilton, a civic center group of buildings for the municipal government on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue grouped about John Marshall Place.

In 1910 there was established by law a new commission, the Commission of Fine Arts, to pass on monuments and government buildings in Washington and otherwise advise the Government in matters of taste and æsthetics. This commission, not unnaturally, became the guardian of the plan of 1901, and has not only helped materially in getting various of its projects adopted, but has also deserved the gratitude of the Nation for the bad things it has prevented.

The Officers in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, successors to Colonel Bingham, have also naturally followed the plan of 1901 as far as practicable and those of its projects which have been adopted were taken up on their initiative. Gratifying as the progress has been, it has been very inadequate. The method of seeking legislation for one project at a time, thereby lining up against it the backers of other projects as well as the enemies of the particular one under consideration, in a quarter of a century provided only an addition of twenty-four per cent. to the total park area in 1901, while the population increased seventy per cent.; so that the acquisition of park land progressed at little over one-third the rate required to keep up with the needs of the population, assuming the park area of 1901 was adequate for the then population. Worse than this, it had been extravagant, since in the same period of twenty-five years the assessed value of land in the District of Columbia increased nearly 240 per cent.—that is, ten times as fast as the park area!

As the Federal authorities had set an example by giving Washington an excellent plan, and by the adoption of the commission form of government, so they were also prompt to recognize the importance of zoning, and the city has now enjoyed the advantage of a good zoning law well

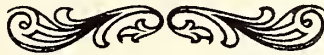
DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN OF WASHINGTON

administered for over six years. In many ways the benefits are already beginning to make themselves felt and are noticeable.

But zoning is only a preventative against harmful or improper growth. The highway plan was adopted in the days of animal transportation and was found to require quite thorough revision to meet the requirements and take advantage of the change to automobile transportation and the latest developments of city planning. It had never been reconciled with the plan of 1901, and many features of the latter itself had become impracticable because of expensive building developments inconsistent therewith. The rapid increase in population since the World War had started new sub-divisions outside of the District limits, requiring planning and control to fit them into a proper regional plan. Recognition of these needs brought about the formation of the National Capital Park Commission in 1924, and its evolution into the National Capital Park and Planning Commission in 1926. To supplement it in its efforts for a sound regional plan, the states of Virginia and Maryland have set up commissions to coöperate with it.

Thus many of the dreams for the National Capital have come true in recent years, and there is immediate prospect that still others will be realized in the near future. The establishment of a permanent planning commission, counting in its membership four of the country's foremost city planners, gives promise that future developments will be in harmony with the established general plan, and that revision of the latter required to meet unforeseen demands will be made only after careful study and that incongruous changes will not be permitted, so that the wish of President Coolidge will be fulfilled:

. . . . If our country wishes to compete with others, let it not be in the support of armaments but in the making of a beautiful Capital City. Let it express the soul of America. Whenever an American is at the seat of his Government, however traveled and cultured he may be, he ought to find a city of stately proportions, symmetrically laid out and adorned with the best that there is in architecture, which would arouse his imagination and stir his patriotic pride. . . .



The Form of Government of the District of Columbia *

BY DANIEL E. GARGES, SECRETARY, BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS,
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA



SECTION 8, Article I, of the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall exercise exclusive legislation over such district (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States.

The states of Maryland and Virginia made the cession contemplated by this clause in the year 1788, and it was accepted by Congress. The original District of Columbia was ten miles square, lying on either side of the Potomac River at the head of navigation. Later, Congress retroceded to Virginia that portion of the District of Columbia lying in that State. The District now contains seventy square miles on the Maryland side of the Potomac River.

When the District of Columbia was selected as the Capital, the land therein was owned by a number of people, and they deeded their land to two trustees to lay out the streets, avenues, and public squares, and divided the rest of the land into blocks and lots. The land consisted of about 6,000 acres. In laying out the streets, 3,606 acres were taken, and about 540 acres were bought by the United States as sites for the public buildings and grounds. The lots laid out numbered 20,272. Of these the United States took half and the property owners were given back the remainder. The United States sold its share of the lots and from the proceeds paid for the 540 acres on which it was to put the public buildings. The United States also took a fee simple title to the streets and avenues. The city was laid out by Major L'Enfant, a French engineer.

The first government of the City of Washington consisted of a mayor appointed by the President of the United States and a city council elected by the people of the city. This was the year 1802. Later, in the year 1812, the city council was permitted to elect the mayor. This continued until the year 1820, when the people were permitted to elect the mayor.

*This article is from the same Washington history mentioned at foot of page 370.

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This mayor was elected for a term of two years, and this form of government continued until the year 1871.

By an Act of Congress of February 21, 1871, a territorial form of government was provided for, consisting of a governor, a board of public works, and a legislative assembly. The legislative assembly consisted of eleven members called a council, and twenty-two members called a house of delegates. The District also then had a delegate in the House of Representatives of the United States.

The governor and board of public works were appointed by the President of the United States, and the legislative assembly was elected by the people.

This form of government lasted three years, until June 20, 1874, when Congress provided that the District should be governed by three Commissioners, appointed by the President. This was known as the temporary form of government and lasted until July 1, 1878, when the present form of government was adopted.

Acting under the authority of the Constitution, the Congress, by an Act approved June 11, 1878, created the present form of government of the District of Columbia. By this act the District was created a municipal corporation with right to sue and be sued.

The act provided for the appointment of three commissioners, two of them to be selected by the President from persons residing in the District of Columbia for a period of three years preceding their appointment. The third member was to be an officer of the Engineer Corps, U. S. Army, detailed by the President, known as the Engineer Commissioner. The appointments of the civilian commissioners are for a period of three years, or until their successors are appointed. The detail of the engineer commissioner is at the pleasure of the President. This detail is usually about four years.

While the District has a municipal form of government, Congress, by various statutory enactments, has treated it as a branch of the U. S. Government, by including it in legislation applying to the executive departments, such as the Budget and Accounting Act, the Act Classifying Salaries of Federal Employees and the Act Providing for Retirement of Federal Employees.

In the Act of June 11, 1878, it was provided that the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia should be borne, fifty per cent. by the U. S. Government and fifty per cent. from revenues of the District of Columbia, raised by taxation. This method of financing remained in

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force from 1878 until 1920. In that year the proportionate expense was changed by Congress so that sixty per cent. of the expenditures was raised by taxation and forty per cent. was contributed by the Federal Government. This provision continued in force until the year 1925, when Congress determined on a lump sum contributed by the United States, of \$9,000,000 annually, the balance of the expenses to be raised by taxation.

During the present year the contribution by the United States equals about twenty-five per cent. of the total expenses.

For the efficient handling of the business of the District government the various municipal functions are divided among the commissioners as committees of one. The present members of the Board of Commissioners are Proctor L. Dougherty, president of the board, Sidney F. Taliaferro and W. B. Ladue.

Commissioner Dougherty has assigned to him the Police, Fire and Health Departments, Director of Traffic, License Bureau, Free Public Library, Coroner's Office, Office of Veterinary and Office of the Superintendent of Weights, Measures and Markets.

Commissioner Taliaferro has charge of the Legal and Financial branches, such as the Corporation Counsel's Office, Auditor, Assessor, Purchasing Officer, Collector of Taxes, Board of Accountancy, Insurance Department, Playground Department and the Board of Public Welfare.

All construction work is under the supervision of the engineer commissioner, Colonel Ladue. He has charge of the Municipal Architect's Office, Surveyor, Water Department, Electrical Department, Surface Division, Trees and Parking Division, Sewer Division, City Refuse Division, Building Inspector Division and Plumbing Inspection Division.

The heads of the various departments make recommendations to the commissioner in charge of their respective departments, and each commissioner brings these recommendations to meetings of the Board of Commissioners, which are held on Tuesdays and Fridays of each week. The Secretary to the Board of Commissioners records the action on these recommendations and acts as executive officer of the board by issuing orders and carrying on correspondence.

Not all of the municipal duties are, however, vested in the Board of Commissioners. The management of the public schools is vested in a school board of nine members appointed by the Justice of the Supreme Court, D. C. The public library, with its branches, is managed by a Board of Trustees appointed by the Board of Commissioners. The penal,

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charitable and correctional institutions are managed by a Board of Public Welfare appointed by the commissioners. The public utilities are under a Public Utilities Commission consisting of two civilians appointed by the President, and the engineer commissioner, who is a member *ex officio*. The public parks are under the jurisdiction of an army engineer officer, who is in charge of public buildings and grounds. The water supply is under another army engineer officer, designated as District engineer, but the distribution of the water is under the jurisdiction of the commissioners. The zoning of private property as to height of building, use of building, area of ground to be built upon, is handled by a zoning commission, of which the three District commissioners are members, and, in addition thereto, the architect of the Capitol, and the officer in charge of public buildings and public parks. The judges of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and of the Police, Municipal and Juvenile courts are appointed by the President of the United States, as is also the Recorder of Deeds of the District.

To advise the commissioners as to the planning of the city in laying out new and changing old highways, there has been created by Congress a National Capital Park and Planning Commission. This commission purchases all land for parks and playgrounds. The land so purchased for parks is placed under the officer in charge of public buildings and public parks, and the land for playgrounds under the commissioners.

All expenditures for municipal purposes, including the schools, parks, water supply, land purchases, etc., are appropriated for by Congress annually, based upon estimates submitted by the heads of the District Government and the other officials hereinbefore named.

These estimates are submitted by the commissioners to the Director of the Budget, a Federal official, and when approved are submitted by the President to Congress, together with the estimates of the Federal Government. Before submitting such estimates the commissioners fix upon a tax rate which they believe should not be exceeded. This tax rate is such that when applied to the taxable value of a real, personal and intangible property in the District of Columbia, will raise the funds necessary to meet the estimates of the appropriations submitted to the Director of the Budget. The present rate of taxation for real and personal property is \$1.70 per \$100, based on full value. For intangible personal property, such as money in bank, stock and bonds, etc., the rate is one-half of one per cent.

For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1928, the assessed value of land in

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the District of Columbia was \$531,211,850 and of improvements \$606,-846,055, a total of \$1,138,057,905.

The assessed value of tangible personal property for the year was \$105,653,152. The value of intangible personal property for the same year was \$495,908,396.

The budget estimates as submitted by the President to Congress must be reviewed by sub-committees of the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate, and the total amount of the appropriations fixed by Congress and approved by the President.

All legislation affecting the District of Columbia must be passed by Congress under the provisions of the Constitution. The advice of the commissioners is usually asked before such legislation is enacted.

What I have stated is but a brief outline of my subject, the Government of the District of Columbia. You will see that the District has a dual status as a municipal corporation and as a branch of the Federal Government. This situation has no parallel in any other city of the United States. The District is also unique in having no bonded debt. All of its expenses are borne from current revenues.

The residents of the District of Columbia do not enjoy the privilege or obligation of suffrage. On the question of whether the people should be allowed to vote in national elections and in local elections, there is a division of opinion. In order to grant them the franchise, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States will have to be adopted. Legislation covering this matter is pending before Congress.

Commissioners Who Laid Out the City of Washington, 1791-1802—

Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, January 22, 1791, to August 23, 1794.

Daniel Carroll, from Maryland, March 4, 1791, to May 21, 1795.

David Stuart, from Virginia, January 22, 1791, to September 12, 1794.

Gustavus Scott, from Maryland, August 23, 1794, to December 25, 1800.

William Thornton, from Pennsylvania, September 12, 1794, to July 1, 1802.

Alexander White, from Virginia, May 21, 1795, to July 1, 1802.

William Cranch, from Massachusetts, January 14, 1801, to March 3, 1801.

Tristram Dalton, from Massachusetts, March 10, 1801, to July 1, 1802.



THE NEW SUPREME COURT

This handsome new building costing about \$3,740,000, will face the east front of the Capitol, and occupies the entire square bounded on the west by First Street, on the north by A Street, on the east by Second Street, and on the south by East Capitol Street. On the main floor are the courtroom, justices' rooms, library, conference and general rooms. Completion scheduled for 1933.

*Courtesy of Woodward and Lothrop,
from "The Washington of the Future."*



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Mayors of Georgetown, 1790-1871—

Robert Peter, appointed, January 5, 1790.

Thomas Beale, of George, elected January 3, 1791.

Urich Forrest, elected January 2, 1792.

John Threlkeld, elected January 7, 1793.

Peter Casenave, elected January 6, 1794.

Thomas Turner, January 5, 1797.

Daniel Reintzel, 1796.

Lloyd Beale, 1797.

Daniel Reintzel, October 19, 1797, to January 7, 1805.

Thomas Corcoran, January 7, 1805.

Daniel Reintzel, January 6, 1806, to January 3, 1808.

Thomas Corcoran, January 4, 1808, to January 7, 1811.

Daniel Wiley, January, 1811.

Thomas Corcoran, January, 1812.

John Peter, January 4, 1813, to January 4, 1819.

Henry Foxall, January 4, 1819, to January 1, 1821.

John Peter, January 1, 1821, to January 6, 1823.

John Cox, January 6, 1823, to May 31, 1830, by election. On the latter date, by Act of Congress, he was continued in office until February 28, 1831. On March 7, 1831, he was elected, and served without break until March 3, 1845.

Henry Addison, March 3, 1845, to March 2, 1857.

Richard R. Crawford, March 2, 1857, to March 4, 1861.

Henry Addison, March 4, 1861, to March 4, 1867.

Charles D. Welch, March 4, 1867, to March 1, 1869.

Henry M. Sweeney, March 1, 1869, to May 31, 1871.

Principal Officers of the City of Washington—

Mayors of City, 1802 to 1870.

Presidents of Councils, 1802 to 1870.

Governors of District, 1871-74.

Legislative Assemblies, 1871-74.

District Commissioners (temporary), 1874-78.

District Commissioners (permanent), 1878-1928.

NOTE: The following information is taken mainly from the "Reports of the Centennial Celebration of the Establishment of the Seat of Government in the District of Columbia," pp. 291-318. Names are given as transcribed from the records, although apparently the same names are

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spelled differently in different places, while others seem to be incorrectly spelled.

First Council, 1802—Robert Brent, mayor; Thomas Herty, register; Washington Boyd, treasurer. First chamber: James Barry, president; George Blagden, Nicholas King, William Brent, A. B. Woodward, Samuel H. Smith, Thomas Peter, members. Second chamber: Daniel Carroll, president; Benjamin Moore, William Prout, James Hoban, John Hewitt; James Hewitt, secretary.

Second Council, 1803—Mayor, register and treasurer, the same. First chamber: John P. Van Ness, president. Second chamber: Daniel Carroll, president.

Third Council, 1804—No change in mayor, register and treasurer. First chamber: Samuel H. Smith, president. Second chamber: Nicholas King, president.

Fourth Council, 1805—No change in mayor, register and treasurer. First chamber: John Dempsie, president. Second chamber: Samuel Hamilton, president.

Fifth Council, 1806—Same mayor, register and treasurer. First chamber: John Dempsie, president. Second chamber: Nicholas King, president.

Sixth Council, 1807—Same mayor, register and treasurer. First chamber: Frederick May, president. Second chamber: Charles Minifie, president.

Seventh Council, 1808—Same mayor and register; Henry Whetcroft, treasurer. First chamber: George Andrews, president. Second chamber: E. B. Caldwell, president.

Eighth Council, 1809—Same mayor, register and treasurer. First chamber: Samuel N. Smallwood, president. Second chamber: Daniel Rapine, president.

Ninth Council, 1810—Same mayor and treasurer; William Hewitt, register. First chamber: Phineas Bradley, president. Second chamber: Nicholas King, president.

1811—"By reason of informality in the election no council was recognized. The officers of the preceding year continued to act."

Tenth Council, 1812—Daniel Rapine, mayor; William Hewitt, register; Henry Whetcroft, treasurer. Aldermen: Alexander McCormick, president; John Davidson, James Hoban, Peter Lenox, Andrew Way, Jr., Nicholas L. Queen, Joseph Cassin, John Davis, of Abel; William Hewitt, secretary. Common Council: George Blagden, president; Wil-

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liam Worthington, Toppan Webster, William P. Gardiner, James Hewitt, Roger C. Weightman, Thomas H. Gilliss, Edmund Law, Elexius Middleton, Matthew Wright, John Dobbyn, John W. Brashears; Pontius D. Stelle, secretary.

Eleventh Council, 1813—James H. Blake, mayor; other officers the same. Aldermen: Alexander McCormick, president. Common Council: Roger C. Weightman, president.

Twelfth Council, 1814—Same officers and presidents.

Thirteenth Council, 1815—Same mayor, register and treasurer. Benjamin H. Latrobe appointed surveyor. Aldermen: James Gales, Jr., president. Common Council: Roger C. Weightman, president.

Fourteenth Council, 1816—Same officers, excepting Joseph Elgar, surveyor, vice Latrobe. Aldermen: Toppan Webster, president. Common Council: Samuel Burch, president.

Fifteenth Council, 1817—Benjamin G. Orr, mayor. No change in other officers, or presidents.

Sixteenth Council, 1818—No change in officers. Alexander McCormick, president Board of Aldermen, and George Sweeney of council.

Seventeenth Council, 1819—Samuel N. Smallwood, mayor; William Hewitt, register; Joseph Elgar, surveyor. Aldermen: William W. Seaton, president. Common Council: George Sweeney, president.

Eighteenth Council, 1820—Same officers. Aldermen: William W. Seaton, president. Samuel Burch, president of Common Council.

Nineteenth Council, 1821—Same officers, except F. C. De Krafft, surveyor. William W. Seaton, president of aldermen, and George Waterson, president of Common Council.

Twentieth Council, 1822—Thomas Carbery, mayor. Other officers the same. No change in presidents.

Twenty-first Council, 1823—Same officers and president of aldermen. Peter Force elected president of Common Council.

Twenty-second Council, 1824—Roger C. Weightman, mayor; other officers the same. Richard Wallach listed as attorney. Presidents the same.

Twenty-third Council, 1825—No change in officers. Aldermen: William W. Seaton, president. Common Council: Alexander McIntyre, president.

Twenty-fourth Council, 1826—Roger C. Weightman, mayor. No change in other officers. Aldermen: W. W. Seaton, president. Common Council: Christopher Andrews, president.

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Twenty-fifth Council, 1827—John Gales, Jr., mayor. Other officers the same. Aldermen: W. W. Seaton, president. Common Council: A. McIntyre, president.

Twenty-sixth Council, 1828—Same officers and presidents.

Twenty-seventh Council, 1829—No change.

Twenty-eighth Council, 1830—John P. Van Ness, mayor. Other officers the same, except Richard S. Coxe, attorney. Presidents unchanged.

Twenty-ninth Council, 1831—No change in officers. Aldermen: Peter Force, president. Common Council: Nathaniel Frye, Jr., president.

Thirtieth Council, 1832—No change in officers. Aldermen: Peter Force, president. Common Council: Alexander McIntyre, president.

Thirty-first Council, 1833—No change in officers, excepting William Elliott, surveyor, appointed in 1832. President unchanged.

Thirty-second Council, 1834—William A. Bradley, mayor; William Elliott, surveyor; William Hewitt, register; Joseph H. Bradley, attorney. Aldermen: Clement T. Coote, president. Common Council: Alexander McIntire, president.

Thirty-third Council, 1835—Same officers. Aldermen: Charles W. Goldsborough, president. Common Council: Alexander McIntire, president.

Thirty-fourth Council, 1836—Peter Force, mayor. Other officers unchanged. Aldermen: C. W. Goldsborough, president. Common Council: James Carbery, president.

Thirty-fifth Council, 1837—No change.

Thirty-sixth Council, 1838—No change.

Thirty-seventh Council, 1839—Mayor, surveyor, attorney and presidents unchanged. A. Rothwell, collector. C. H. Wiltberger, register.

Thirty-eighth Council, 1840—William W. Seaton, mayor. No other change in officers. Aldermen: Charles W. Goldsborough, president. Common Council: Edmund Hanly, president.

Thirty-ninth Council, 1841—No change.

Fortieth Council, 1842—No change in officers. Aldermen: James Adams, president. Common Council: B. B. French, president.

Forty-first Council, 1843—No change.

Forty-second Council, 1844—No change in officers. Aldermen: James Adams, president. Common Council: Samuel Bacon, president.

Forty-third Council, 1845—No change.

Forty-fourth Council, 1846—Officers the same, excepting Randolph Coyle, surveyor. Aldermen: John D. Barclay, president. Common Council: Samuel Bacon, president.

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Forty-fifth Council, 1847—Officers unchanged. Aldermen: Walter Lenox, president. Common Council: Samuel Bacon, president.

Forty-sixth Council, 1848—Officers unchanged, excepting W. J. McCormick, register, and C. B. Closkey, surveyor. Aldermen: Walter Lenox, president. Common Council: Silas H. Hill, president.

Forty-seventh Council, 1849—No change.

Forty-eighth Council, 1850—Walter Lenox, mayor. Other officers the same, except James M. Carlisle, attorney. Aldermen: Benjamin B. French, president. Common Council: Silas H. Hill, president.

Forty-ninth Council, 1851—Officers the same, except Robert J. Roche, collector, and Henry W. Ball, surveyor. Presidents unchanged.

Fiftieth Council, 1852—J. W. Maury, mayor. Other officers unchanged. Aldermen: Benjamin B. French, president. Common Council: Nicholas Callan, president.

Fifty-first Council, 1853—Officers unchanged. Aldermen: John T. Towers, president. Common Council: Nicholas Callan, president.

Fifty-second Council, 1854—John T. Towers, mayor. Other officers the same. Aldermen: Silas H. Hill, president. Common Council: Alexander McD. Davis, president.

Fifty-third Council, 1855—John T. Towers, mayor. John M. McCalla, collector. Samuel E. Douglass, register. R. Finley Hunt, surveyor. Joseph H. Bradley, attorney. Aldermen: Robert Clarke, president. Common Council: J. T. Clements, president.

Fifty-fourth Council, 1856—William B. Magruder, mayor. Other officers the same, except James M. Carlisle, attorney. Aldermen, Robert Clarke, president. Common Council: Samuel V. Atlee, president.

Fifty-fifth Council, 1857—Same mayor and attorney. William Morgan, register. James D. Haliday, collector. William Forsyth, surveyor. Aldermen: William F. Bayly, president. Common Council: Charles Abert, president.

Fifty-sixth Council, 1858—James G. Berret, mayor. Other officers unchanged. Aldermen: William T. Dove, president. Common Council: Charles Abert, president.

Fifty-seventh Council, 1859—No change.

Fifty-eighth Council, 1860—No change in officers, or president of Aldermen. Common Council: Grafton Powell, president.

Fifty-ninth Council, 1861—Richard Wallach, mayor. Samuel E. Douglass, register. William Dixon, collector; William Forsyth, sur-

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veyor. Joseph H. Bradley, attorney. Aldermen: William T. Dove, president. Common Council: Z. Richards, president.

Sixtieth Council, 1862—No change in officers. Aldermen: Joseph F. Brown, president. Common Council: A. R. Shepherd, president.

Sixty-first Council, 1863—No change in officers. Aldermen: John H. Semmes, president. Common Council: Asbury Lloyd, president.

Sixty-second Council, 1864—Officers unchanged. Aldermen: Joseph F. Brown, president. Common Council: Asbury Lloyd, president.

Sixty-third Council, 1865—Officers unchanged. Aldermen: Thomas E. Lloyd, president. Common Council: William W. Moore, president.

Sixty-fourth Council, 1866—No change.

Sixty-fifth Council, 1867—Richard Wallach, mayor; A. G. Hall, collector. Frederick A. Boswell, register. C. H. Bliss, surveyor. Joseph H. Bradley, Jr., attorney. Aldermen: J. Russell Barr, president. Common Council: J. C. Dulin, president.

Sixty-sixth Council, 1868—Sayles J. Bowen, mayor. William A. Cook, attorney. No other change in officers. Aldermen: John Grindler, president. Common Council: T. T. Fowler, president.

Sixty-seventh Council, 1869—Officers the same, except John F. Cook, register, and Patrick H. Donegan, surveyor. Aldermen: John S. Crocker, president. Common Council: Joseph Williams, president.

Sixty-eighth Council, 1870—Matthew G. Emery, mayor. Enoch Totten, attorney. No other changes in officers. Aldermen: John S. Crocker, president. Common Council: Charles H. Holden, president.

The Sixty-eighth Council was the last; therefore, in order to ascertain how many of the old boards were given place in the new territorial government that displaced the government by mayor and boards of aldermen and council, it would be well to name the aldermen and councilmen of the Sixty-eighth Council. They were as follows:

Aldermen—John S. Crocker, president; D. M. Davis, Carter A. Stewart, W. H. Chase, A. R. Shepherd, T. C. Connolly, W. W. Moore, Jacob H. Crossman, George F. Gulick, William H. Slater, Donald McCathran, Charles Champion (vice-president).

Common Council—Charles H. Holden, president; E. E. Brooke, J. F. Murray, W. A. Freeman, A. F. Moulden, H. H. Piper, George Burgess, W. H. Pope, R. C. Lewis, George Wilner, S. P. Robertson, John O'Donoghue, Benjamin M. McCoy, G. T. Bassett, Thomas A. Gant, Clarence M. Barton, B. F. Palmer, F. D. Gaines, William R. Hunt, Anthony Bowen, Thomas Carraher, Arthur Shepherd, secretary.

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Territorial Government—

Governors of the District of Columbia—Henry D. Cooke, of Georgetown, from February 28, 1871, to September 13, 1873. Alexander R. Shepherd, of Washington, from September 13, 1873, to June 20, 1874. Secretary to the Governor: William Tindall, May, 1871. Surveyor: William Forsyth, September 23, 1871. Attorney: William A. Cook, 1871 to 1874. Collector: W. H. Slater, September 23, 1871, to December 1, 1873; Lewis Clephane, December 1, 1873, to July 20, 1874. Secretary of the District: Norton P. Chipman, from March 2, 1871, to April 21, 1871; Edward L. Stanton, from May 19, 1871, to September, 1873; Richard Harrington, from September 22, 1873, to June 20, 1874.

Board of Public Works (Appointed March 16, 1871)—The Governor, *ex officio*; S. P. Brown, of Washington; A. B. Mullett, of Georgetown; A. R. Shepherd, of Washington; James A. Magruder, of Georgetown.

Adolph Cluss, appointed January 2, 1873, vice A. B. Mullett; Henry A. Willard, appointed May 22, 1873, vice S. P. Brown; John B. Blake, appointed September 13, 1873, vice Adolph Kluss.

Board of Health (Appointed March 15, 1871)—N. S. Lincoln, M. D., T. S. Verdi, M. D., H. A. Willard, John M. Langston, of Washington; John Marbury, Jr., of Georgetown.

C. C. Cox, M. D., appointed April 2, 1871, vice H. A. Willard; D. W. Bliss, M. D., appointed May 23, 1872, vice N. S. Lincoln, M. D.

Delegate to Congress—Norton P. Chipman, elected April 21, 1871; reelected October 14, 1873, and served out his term, which ended March 4, 1875.

First Legislative Assembly of District of Columbia—

Council—William Stickney, president; A. K. Browne, Samuel Cross, Frederick Douglass, Daniel L. Eaton, John A. Gray, George F. Gulick, Adolphus Hall, Charles F. Peck, Daniel Smith, and John W. Thompson. Francis H. Smith, chief clerk. Lewis H. Douglass appointed vice Frederick Douglass, resigned.

House of Delegates—Charles L. Hulse, speaker; Solomon G. Brown, Joseph T. H. Hall, William D. Cassin, John H. Cox, John F. Murray, James A. Handy, George Burgess, Adolphus S. Solomons, John F. Ennis, Thomas E. Lloyd, William Dickson, John C. Harkness, Peter Campbell, William W. Moore, John W. McKnight, Frederick A. Boswell, William

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R. Hunt, John Hogan, Joseph G. Carroll, Lemuel Bursley, and Madison Davis. P. H. Reinhard, clerk.

These bodies convened on May 15, 1871.

Second Legislative Assembly of District of Columbia—

Council—No change.

House of Delegates—Charles L. Hulse, speaker; Solomon G. Brown, O. S. B. Wall, William R. Collins, John E. Cox, John F. Murray, James A. Handy, Samuel R. Bond, Henry Piper, John W. LeBarnes, Charles J. Brewer, William Dickson, Arthur Shepherd, Peter Campbell, Warren Choate, John W. McKnight, Frederick A. Boswell, William R. Hunt, John Hogan, Joseph G. Carroll, Lemuel Bursley, and Madison Davis. M. Pechin, clerk. Convened April 22, 1872.

Third Legislative Assembly of District of Columbia—

Council—William Stickney, president; Daniel Smith, John H. Brooks, John W. Baker, S. M. Golden, Adolphus Hall, John W. Thompson, A. K. Browne, Samuel Cross, Joshua Riley, and George F. Gulick. Ernest F. M. Faehz, chief clerk.

Samuel Gedney was appointed vice Daniel Smith, resigned.

House of Delegates—Peter Campbell, speaker; Solomon G. Brown, O. S. B. Wall, E. P. Berry, John E. Cox, Charles L. Hulse, John F. Murray, George W. Dyer, Thomas W. Chase, S. S. Smoot, Matthew Trimble, C. J. Brewer, James G. Long, Arthur Shepherd, William H. Claggett, J. W. McKnight, J. W. Taliaferro, W. R. Hunt, M. E. Ureil, Joseph G. Carroll, Sidney W. Herbert, and W. E. Vermillion. William J. Donohue, chief clerk. Convened April 28, 1873.

Fourth Legislative Assembly of District of Columbia—

Council—No change.

House of Delegates—Arthur Shepherd, speaker; Joseph Brooks, Clement A. Peck, Edgar P. Berry, John E. Cox, George B. Wilson, Albert H. Underwood, George W. Dyer, Elphonso Youngs, Robert I. Fleming, William Dickson, Matthew Trimble, Leonard Gordon, Charles J. Brewer, John A. Perkins, Samuel P. Robertson, Frederick A. Boswell, William R. Hunt, M. E. Ureil, Joseph G. Carroll, Lemuel Bursley, and Josiah L. Venable. H. A. Hall, chief clerk. Convened April 27, 1874.

The territorial form of local government was abolished in 1874 and a temporary form of commission government took its place.

Boards of Commissioners (Temporary)—William Dennison, Henry

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T. Blow, and John H. Ketcham took office July 1, 1874. Seth Ledyard Phelps appointed April 18, 1875, vice Henry T. Blow, resigned December 31, 1874. Thomas B. Bryan appointed December 3, 1877, vice John H. Ketcham, resigned June 30, 1877. Lieutenant Richard L. Hoxie, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., detailed as engineer of the Board of Commissioners, July 2, 1874.

Board of Commissioners (Permanent)—

The first Board of District Commissioners consisted of Seth Ledyard Phelps (president); Josiah Dent, Major William Johnson Twining. They took office on July 1, 1878. Phelps served until November 29, 1879; Dent until July 17, 1882, and Twining until his death on May 5, 1882. Their successors were: Thomas Phillips Morgan, November 29, 1879, to March 8, 1883; Major Garret J. Lydecker, July 17, 1882, to April 1, 1886; Joseph Rodman West, July 17, 1882, to July 22, 1885; James Barker Edmonds, March 8, 1883, to April 1, 1886; William Benning Webb, July 22, 1885, to May 21, 1889; Samuel Edwin Wheatley, April 1, 1886, to May 21, 1889; Colonel William Ludlow, April 1, 1886, to January 27, 1888; Major Charles Walker Raymond, January 21, 1889, to February 14, 1890; John Watkinson Douglass, May 21, 1889, to March 1, 1893; Lemon Galpin Hine, May 21, 1889, to October 1, 1890; Colonel Henry Martyn Robert, February 14, 1890, to October 15, 1891; John Wesley Ross, October 1, 1890, to October 16, 1902; Captain William Trent Russell, October 15, 1891, to May 8, 1893; Myron Melville Parker, March 1, 1893, to March 9, 1894; Captain Charles Francis Powell, May 8, 1893, to March 2, 1897; George Truesdell, March 9, 1894, to May 8, 1897; Captain William Murray Black, March 2, 1897, to June 1, 1898; John Brewer Bight, May 8, 1897, to May 8, 1900; Captain Lansing Hoskins Beach, June 1, 1898, to November 1, 1901; Henry Brown Floyd Macfarland, May 9, 1900, to January 24, 1910; Colonel John Biddle, November 1, 1901, to May 1, 1907; Henry Litchfield West, October 16, 1902, to January 24, 1910; Major Jay Johnson Morrow, May 2, 1907, to December 31, 1908; Major Spencer Cosby, December 21, 1908, to March 15, 1909; Major William Voorhees Judson, March 15, 1909, to September 26, 1914; Arno Hugo Randolph, January 24, 1910, to July 17, 1913; Lieutenant-Colonel Chester Harding, detailed as a commissioner, by order of February 20, 1913, to take effect February 28, 1913; reported for duty March 8, 1913; Oliver Peck Newman, July 19, 1913, to October 9, 1917; Frederick Lincoln Siddons,

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July 19, 1913, to January 21, 1915 (resigned to become Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia); Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Willauer Kutz, October 31, 1914, to July 16, 1917, and Brigadier-General Charles William Kutz, December 16, 1918, to October 6, 1921; Louis Brownlow, January 26, 1915, to September 15, 1920; Brigadier-General John George David Knight, July 16, 1917, to December 16, 1918; William Gwynn Gardiner, October 9, 1917, to December 16, 1918; John Thilman Hendrick, September 17, 1920, to March 4, 1921; Mabel Thorpe Boardman, September 25, 1920, to March 4, 1921; Cuno Hugo Randolph, March 15, 1921, to December 26, 1926; James Frederick Oyster, March 15, 1920, to May 19, 1925, when he died; Colonel Charles Keller, October 21, 1921, to April 13, 1923; Mayor James Franklin Bell, June 25, 1923, to June 22, 1927; Frederick A. Fenning, June 5, 1925, to August 2, 1926; Proctor L. Dougherty, August 4, 1926, to date of publication; Sidney L. Taliaferro, December 4, 1926, to date; Colonel William B. Ladue, June 23, 1927, to date.

Since the establishment of commission government, the District of Columbia Commissioners have had only four secretaries. In order of service these have been:

William Tindall (who had been secretary to the governor), July 3, 1874, to August 15, 1915.

Daniel J. Donovan, August 15, 1915, to June 7, 1918.

C. Willard Camalier, June 7, 1918, to June 6, 1919.

Daniel J. Donovan, June 6, 1919, to August 26, 1919.

Daniel E. Garges, August 26, 1919, to the present.



The Expansion of Connecticut---Chronological---Based on the Official Records

By JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.



THE present State of Connecticut, like Massachusetts, began with separate settlements by congregations or communities, almost entirely independent of each other, and often distinguished by individual characteristics, or even partially divided in religious or governmental sentiments; such division in the parent towns in Massachusetts, being in several instances the moving cause of emigration or transplantation, to establish a new settlement embodying the characteristic principle held by the emigrating community.

The first European to discover the Connecticut Valley was the Dutch explorer, Adriaen Block, who in 1614 sailed up what he called the "versche" or Fresh River, to a distance about half-way between the present Hartford and Windsor; where was the Indian village Nawaas, now a part of South Windsor. The Dutch of the West India Company in New Netherland and the Plymouth colonists began intercommunication in 1627.

Governor John Winthrop's Journal, under date April 4, 1631, notes the visit of Wahginnicut, a sachem of the River Indians, who urged the English to settle near him; for considering them, with their guns, invincible, his small tribe craved them as protection from the dreaded Pequots. The Dutch West India Company, formed exclusively for trading with the Indians, especially in furs, had also noted the advantages of the same locality for the fur trade, and they, as well as Plymouth Colony had sent men to explore it. June 8, 1633, the Dutch West India Company bought from Sachem Wapyquart a tract of land on the site of Hartford, then called by the Indians Suckiag (from sucki, black, and auke, soil or land), and built a little fort, armed with two cannon, and named it Huis van Hoop, in English "House of Hope."

On July 12, 1633, Governor Bradford and Edward Winslow, chief men of Plymouth Colony, after a solicitation from ambassadors from the River Indians, went to Boston to confer with the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, who being adverse to join them in a trade project,

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Plymouth determined to go on with it alone, and fitted up the frame and covering of a house, sent William Holmes in a vessel with it and Attawant (or Nattawant), one of the Indian ambassadors, on board. He sailed from Plymouth to the mouth of the Connecticut River, and up it, past the new Dutch fort to Matteanuck in the present Windsor, west of the Connecticut River, arriving September 26, 1633. They erected their house eighty to one hundred rods south of the mouth of the Tunxis (now Farmington) River, after buying from Sequassen and Nattawant, the rightful owners, a tract of land, for a valuable consideration. They fortified their house with palisades, and though the Dutch in New Netherland sent seventy men to overawe them, they maintained their claim so firmly, that, lest they embroil New Netherland with Plymouth Colony, they retired to their fort without firing a gun, and the Plymouth men continued their business, Jonathan Brewster being in charge at the beginning of 1635; but his report to Plymouth, July 6, 1635, makes no mention of settlers at Pyquag, which tradition claims for the winter of 1634-35. The settlers of 1635 were from Massachusetts Bay; the clause interlined and in parenthesis in the order of the General Court, 1650, "the most ancient town which for the river is admitted to be Wethersfield," begs the question, while ignoring the Plymouth settlement; while the record that the settlers from Watertown heading for Pyquag (Wethersfield) asked Brewster for guides, verifies the previous existence of that settlement. (Stiles, H. R., "History of Ancient Windsor, Conn.," Vol. I, pp. 17, 25, 29-32, 39, 123. Bradford, Wm., "History of Plimouth Plantation," pp. 371-375, 403-04. "Documents Relative to the History of the State of New York," Vol. II, pp. 133-34. "Holland Document," IX.) Brewster's letter of July 6, 1635, says: "Ye Massachusetts men are coming almost daily—some have a great mind to the place that we are upon." This describes none other than the settlers from Dorchester, Massachusetts, known to have settled on the site of Windsor in the summer of 1635, and who bought out fifteen-sixteenths of the lands of the Plymouth men there under power of attorney granted to William Holmes, October 10, 1637. Samuel Maverick, son of Rev. John Maverick, senior pastor of Dorchester, Massachusetts, and one of the intending settlers of Windsor, prevented only by his death in February, 1635, describes the location of Windsor in 1660, "the first towne on this River"; for the Dorchester Colony on the Connecticut, justly considered itself the continuator of the Plymouth plantation begun September 26, 1633, having bought the goods and cattle, and taken over the Plymouth servants, from William

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Holmes, in accordance with his "full powers of attorney to dispose of our servants, goods, or cattle," granted by Brewster and the other Plymouth owners. (Winthrop, John, "Journal," Vol. I, p. 181.)

The Dutch West India Company was a private corporation, chartered solely for trade, and for the first fifteen years under its directors brought practically all its provisions and supplies from Holland, making no attempt at permanent colonization, or self-support from cultivation of the land, either at Hartford or elsewhere, for that period. The pioneers of the Dorchester emigration, after examining the settlement of the Plymouth men, passed up the river to Agawam, now Springfield, in June, 1635, but finding no place that suited them as well, returned to that settlement and there a party with women and children, sent by Sir Richard Saltonstall, under Francis Stiles, directly from England, which had arrived on June 16, 1635, joined their company; and Governor Winslow and the Plymouth owners having already visited Dorchester, Massachusetts, and come to an agreement with the intending settlers, to sell their Connecticut holdings bought from the Indians, the united pioneers fixed themselves there. Permission to the main body of the Dorchester intending colony to remove, having been granted by the Massachusetts General Court, June 3, 1635, the company settled their affairs in Dorchester, and a few weeks later, about sixty men, women and children made their way through the wilderness, from Watertown southwestward to the Connecticut, with cows, horses, and swine, to Matteanuck. A smaller company in Watertown obtained permission, May 6, 1635, to remove, and doubtless went by the same route. The Dorchester emigration was of September 13, 1635. (Winthrop, "History of New England," Vol. I, p. 140.) Haines, in his account of Dorchester, says: "About 100 people removed to Connecticut in 1635, most of which were Dorchester people, joined by a few from Newtown and Watertown." Another company arrived from Dorchester, October 15, 1635. The affairs of all three of aforesaid river towns were managed at first by commissioners appointed by Massachusetts. It was "ordered that the plantation now called Newtown shal be called Hartford, Watertown shal be called Wethersfield, and Dorchester shal be called Windsor"; the date being February 21, 1636-37. ("Colonial Records of Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 7.) But there is no record of formal incorporation; for the three were virtually governed by the commissioners of Massachusetts until the "Fundamental Orders" of January 14, 1639, as dependents, not as independent corporations, but seeking first a sound title to the lands, which Robert,

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Earl of Warwick, had granted March 19, 1631, to certain lords and gentlemen; from whom the pioneers obtained a grant of title in the winter of 1635-36. Winthrop speaks of six at the site of Hartford the previous summer; a few more were added in the autumn, but the main body or congregation, more than one hundred persons, with their pastor, Thomas Hooker, and assistant pastor, Samuel Stone, came in June, 1636, from Newtown, Massachusetts, two weeks' journey. The first court on the Connecticut public records, 1636, consisted of five members; two for Newtown (Hartford), two for Dorchester (Windsor), and one from Watertown (Wethersfield). But as the Connecticut colonists had already made sure that they held under the Warwick patent, and were not under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, the commission court was only a temporary expedient for maintaining order, and carrying on public business, especially the settlement of lands. The next step was taken in May, 1637, when deputies from the three towns were elected to assist the magistrates, thus foreshadowing an Upper House or Senate and a House of Representatives.

The Pequot War of 1637 taught the three towns to act together as a confederacy. Massachusetts having admitted that they were outside of her jurisdiction, the Warwick patentees, in January, 1639, met at Hartford and adopted what has been called "the first written Constitution defining its own powers, which the world ever saw." Having constables already under the commission government, these were to send summons for a General Court, a month before the time of meeting, of which the first court, or Court of Election, shall meet on the second Thursday in April, to elect a governor and at least four magistrates, by "papers," that is, ballots; and each of the towns shall have power to send four of their freemen as deputies; the second General Court to meet on the second Thursday in September for the making of laws, and any other business for the good of the Commonwealth.

This court at its first meeting enacted that every town should have a town clerk or registrar, to record every man's house and land already granted. Every man of good character, "honest and peaceable," could vote, if twenty-one years of age ("Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut," Vol. I, pp. 21, 290, 331, 389, 510); the restriction to church members being a chief cause for departure of the emigrating congregations from Massachusetts; especially Hooker's: which gave Hartford the political primacy, though Windsor was foremost in colonizing: the original Plymouth-Dorchester tract running westward from Connecticut

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River, and northward from the Great Swamp near Hartford. When the right was confirmed in 1670, its westward extent from the river was seven miles, when Simsbury was set off as an independent town in May, 1670; Granby from Simsbury, October, 1786; East Granby, June, 1658, Canton, May, 1806. William Phelps, Senior, made the second purchase, 1635. Thirdly, the Poquonnock tract bought 1637, by George Hall, Humphrey Pinney, Thomas Ford, and Thomas Lewis for Windsor, covering the northern third of old Windsor, also Windsor Locks, made a separate town in May, 1854; and the southern part of Suffield. Three minor tracts were added, before the Massaco purchase of 28,000 acres, extending westward from Windsor to the foot of Massaco (Simsbury) Mountain in April, 1666, now northwestern Windsor and the northern part of Bloomfield.

The Dorchester plantation, bought in 1636, from the Nowashe Indians, east of Connecticut River, the tract which in May, 1845, became the town of South Windsor, to which was added a little later what is now the southwestern part of East Windsor; and by the purchase, September 20, 1660, by John Bissell, Jr., he added the northwestern part of East Windsor; and on September 19, 1671, Thomas and Nathaniel Bissell added the rest of East Windsor, set off from Windsor in May, 1768—also all of Ellington, set off from East Windsor in May, 1786, and the southern part of Enfield. Glastonbury was set off from Wethersfield, June, 1692; Rocky Hill, May, 1843; Newington, July, 1871. From Hartford, East Hartford was set off as a town, October, 1783; West Hartford, May, 1854, and Manchester from East Hartford, May, 1823. The largest early colony from Hartford was Farmington, bought from Sachem Sequassen, and settlement begun 1640-44, named and made an independent town, December, 1645; Southington set off from the southern part and named, as the south society of Farmington, October, 1726, and made a town, October, 1779; Berlin and Bristol, towns in 1785; Burlington, 1806; Avon, 1830, and Plainville, until 1831, "Great Plain," May, 1869; and New Britain, May, 1850, named as a parish in 1754, set off from Berlin parish, previously Kensington and Worthington parishes. Hartland, purchased by Hartford men and settled by them, its name being an abbreviation of "Hart(ford)land," became a town, May, 1761.

The foregoing, with Marlborough, made a town, May, 1803, from parts of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Hebron, constitute the reduced county of Hartford. New Hartford, an outlying purchase by Hartford

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proprietors, became a town, October, 1738; was included in the new county of Litchfield, set off from Hartford County, 1751; but a very important colony from the "three towns" combined was: Hadley, 1659, made a town in the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts, May 22, 1661, Hartford furnishing thirty-six of the fifty-nine original proprietors; whence Hatfield was set off May 31, 1670; whence Whately, and with the addition of certain common lands, Williamsburg, April 24, 1771. South Hadley was set off from Hadley, as a district, April 12, 1753; a town, August 23, 1775; Granby from South Hadley District, June 11, 1768. Amherst was set off from Hadley, August 23, 1775.

Though Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, in 1635, brought Lion Gardiner, an engineer, with twelve men and two women to build a fort at Saybrook Point to secure the Connecticut River to English colonists, it was changed from a garrison to a permanent colony by the settlement of several Hartford families in 1646. The part east of the Connecticut River, mentioned as East Saybrook till 1667, became the town of Lyme in 1705, whence Old Lyme in May, 1855; East Lyme having been formed with an addition from Waterford in May, 1839. West of the Connecticut, Westbrook was set off from Saybrook in May, 1840; Old Saybrook in May, 1852, and Essex from Old Saybrook in May, 1854; Chester from Saybrook in May, 1836, having become a parish in 1640. On the whole, Connecticut Colony justified its name; for it furnished the greater part of the early population of the Connecticut Valley.

Now we turn to its rival colony in the present territory of the State of Connecticut. The wealthiest company which had yet emigrated to New England, arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, July 26, 1637; and, having sent explorers along the northern coast of Long Island Sound to choose a favorable place to settle, fixed upon Quinnipiac, which they bought from the Sachems Momauguin and Montowese; built temporary huts, and left servants in charge for the winter. March 30, 1637-38, the whole company, consisting of Puritans of the strictest sort, from Herefordshire and Yorkshire, sailed from Boston, and arrived two weeks later at Quinnipiac. On the first Sunday after, the Rev. John Davenport held religious services where now is the corner of College and George streets. In November, he with Theophilus Eaton, the secular leader of the colony, made a treaty with Momauguin, who gave a deed of sale of the land on the west side of the harbor, he reserving the east side for his Quinnipiac Indians, and the English engaging to protect the Indians, and to allow to them hunting privileges on both sides of the bay: an arrangement per-

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manently satisfactory, since the Indians obtained their objectives, which were, protection and hunting, and the whites theirs, which were, tillage lands and self-government; the Bible being made the sole rule for ordering the affairs of the colony, on June 4, 1639, church members alone being allowed to vote. In August, 1640, Quinnipiac was renamed New Haven. On February 12, 1639, Rev. Peter Prudden, with friends from Herefordshire at New Haven and Wethersfield, obtained from the Indians a deed of Wepowaug, and settled there in the spring following; in November, 1640, they named it Milford. Another company from counties Kent and Surrey, England, came with Rev. Mr. Whitfield, 1639, by way of New Haven, and settled Guilford, named in July, 1643, from Guildford Parish, Surrey. The eastern part of the town was set off, May, 1826, as the town of Madison. Totoket, by purchase from Sachem Montowese, belonged territorially to New Haven, but by settlement, to Wethersfield, 1643; named, in 1653, from Brentford, in County Middlesex, England, and set off from New Haven in 1685; and its Northford society became the town of North Branford, May, 1831. From New Haven proper, Wallingford was set off May, 1670; named from Wallingford in Berkshire, England; Cheshire from Wallingford, May, 1780; Meriden from Wallingford, May, 1806; East Haven from New Haven, May, 1785; Hamden, May, 1786; North Haven, October, 1786; Woodbridge from New Haven and Milford, January, 1784, and Bethany from Woodbridge, May, 1832; Orange from New Haven and Milford, May, 1822; West Haven, originally the west parish of New Haven, from Orange, June 24, 1921.

Stratford, across the mouth of the Housatonic west from Milford, was settled in the same year as Milford, 1639; no Indian claims being presented until 1656. The northern part, called Pootatuck, was set off as Huntington, January, 1789, was made the city of Shelton, January, 1915; Monroe having been set off, May, 1823. Trumbull was set off from Stratford, October, 1797. Bridgeport was taken from Stratford and Fairfield, May, 1821. Fairfield was bought 1639 as Uncoway, by Roger Ludlow, of Hartford, and named in 1645; but its records were kept until 1648 at Hartford. It settled New Fairfield, made a town 1740; whence Sherman, October, 1802. Redding was set off from Fairfield, May, 1767; Weston, October, 1787; Easton from Weston, May, 1845; Westport, from Fairfield, Weston and Norwalk, May, 1835. Stamford was bought from the Indians July 1, 1640; settled by twenty-two families from Wethersfield in 1641, with some additions from New Haven and Lynn, Massachusetts, and especially from Concord, Massachusetts.

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1644. It acknowledged the jurisdiction of New Haven Colony in the United Colonies organized in 1643; Darien was set off, May, 1820. The Stamford tract originally extended into Westchester County, New York, while Greenwich, adjoining it on the west, bought from the Indians, July 16, 1640, for New Haven Colony, was under the jurisdiction of the Dutch of New Netherland until 1656. New London began to be settled as Pequot in 1646, under the auspices of the younger John Winthrop, and was named from London, England, March, 1658, about the time it began town activities; Groton was set off, May, 1704, and named, 1705, from Groton, in County Suffolk, England, the home of the Winthrops. Montville was set off from New London, October, 1786; Waterford, October, 1801, and Ledyard, May, 1836. Thomas Stanton, of Hartford, had a trading house at Pawcatuck, 1649, but it was claimed by Massachusetts, October, 1658, as a part of "Souther Toune"; but the part west of the Pawcatuck River was established as belonging to Connecticut, in the charter of 1662; and named Stonington in 1666. North Stonington was set off, May, 1807. Norwalk began to be settled in 1649; in September, 1651, the records of the General Court have "Norwauke shall bee a towne"; named from Algonkin noyank, point of land. New Canaan was taken from Norwalk and Stamford, May, 1801; Wilton from Norwalk, May, 1802. Mattabesett was bought from Sachem Sowheag in 1650, became town, September, 1651, and was named Middletown, November, 1653, from its location between the "three towns" upon the Connecticut above, and the Saybrook tract below. Chatham was set off, October, 1767, named East Hampton, May 4, 1915, by act of the General Assembly. Portland was set off from Chatham, May, 1841; originally East Middletown Parish. Cromwell, "Middletown Upper Houses," was set off from Middletown, May, 1851; Middlefield, May, 1866.

The Norwich tract, eight miles square, was bought from the son of Chief Uncas, and began to be settled in 1659, and was named from Norwich, in County Norfolk, England. Bozrah, Lisbon and Franklin were set off, May, 1786; and Sprague taken from Lisbon and Franklin, May, 1861. Hammonasset settlement began about 1663, in the south part of what in May, 1667, was named Kenilworth, from Kenilworth, in Warwickshire, England; later corrupted to Killingworth, from which Clinton was set off, May, 1838. Haddam became a town, October, 1668; from which East Haddam was set off, May, 1734. Pomperaug, bought from the Pootatuck Indians, April 26, 1673, was settled from Stratford, and named Woodbury, May, 1674; from which Southbury was set off, May,

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1787; and also Bethlehem; Roxbury, October, 1796; Middlebury, taken from Southbury, Waterbury and Woodbury, May, 1807. Waterbury, settled May, 1674, a town, May, 1686. Wolcott, taken from Waterbury and Southington, May, 1796. Prospect, from Cheshire and Waterbury, May, 1827. Derby, named May, 1675; Oxford from Derby and Southbury, October, 1798. Naugatuck from Waterbury, Bethany, and Oxford, May, 1844. Seymour from Derby, May, 1850. Beacon Falls from Bethany, Oxford, Seymour, and Naugatuck, June, 1871. Ansonia, set off from Derby, April, 1889.

By a mistake of Woodward and Saffery, employed in 1642, to draw the line between Massachusetts Colony and Connecticut Colony, a tract above Windsor was included in Massachusetts, where Suffield, an "abbreviation of Southfield," was made a town in May, 1674; annexed to Connecticut in May, 1749; and Enfield, a town in Massachusetts, May, 1683, was annexed at the same time, including Somers, set off from the eastern part of Enfield, July, 1734. Danbury, settled in 1685, named, October, 1687, from Danbury, in County Essex, England. Preston, settled in 1686, named, October, 1687, from Preston, in Lancashire, in honor of Josiah Standish, one of its proprietors, a descendant of Captain Miles Standish, of Lancashire, who came on the "Mayflower," 1620. Griswold was set off from Preston, October, 1815. Woodstock, included by Woodward and Saffery in Massachusetts, was settled from Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1686, as New Roxbury; named, in March, 1690, from Woodstock, in Oxfordshire; and annexed to Connecticut, in May, 1749. Windham, settled in 1686; a town, May, 1692; named from Windham, in Sussex. Mansfield was set off in October, 1702, and named from Major Moses Mansfield. Plainfield, settled in 1689; a town, October, 1700; the part west of the Quinebaug River was set off in October, 1703, as Canterbury. Lebanon, named 1697, from Lebanon, in Syria. October, 1700, "This Assembly doth grant to the inhabitants of Lebanon all such immunities, privileges and powers, as generally other townes within this colonie have and doe enjoy." Nearly all the towns in early New England had only such implied or quasi (not formal) incorporation. Columbia was set off in May, 1804. Durham was settled in 1699, named, May, 1704, from Durham, England. Colchester, settled in 1699, named, October, 1699, from Colchester, in County Essex, England. Hebron, settled 1704, named 1707 from Hebrew Hebron, a confederacy; a town, May, 1708. Killingly, settled in 1700; a town, May, 1708, named from Killingly Manor, near Pontefract, Yorkshire. Ridgefield, settled in 1708; a

THE EXPANSION OF CONNECTICUT

town, October, 1709. Newtown, named, May, 1708; a town, October, 1711. New Milford, settled from Milford, in 1707; a town, October, 1712. Coventry, settled in 1709, named from Coventry, in Warwickshire; a town, May, 1712. Pomfret, settled in 1686, named from Pontefract, Yorkshire, and made a town, May, 1713. Brooklyn, taken from Pomfret and Canterbury, May, 1786. Hampton, taken from Windham, Pomfret, Brooklyn, Canterbury, and Mansfield, October, 1786. Chaplin, taken from Windham, Mansfield, and Hampton, May, 1822. Ashford, settled in 1710; a town, October, 1714. Eastford, set off May, 1847. Tolland, named May, 1715, from Tolland, in Somersetshire, whence Henry Wolcott, grandfather of Roger Wolcott, the chief proprietor. Litchfield, made a town, May, 1719; named from Lichfield, in Staffordshire. Stafford, settled in 1719; named from Stafford, in Staffordshire. Volunteers' Town, named Voluntown, May, 1708; settled, in 1719; a town, May, 1721; granted to volunteers in the Narragansett War. Bolton, settled in 1716; a town, October, 1720; named from Bolton, in Lancashire, or the Duke of Bolton. Wellington, named, May, 1725, from Wellington, in Somersetshire, the birthplace of Henry Wolcott, grandfather of Roger Wolcott, chief purchaser, 1720; but appeared in the act of incorporation, May, 1727, as "Willington." Union, settled in 1727, as "Union lands" of eastern Stafford and State lands, named Union in 1732; a town, October, 1734. Harwinton, settled, 1731; named, 1732, as taken from Har(tford), Win(dsor), and (Farming)ton; a town, October, 1737. Canaan, named, May, 1738, from the Canaan of the Bible; a town, October, 1739; North Canaan, set off May, 1858. Goshen, named, May, 1738, from Goshen, in Egypt; a town, October, 1739. Kent, named, May, 1738, from County Kent, England; a town, October, 1739. Sharon, a town, October, 1739, named from Hebrew Sharon, a plain. Cornwall, named, May, 1738, from County Cornwall, southwestern England; a town, May, 1740. Torrington, named, May, 1732, from Torrington, in Devonshire; a town, October, 1740. Salisbury, named, May, 1738 (by Rev. Thomas Noyes), from Salisbury, Wiltshire; a town, October, 1741. Norfolk, named, May, 1738, from County Norfolk, England; a town, October, 1758. Winchester tract, named from Winchester, in Hampshire, May, 1733; a town, May, 1771. Washington, taken from Kent, Litchfield, New Milford, and Woodbury, January, 1779; named from General George Washington. Barkhamsted, named from Barkhamsted in Hertfordshire, May, 1732; a town, October, 1779. Colebrook, named, May, 1732, from Colebrooke, in Devonshire;

THE EXPANSION OF CONNECTICUT

a town, October, 1779. Watertown, set off, May, 1780, from Waterbury, which suggested its name. Thompson Parish, named, 1728, from its chief owner, Sir Robert Thompson, was set off from Killingly, May, 1785. Warren, set off from Kent, May, 1786, and named from General Joseph Warren. Brookfield was taken from Danbury, New Milford, and Newtown, May, 1788; named for Thomas Brooks, its first pastor. Sterling, set off from Voluntown, May, 1794, was named from Dr. John Sterling, resident there. Plymouth, set off from Watertown, May, 1795, was named by Henry Cook from Plymouth, Massachusetts, of which his grandfather was a pioneer. Vernon was set off from Bolton, October, 1808. Salem, a town, New Salem, May, 1819, was taken from Colchester, Lyme, and Montville. Bloomfield, originally Wintonbury Parish, from Windsor, with minor additions from Simsbury and Farmington, became a town, May, 1835. Andover Parish was taken from Coventry and Hebron; a town, May, 1848. Windsor Locks, named, 1833, from canal locks there, was set off from Windsor, May, 1854. Bethel, named, 1759, from Bethel, in Palestine, was set off from Danbury, May, 1855. Putnam, taken from Pomfret, Thompson and Killingly, May, 1855, was named from General Israel Putnam. Bridgewater, named, 1803, was set off from New Milford, May, 1856. Scotland was named by its first settler, Magoon, a Scot, in 1706; a parish in 1732; a town, set off from Windham, May, 1857. Morris was set off from Litchfield, June, 1859, and named from James Morris, a prominent resident. Thomas-ton, named, 1866, from Seth Thomas, clock manufacturer, and set off from Plymouth, July, 1875. In all, one hundred and sixty-nine towns; eight counties: Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield, constituted in 1666; Windham, from Hartford, in 1726; Litchfield, from Hartford, 1751; Tolland, from Hartford, 1785. Middlesex County was established by an act of the Connecticut Assembly at its May session, 1785, by combining Middletown, Chatham, Haddam, and East Haddam, taken from Hartford County, with Saybrook and Killingworth, from New London County, to which, in May, 1799, Durham was annexed from New Haven County.

Finally, Long Island, except the five towns which now form the Borough of Brooklyn, was under the jurisdiction of Connecticut in 1664, when Charles II, contrary to the will of the inhabitants, and to his own charter to Connecticut, 1662, granted it to his brother James, Duke of York, as a part of his domain of New York.

Taylor and Allied Families

By E. D. CLEMENTS, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

Taylor Arms—Or, a saltire sable between a crescent, surmounted by a cross crosslet fitchée azure in chief and in base, and a heart in each flank gules.

Crest—An arm from the elbow, in armour, holding a dagger both proper.

Motto—*Semper fidelis.*

(Burke—"Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")



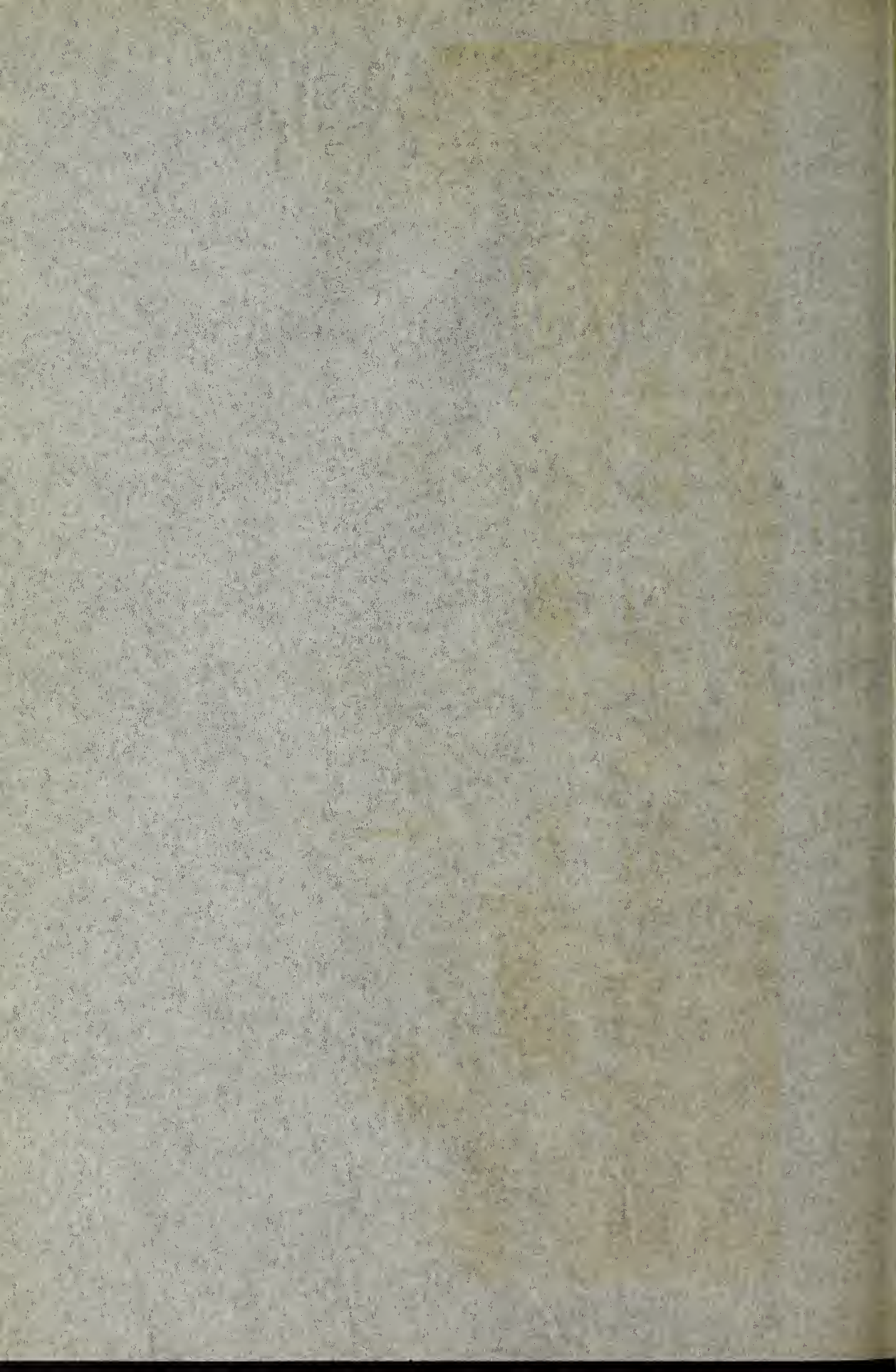
F the large class of occupational surnames, the patronymic Taylor is of early origin. The early records show many variations in the spelling of the name; in the Hundred Rolls are listed: Taillar, Taillour, Taillur, Taylour, Tayler, and many others. A Henry C. Taliur is found in County Norfolk, in 1273, and a Roger le Taylur in County Lincoln at the same period.

Branches of the family have long been seated both in many of the counties of England and also in Scotland.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. James Taylor is the first of this line of whom record is found, and his home was Torphichen, Scotland, a town near Edinburgh, famous as the birthplace of Mary, Queen of Scots. James Taylor followed the calling of stone cutter, as had his father before him, and he spent his entire life in the place of his birth. He married Mary Thompson, of the family of the poet Thompson.

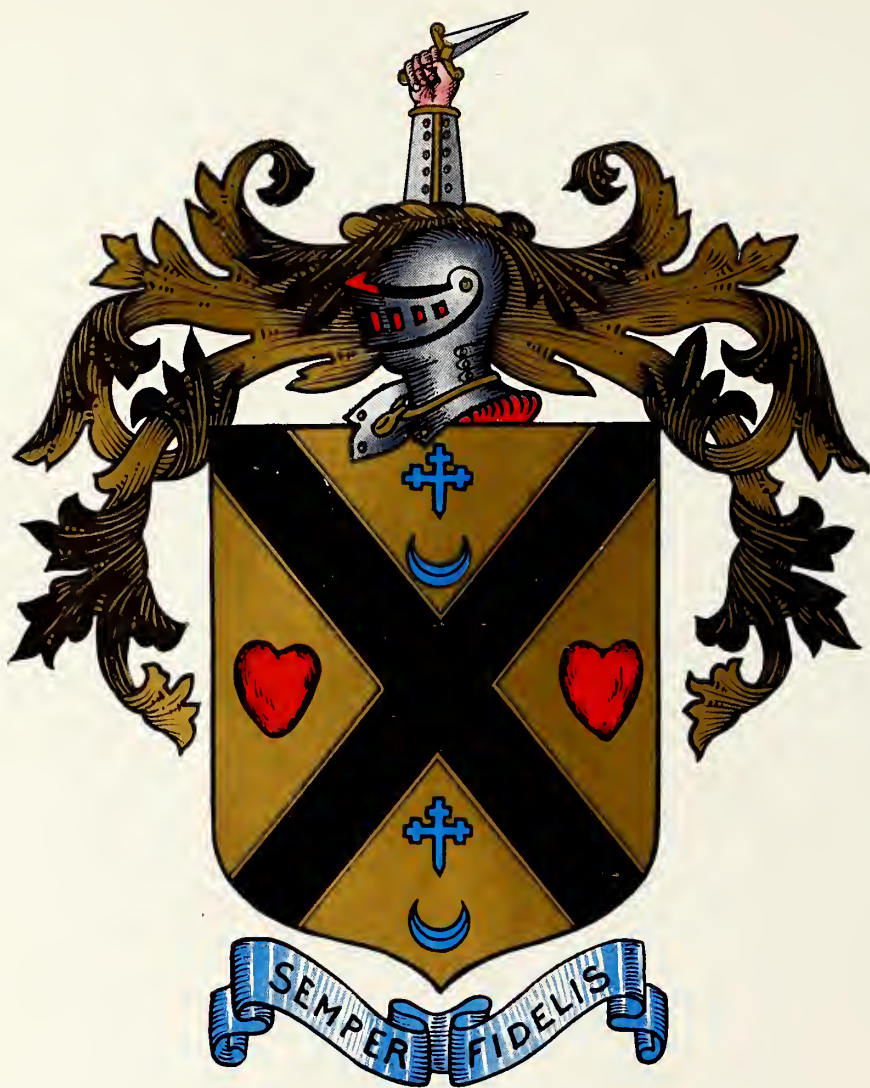
II. James Taylor, son of James Taylor and Mary (Thompson) Taylor, was born in Torphichen, Scotland, January 10, 1828. When he chose his life-work it was in the field that had engaged his father and grandfather, and he served an apprenticeship as a stone carver with James Steele, noted Scotch sculptor, an example of whose work is the dog on the Mall in Central Park, New York City. On May 1, 1850, less than a year after their marriage, he and his wife came to the United States. New York City, their first home, did not appeal to them, and since Mrs. Taylor had a brother who was a surveyor at Georgian Bay, Canada, they went to that place, purchasing a beautiful home where they spent one or two years. Mr. Taylor, however, decided to return to New York City, where he was joined by his family after he had established himself in business. He was exceptionally talented in stone carving, and typical specimens of his work along this line were the lions over the



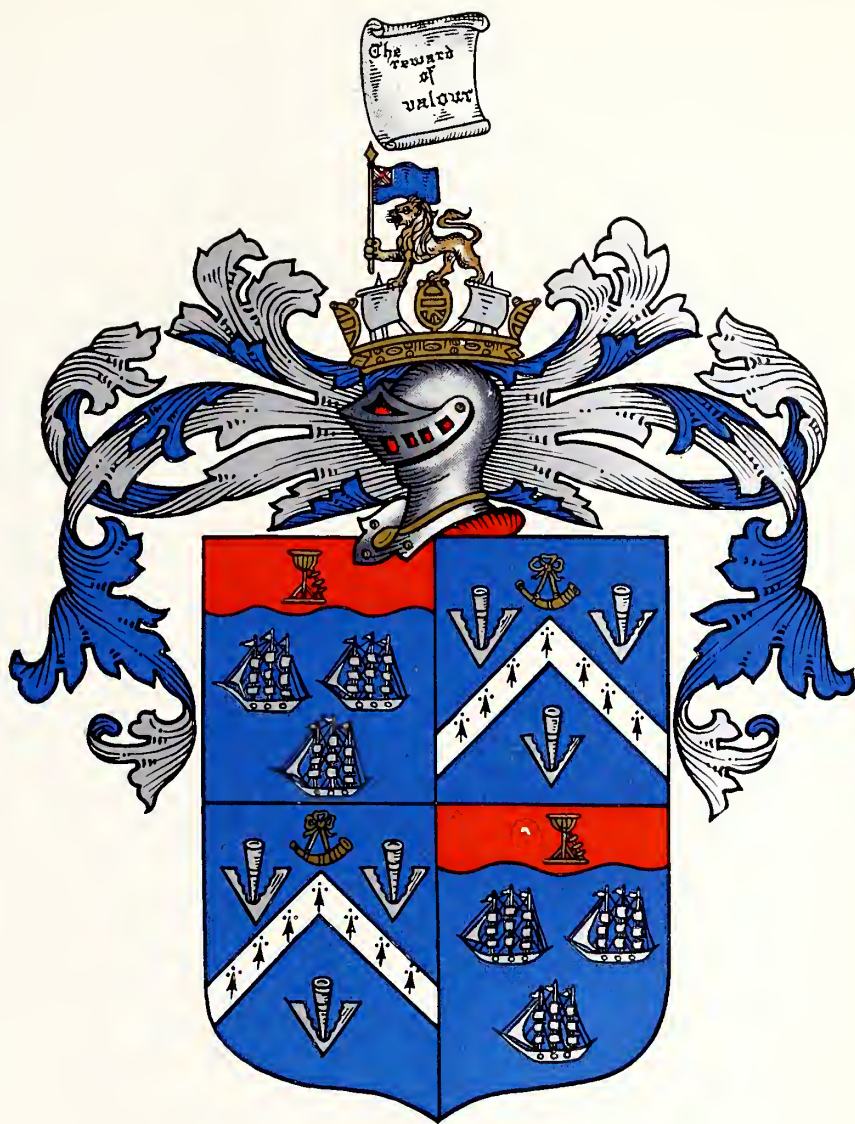


THE STONE YARD OF JAMES TAYLOR LOCATED AT
THIRTY-FOURTH STREET AND ELEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY





Taylor



Moodie

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

old Trinity Building, and the doorway of the Fifth Avenue home of James Gordon Bennett. By 1858 he had established his own business in New York, but at the outbreak of the Civil War he went to the front with the Seventy-ninth Highlanders of New York as first lieutenant and quartermaster. After a short period of service he resigned to return to the care of his wife and five children, and resumed his work in sculpture and stone carving.

Prior to 1868, James Taylor had a stoneyard on the south side of Thirty-fourth Street, at Eleventh Avenue. In that year he purchased a plot opposite, on the northeast corner of Thirty-fourth Street and Eleventh Avenue, four lots on Thirty-fourth Street and five lots on Eleventh Avenue, and, relinquishing his former lease, occupied the Thirty-fourth Street lots with his stoneyard, and leased the others. The property for which he paid \$45,000 in 1868 was sold in 1902 for \$216,000 cash.

A painting of this stoneyard is in the possession of Mrs. John Taylor, and has an interesting history. A young artist, A. A. Alexander, of his own volition made a painting of the yard, and then, failing to sell it, went to Mr. Taylor, told him he wished to go to Europe to study, and offered him the painting in return for a loan of two hundred dollars, with the provision that the picture would be returned by Mr. Taylor at any time within two years, upon payment of the loan, with interest. He never claimed his work, the story continuing that in France he married the daughter of a wealthy house and upon returning had a studio at the southeast corner of Sixth Avenue and Fortieth Street, and a home in Greenwich, Connecticut. Upon Mr. Taylor's retirement from business, the Thirty-fourth Street lots were leased for use as a second-hand lumber yard, and in 1902 the entire nine lots were sold to a Columbus, Ohio, brewer, who built a brewery with a siding into the property from the New York Central Railroad.

Mr. Taylor continued active until 1875, when ill health caused his retirement, and at his death in New York City, October 10, 1877, he was possessed of an estate of considerable value.

James Taylor married, November 14, 1849, at No. 49 Indian Place, Stockbridge. Edinburgh, Scotland, Olivia Young Moodie, born in Edinburgh, Scotland, February 14, 1830, died in Kansas City, Missouri, January 14, 1908. The Reverend William F. Tasker performed the ceremony. Children: 1. Mary Young, born December 19, 1850, died in Poughkeepsie, New York, June 11, 1925; married, in New York City, April 21, 1874, Lewis Wentworth Harrington. 2. Olivia Thomp-

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

son, born April 22, 1852, died October 22, 1856. 3. John, of whom further. 4. William, born June 23, 1856, died at Pueblo, Colorado, August 12, 1915; married (first), in 1881, at South Cleveland, Ohio, Mary Ayars; (second), May 14, 1912, Katharine Sleeper, of Kansas City, Missouri. 5. Bessie, born September 1, 1858; married, at Columbus, Ohio, April 14, 1880, Frank Royall Houghton, of New York City. 6. James, Jr., born September 22, 1860, died March 10, 1878. 7. Robert Lenox, born August 3, 1862, died in Nevada, July 26, 1900; married, in 1890, Frances Somerend, of Kansas City, Missouri. 8. George Moodie, born December 29, 1864; married (first) Caroline Link, of New York City; (second), at Millburn, New Jersey, September 21, 1892, Belle Lewis. 9. Frederick Almy, born June 19, 1868; married Virginia Alexander, of Independence, Missouri. 10. Ralph Davidson, born August 6, 1870, died March 22, 1872.

Moodie Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, azure three ships in full sail argent on a chief wavy gules a beacon or; 2d and 3d azure a chevron ermine between three pheons argent in chief a hunting-horn or.

Crest—On a naval coronet a lion passant holding a flag, on a scroll above the same, "The reward of valour."
(Burke—"General Armory.")

III. John Taylor, son of James and Olivia (Moodie) Taylor, was born in New York City, June 30, 1854. He received a good practical education in the public schools in New York City and in the Packard Business School. When he was but sixteen years of age, his father died and the exigencies of the family situation necessitated his starting out to make his own way. His first business position was in Nashua, New Hampshire, where he was employed by an uncle, William Taylor, later of the William Taylor and Son drygoods store, of Cleveland, Ohio. From here, he entered the employ of another uncle, who was in business under the firm name of Hogg, Brown and Taylor, of Boston, Massachusetts.

At the age of twenty-one, the young man, John Taylor, went to New Haven, Connecticut, and here entered in business for himself, establishing the firm of Adams and Taylor in partnership with J. N. Adams. Another venture of the same nature was later launched by Mr. Taylor in Columbus, Ohio, this time with George Sinclair as partner. It has been said that at this time Kansas City was the "best advertised town in the United States." Of John Taylor, it can be truly said that he had ability to take a long look ahead, and as far back as 1881, he envisioned the greatness and coming place of Kansas City. Together with Mr.





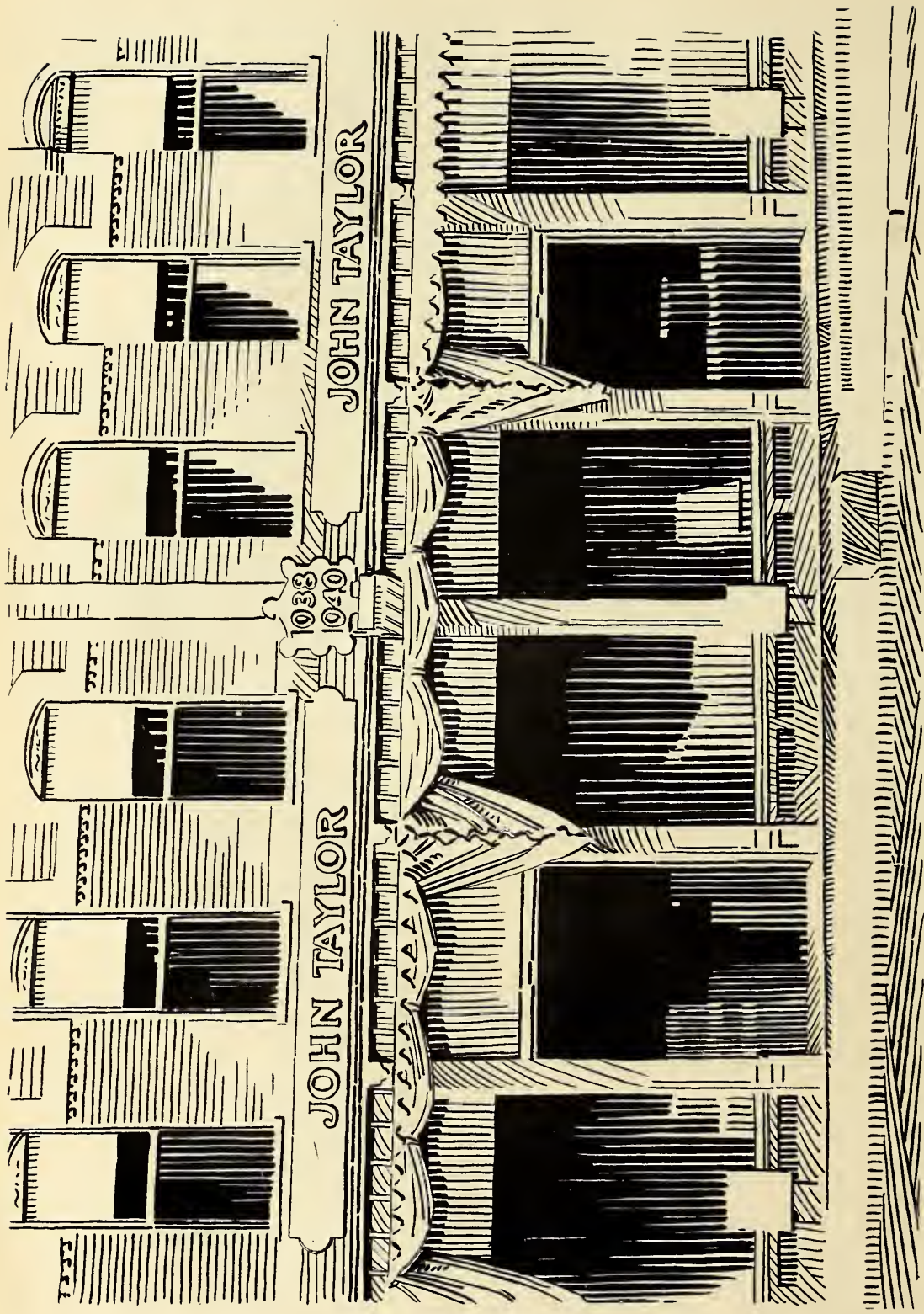
John Taylor



American Historical Society

Gertrude R. Taylor





BUILDING OCCUPIED BY JOHN TAYLOR FROM 1881-1914
1038-1040 MAIN STREET, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI



THE PRESENT STORE OF THE JOHN TAYLOR DRY GOODS COMPANY
ERECTED 1914

1034-1040 MAIN STREET, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI



TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Sinclair, he, accordingly, started new endeavors in that place, establishing a drygoods business, May 5, 1881. The first move of the partners was the leasing of the first floor and basement of the south half of the new Ridge Building at No. 1038 Main Street, before it was finished. These were the days when real estate dealers were booming the town, when Main Street had boardwalks, plank street crossings and a pavement of broken macadam. Mr. Taylor noticed that men "sat on fences, whittled and swapped lies and traded in dirt." His partner abandoned the venture within a year and sold his interest to Mr. Taylor, who hung on. His was ever the faith to stick to his enterprise in spite of disappointments. His name "John Taylor" appeared on a sign before the modest entrance to the simple little store. The proprietor and a Scotch employee swept the shavings from the new store and labored night and day putting up shelving, unpacking boxes and placing conveniently and attractively the new stock. Said the employee of his hardworking superior:

Mr. Taylor worked very hard in those days and did pretty much of everything. He did all the buying, and he wrote all the advertisements. He painted all the signs and price cards for the stock and windows. In fact, he did everything.

The business prospered and grew, and so firmly was it established that the crash which wrecked the financial world and disturbed the whole community, did not wreck John Taylor's firmly founded business. Since 1891, the John Taylor Dry Goods Company has been operated on a strictly cash basis.

Within a few years after he became sole owner, Mr. Taylor built his shallow store not more than sixty-five feet in depth back to the alley. Then he took over and occupied the second and third floors and finally took a lease on the whole building, one hundred feet of frontage. Wider and wider prosperity, founded on fair dealing, industry and keen ability, came. In 1903, he bought two hundred feet of ground on Baltimore Avenue and erected a five-story and basement building which is now part of the Taylor store. Some years later, his growing enterprise called for still more room, and was installed in newly purchased additions, purchased at different times as the volume of business increased and the reasonable expectation of future growth made expansion seem wise. The first twenty-six were bought from Mrs. Robert Lakenan; the second obtained by purchase from Thomas Corrigan. Both of these pre-

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

vious owners were members of old Kansas City families. These additions included fifty-two feet of the Main Street building, as well as the long time lease on the remaining forty-eight feet of the original Ridge Building. Thus had this business of modest beginnings grown to be an organization of great size. In 1914, the building was replaced by one of six stories with steel strong enough to carry four additional stories. The ten employees grew in number to several hundred and these are still connected with the business. Many of them are of Scotch birth and lineage, chosen by the founder, Mr. Taylor, always aware of the fine heritage that his own Scotch ancestry had given him. Then, too, many in the neighborhood are of the same descent and find congenial the Scotch atmosphere which pervades the establishment. The department store which had its humble beginnings in the small drygoods concern, bears strong testimony to the faculty of Mr. Taylor of securing the confidence and coöperation of both patrons and employees. For a long period, he worked actively in its upbuilding, and though for many years not resident in Kansas City, he still remained president of the company and closely associated with its progress, as well as that of Kansas City itself, for he bent his energies as earnestly toward upbuilding the city as toward erecting his own fortunes.

The last nineteen years of John Taylor's life were not spent in Kansas City, for he took up his residence in Millburn, New Jersey, and had an office in New York City. So greatly did his store prosper, that Mr. Taylor's three thousand two hundred and ninety-seven shares of its capital stock were valued, at the time of his death, at \$329,700. His real estate holdings in other places than Kansas City included property in the vicinity of New Chambers Street and New Bowery in New York, and fifty acres of land in Essex County, New Jersey. The success of Mr. Taylor awakes admiration and this is the recognition well-founded, that his career illustrates certain virtues of man and character, typical of the strong, able and high-minded American.

John Taylor was a life-member of the Kansas City St. Andrew Society, and showed deep interest in the prime purpose of the organization, namely, the building of an old folks' home. A sincere Christian, rather than a rigorous adherent of a creed, the man was noted for his home-loving disposition and his interest in his fellowmen. His ideals were humanitarian, and he worked in a spirit of coöperation with a true desire to serve. Mr. Taylor was a member of the Christian Church in



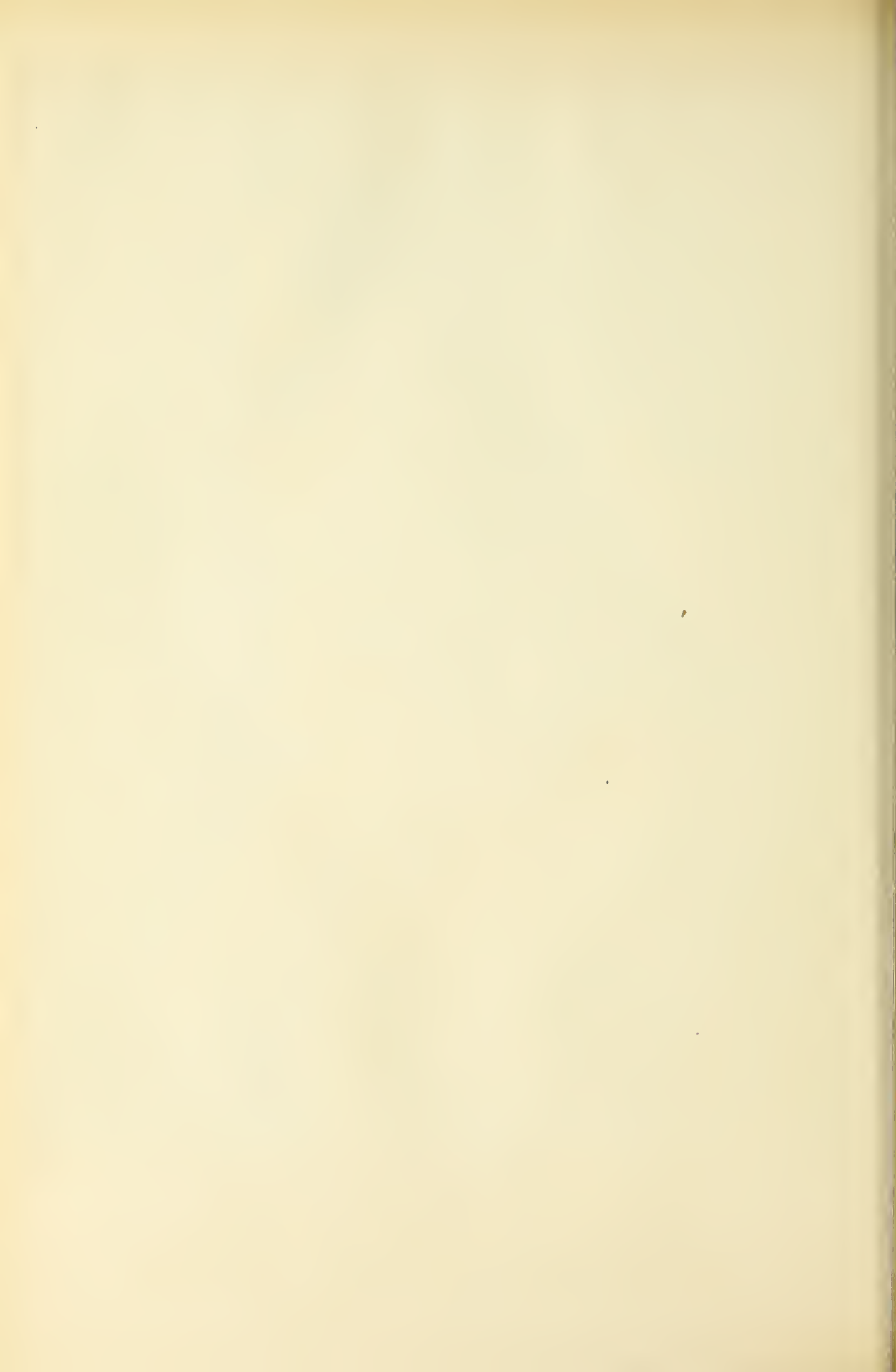
RESIDENCE OF MR. AND MRS. A. ALLEN TAYLOR
1032 WEST 64TH STREET, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI



Albert A Taylor



Nita (Abraham) Taylor





William Robert Taylor



Nita Nanette Taylor

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Kansas City. For a time in New York he went to the Presbyterian Church, and while in New Jersey attended the little Presbyterian Church in Springfield, known for its memorable historic associations. He later found inspiration and satisfaction in allying himself with the Church of Christ, Scientist, the church to which his wife belongs. His political views were those of the Republican party. His clubs were the Baltusrol Golf Club, Short Hills, New Jersey; the Short Hills Club; the Kansas City Club, of Kansas City; and the Country Club, of Kansas City. Driving horses and golf provided him with his chosen forms of recreation.

Death came to Mr. Taylor at his New Jersey home, November 30, 1919, at the end of sixty-five years of productivity and broad usefulness. In business astute, far-sighted, firm, and able, he was a success, and his success was the success of his city. He was quite literally a shaping element in the formative period of Kansas City and impressed the young city with something of his own high ideals and ambitions. Among those who "believed" in Kansas City at all times and under even adverse conditions was Mr. Taylor, who was willing to fortify his belief with all his fortune. He built up an institution which is a proverb for square dealing, for reliability, and for sound business policy.

A tangible monument to his ability, the John Taylor Dry Goods Company is far more than the most imposing and progressive department store in an alert community; it connotes high ideals of public service in merchandising, substantial merit, and dependability. His methods, ability, and integrity helped to establish for the whole retail trade of the city such high standards that the city became the retail trade capital of the territory. His generosity and public spirit had a share in every worthy civic or philanthropic enterprise. His personality entered into creating an ideal of citizenship for the city which has colored all its subsequent history.

Of John Taylor as a citizen and contributor to public progress, the Kansas City "Journal" speaks thus on its editorial page:

The John Taylor Dry Goods Company has always been dependable as a leader in all those public-spirited enterprises which make for the progress and prosperity of the community, even those which are often looked at somewhat askance by those short-sighted business men who are inclined to relegate "art" to the background. The Symphony Orchestra had no more sympathetic or generous supporter than Mr. Taylor, and his name and that of his firm could always be found on the subscrip-

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

tion lists of all worthy projects for the betterment of the condition of the people or for the general uplift of the community. He was always in the most intimate communication with everything which concerned the welfare of the city, and Kansas City has not in a long time lost a more devoted or valuable friend than in the death of John Taylor, whose passing will be universally regretted, but who leaves behind as a legacy the certainty that his firm will "carry on" with the same broad civic vision and fine genius for commercial cleanness and soundness which characterized him during his lifetime.

On the other hand, his personal life was pure and noble, imbued with a love of those who surrounded him in the way of family and friends, and with a humanitarianism which sought to help all of his fellowmen. A good man, a kindly man, he was a great American.

John Taylor married (first), at Columbus, Ohio, in 1881, Elizabeth Allen, of Lexington, Kentucky, who died in Kansas City. He married (second), at Kansas City, Gertrude Riner. (See Riner IV.). Children of the first marriage: 1. Albert Allen Taylor, was born in Kansas City, October 3, 1889. He was educated in the Kansas City public schools, the Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, New Jersey; Newark (New Jersey) Academy, and attended Princeton University three years. Mr. Taylor became connected with the business established by his father, in June, 1908, and has since been active as director, treasurer, vice-president and president successively. He is a member of the Kansas City Club, University Club, Kansas City Athletic Club, Blue Hills Club, and of the Friars Club, of New York, as well as of other well-known organizations. He married, October 27, 1913, Nita Naomi Abraham. Nita Naomi (Abraham) Taylor was born in Emporia, Kansas, August 31, 1890, daughter of Horace Mann Abraham, born March 17, 1858, died September 2, 1912, and Emma Belle (White) Abraham, the father a livestock commission merchant. Mrs. Taylor was educated at Westport High School, and attended Kansas University one year, specializing in music. Nita N. (Abraham) Taylor has gained considerable renown as a vocalist, having appeared professionally in nearly every Middle Western State, and was the leading soprano in the Kansas City Opera Company for seven years. She is active in all musical circles in Kansas City, and was one of the organizers and promoters of the Kansas City Little Symphony. She is a member of the Kansas City Music Club, the Woman's City Club, and Mu Phi Epsilon, an honorary musical fraternity; she was president of Mu Delta Chapter, 1927-28. Her favorite



RESIDENCE OF MR. AND MRS. JOHN TAYLOR, JR.
829 WEST 56TH STREET, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI





John Taylor Jr.



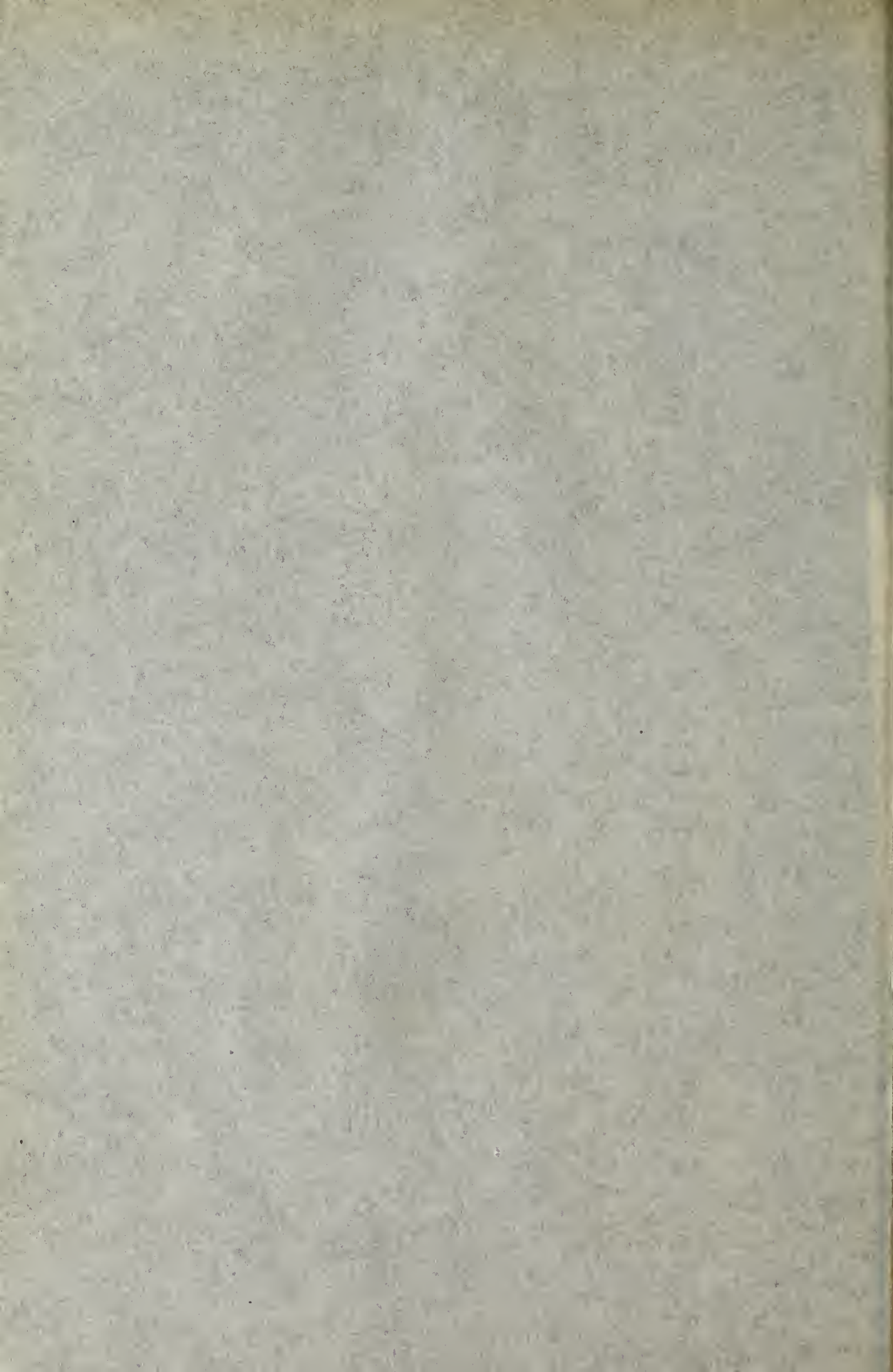
Kathleen Taylor







Ruth Taylor, Katharine Taylor, John Taylor, III, Jane Taylor



TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

recreations are fishing, motoring, and riding. Mr. and Mrs. Albert Allen Taylor are the parents of two children: William Robert and Nita Nanette. 2. John Taylor, Jr., was born in Kansas City, January 13, 1891. He was educated at Short Hills Academy, leaving school before graduating. Mr. Taylor entered his father's office in New York City in 1907 and has been actively engaged in this enterprise since, holding various offices up to and including the presidency. During the World War he served as first lieutenant in the Seventh Missouri Regiment. He is president of the Merchants' Association of Kansas City; member of the Kansas City Club, Missouri Hills Country Club, Blue Hills Country Club, Kansas City Athletic Club, and Automobile Club. He enjoys golfing and hunting, holding membership in two hunting clubs. He married, at Millburn, New Jersey, June 25, 1913, Kathleen Cox. Kathleen Fredericka (Cox) Taylor was born in Millburn, New Jersey, November 5, 1887, daughter of Joseph Edmund Cox, born October 6, 1857, died April 5, 1893, and Sarah Katharine (Traphagan) Cox. Her father was private secretary to General Thomas Logan and also engaged in brokerage business. A promising career was cut short by his early death. Mrs. Taylor is a member of the Woman's City Club, Mission Hills Country Club, Blue Hills Country Club, and Kansas City Musical Club. She is fond of horseback riding and tennis. Mr. and Mrs. John Taylor, Jr., are the parents of four children: Katharine, Jane, Ruth, and John, 3d.

By family arrangement, the offices of president and chairman of the board of directors of the Kansas City store are shared by these two sons of the first marriage of Mr. Taylor. The basis of this arrangement is the alternation of these offices yearly, this year (1930) John Taylor being president and Albert Allen Taylor chairman of the board of directors. Next year, the latter will hold the chief executive position, and his brother act in the capacity of head of the directorship. This will be indefinitely continued.

Children of the second marriage: 1. Harold Kenneth, born in Millburn, New Jersey, May 9, 1902, attended public schools and was graduated from Columbia High School, South Orange, New Jersey, thereafter attending Principia Junior College for one year. His first business connection was with the Charles E. Griffin Company, Inc., export and import merchants, and he is now a director and second vice-president of the John Taylor Dry Goods Company, of Kansas City, Missouri. He is a member of the Army and Navy Club of America, of New York City, and

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

the Spring Lake Golf and Country Club, and the Spring Lake Rod and Gun Club, of Spring Lake, New Jersey. He has traveled extensively, having spent almost five months in the interior of Latin America and northern South America at the age of nineteen years. Two years later he went around the world and has since made several trips to Europe. He is an enthusiastic sportsman, plays tennis and golf, and is an ardent fisherman and hunter. He married, at Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Spring Lake, New Jersey, August 5, 1925, Harriette Dorothy Borden, born in New York City, September 23, 1907, daughter of Matthew Sterling Borden, M. D., and Mildred Negbar Borden. Her father was born in New York City, March 4, 1873, was graduated from St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, and Yale College, and was a practicing physician at the time of his death as the result of an automobile accident in Jersey City, September 9, 1914. Harriette Dorothy (Borden) Taylor attended Miss Spence's School in New York City, traveled widely in Europe, and made her debut at Sherry's in April, 1925. She is fond of athletics, an ardent golfer, and in 1920-22 won tennis tournaments in both singles and doubles at the Bathing and Tennis Club, Spring Lake, New Jersey, the Rumson Club, and Bay Head.

2. Ruth Cecilia; born at Belmar, New Jersey, September 2, 1903. She was educated at South Orange (New Jersey) High School, Dana Hall, and Pine Manor School, Wellesley, Massachusetts. She married, at Sound Beach, Connecticut, July 23, 1927, George J. De Garmo, Jr. George J. De Garmo, Jr., was born in Flushing, Long Island, December 15, 1898, son of George J. De Garmo, born January 21, 1855, and Sidney (Eastburn) De Garmo. The father was engaged in the manufacture of surgical appliances, and was considered an expert in modeling artificial noses and ears. He was noted for his honesty and kindheartedness. The progenitor of this family, Pierre de Garreaux, settled in Albany, New York, in 1662, and married in Albany, in 1664. George J. De Garmo, Jr., was educated at Stevens Institute of Technology, and graduated from Tulane University, New Orleans, in 1926, with the degrees Bachelor Mechanical and Electrical Engineering. He began his professional career at Miami, Florida, in 1926, in which city he is serving as city engineer; engineer of the Reinforcing Steel and Supply Company; and head of the De Garmo Construction Company. He served for nineteen months with the Twenty-sixth Aero Squadron, American Expeditionary Forces, sergeant, first-class, in the World War. He is a member of the Louisiana Engineering Society, the Dade Engineer-





RESIDENCE OF MR. AND MRS. HAROLD K. TAYLOR
105 NEWARK AVENUE, SPRING LAKE, NEW JERSEY





Harold K. Taylor



Harriette (Borden) Taylor



TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ing Society, and the Chi Psi Fraternity. Mr. and Mrs. George J. De Garmo, Jr., are the parents of two children: Lindley Harold and Gertrude. 3. Olivia, born at Belmar, New Jersey, July 21, 1905. She graduated in 1922 from Columbia High School, South Orange, New Jersey; graduate of The Principia Junior College, St. Louis, Missouri, in 1924, with A. A. degree. She is a member of the Scarsdale Woman's Club, and the Alpha Chapter, Phi Alpha Eta, and Junior Order of Phi Beta Kappa. Her recreations are tennis and swimming. She married, at Short Hills, New Jersey, October 3, 1925, Maurice Fornachon Griffin. Maurice Fornachon Griffin, born in Brooklyn, New York, February 1, 1898, son of Charles Edwards Griffin, born December 17, 1863, and Agnes Octavia Roulet Fornachon (Hopkins) Griffin, the father an exporter and importer. The earliest paternal ancestor, Captain Thomas Griffin, came to America from Trinidad, British West India, eventually settling in Brooklyn, New York. Maurice F. Griffin was educated in the High School of Commerce, New York, and received extension courses in Columbia University, graduating in January, 1914. He has been associated with his father in business since March, 1915. He finds recreation in swimming, baseball, and handball. Mr. and Mrs. Maurice F. Griffin have two children: George Theodore and John Thomas.

In true appreciation of the modest and unassuming, yet deep humanitarian trend of the life of Mr. Taylor, a most fitting tribute has been made by Mrs. Taylor and her three children, Harold Kenneth Taylor, Ruth (Taylor) DeGarmo and Olivia (Taylor) Griffin. A park has been donated, appropriately situated in Millburn, New Jersey, the place of John Taylor's residence for so many years. Dedicated May 30, 1924, this park is complete in every detail. It covers a space of fourteen acres and its trees and lawns will serve the need of many people, perpetuating in most beautiful manner remembrance of the man in whose name it has been founded. Within its confines there has been erected a bronze tablet in his memory, placed there by the donors who have thus honored him.

(The Riner Line)

Rheiner (Reiner-Riner) Arms—Azure, a fess wavy argent.

Crest—Two wings l'antique, colors as in the shield.

(Rietstap—"Armorial Général.")

Both authorities, Pott and Yonge, refer the German family name Reiner or Rheiner to the old German Raginher, judgment or guide of the army; French Regnier, Anglo-Norman Rayner.

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Family in America)

I. Peter Riner, born in 1776, was son of a Reiner who came in the Palatine German immigration, but it is not known whether his father was Valentin Reiner, who took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, September 5, 1748; Christian Reiner; Christian or Johan Friedric Reiner, both of whom came on the ship "Fane," and took oath October 17, 1749; Balthas Reiner, who took oath September 30, 1754; Michael Reiner, who took oath October 20, 1764; or Johann Georg Reiner, who took oath September 18, 1773; but most likely one of the first three. The family to which he belonged, later settled in what is now Berkeley County, West Virginia. The family were planters, and Peter became the wealthiest man in his section. He died April 26, 1848. He married (first) Mrs. Mary (Lingamfelter) Hoffman, who had two sons by her Hoffman marriage. He married (second) Mrs. Mary (Folck) Lingamfelter, born in 1780, sister-in-law of his first wife, who had Lingamfelter (Lingenfeldter) sons John and Jacob, and a daughter Elizabeth.

(Egle: "Names of Foreigners Who Took the Oath, 1727-1775," pp. 262-509.)

Children, born in Berkeley County, Virginia, by first marriage: 1. Elizabeth. 2. Mary. 3. Henry. 4. Catherine. By second marriage: 5. David, of whom further.

(Flagg: "Descendants of Josiah Flagg," pp. 30-33.)

II. David Riner, son of Peter and Mary (Folck-Lingamfelter) Riner, was born at Little Georgetown, Berkeley County, Virginia (now West Virginia), December 8, 1819, and died in Riner (originally Auburn), Montgomery County, Virginia, March 8, 1902. He was a farmer in Little Georgetown, nine miles from Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), owning fine farming lands and several sawmills on the Potomac River. The great freshet of 1853 destroyed his mills, and he moved to Auburn, renamed Riner in his honor in 1880. He was a strong Unionist in the Civil War, an upright and good citizen; once a representative of Montgomery County in the State Legislature, and a County Magistrate. He was married by Rev. Philip Lipscomb, in Martinsburg, December 12, 1848, to Margaret Melissa Flagg. (See Flagg VIII.) Children, except first two, born in Auburn, West Virginia: 1. George Henry, of whom further. 2. Mary Elizabeth, born September



RESIDENCE OF MR. AND MRS. GEORGE J. DE GARMO, JR.
PALM ISLAND, MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA







George J. Le Garmon Jr.

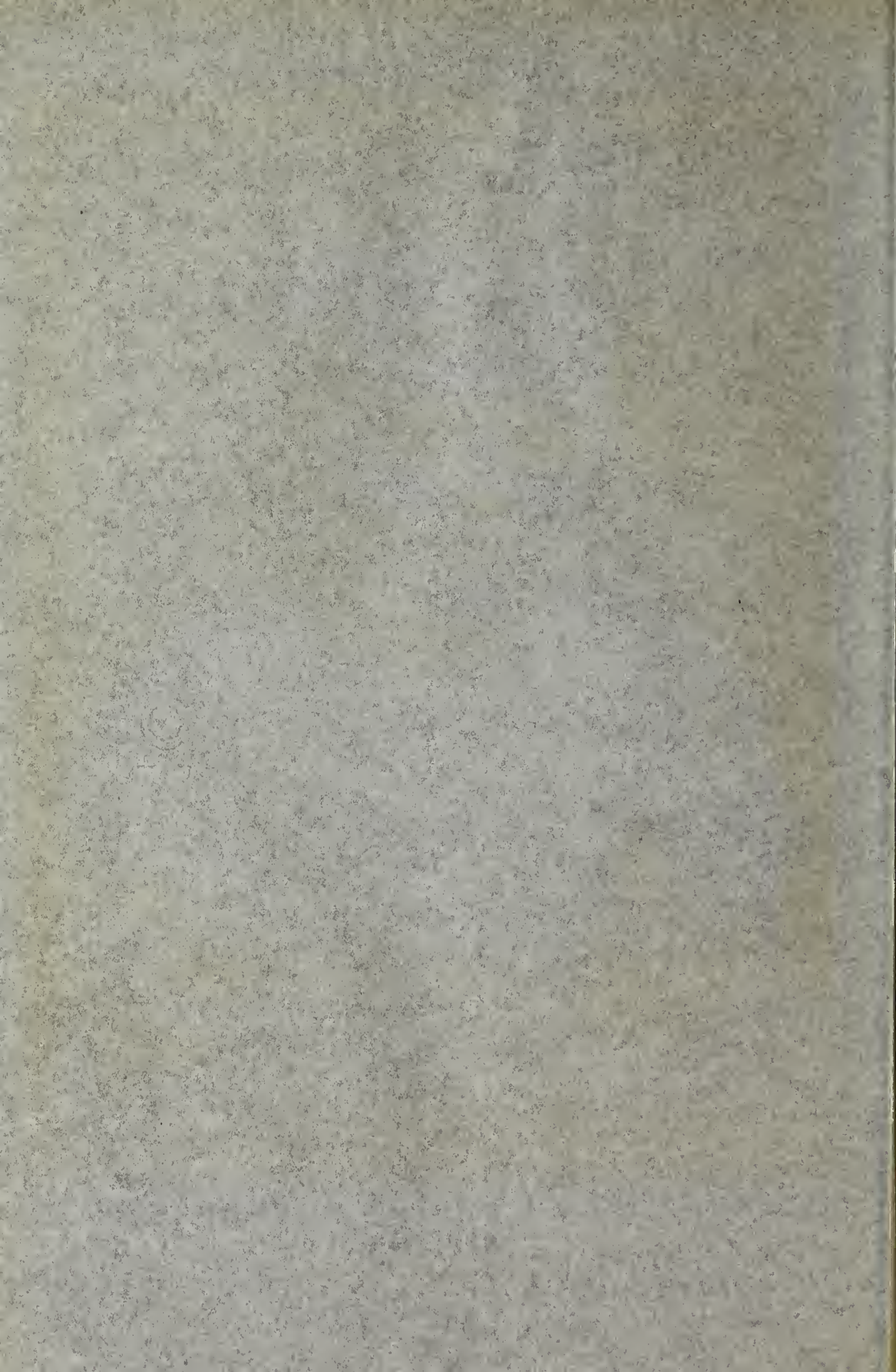


Ruth (Taylor) DeGarmo



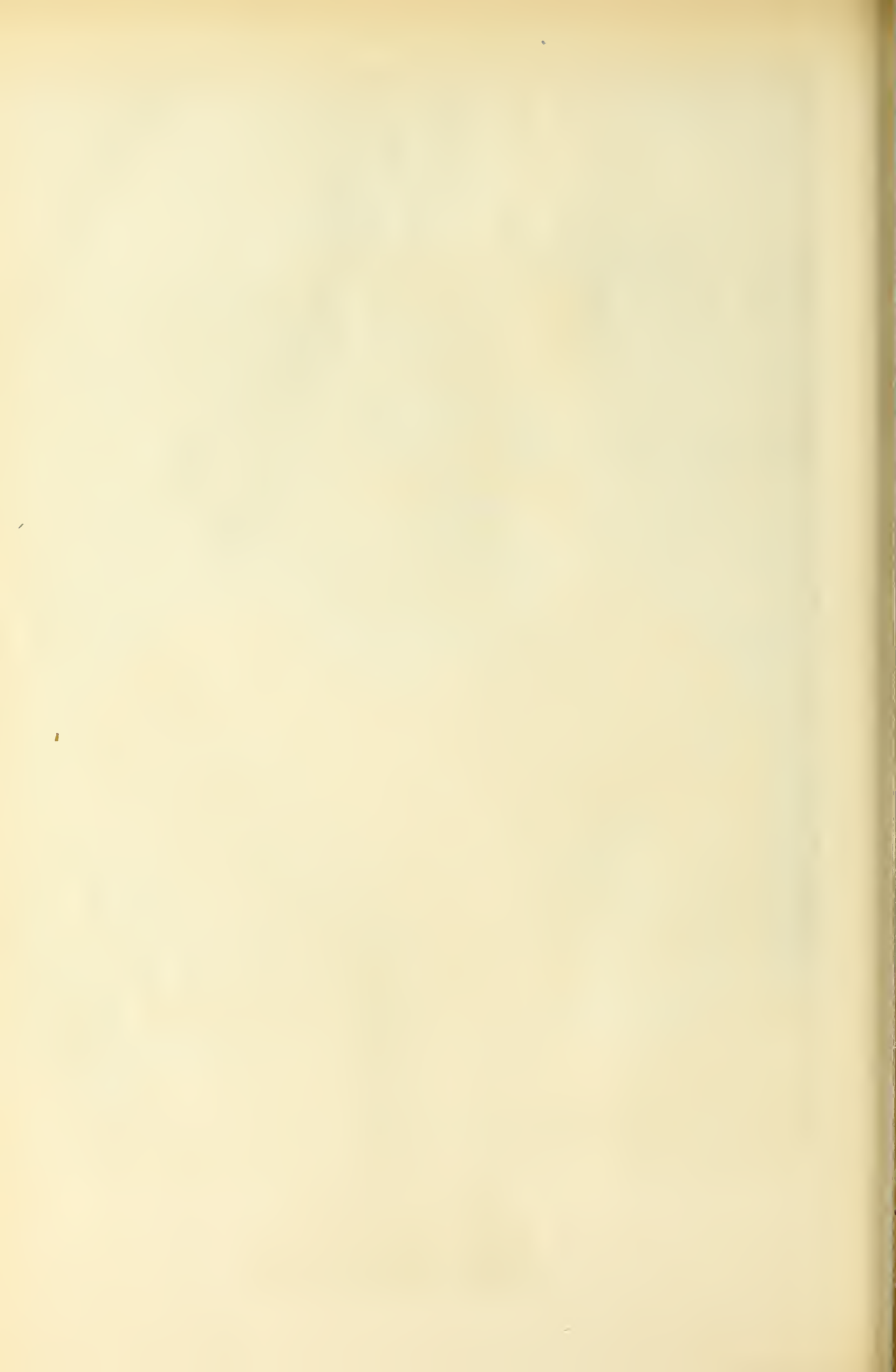


Lindley Harold De Garmo





Gertrude De Garmo



TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

2, 1851, died at Auburn, August 2, 1853. 3. John Daniel, born November 9, 1853, died at Riner, May 16, 1882. 4. Martha Jane, born November 28, 1855, died at Tucumcari, New Mexico, March 20, 1914; married, March 10, 1874, James H. Altizer. 5. William Thomas, born October 12, 1857, removed about 1918, to Locust Grove, Floyd County, Virginia; married, December 19, 1883, Sallie Ann Altizer. 6. Alice Burkhart, born April 9, 1860; married, June 15, 1884, Rev. Noah Berry Wickham, who for several years traveled for the American Sunday School Union, settled in Oklahoma in missionary work; residence, Norman, Oklahoma. 7. Margaret Catherine, born September 7, 1863, died at Dublin, Pulaski County, Virginia, December 28, 1909; married, February 6, 1884, James Jackson Wall. 8. Emmaline Virginia, born February 21, 1865; married, December 12, 1889, Simon Peter Willis, merchant of Willis, Floyd County, Virginia, who died February 17, 1915; follows his business. 9. Lucy Flaherty (twin), born October 28, 1868; married, June 13, 1888, Rev. Edward Leesing Folk, a Lutheran minister of Doubs, Maryland. 10. David Hughes (twin), born October 28, 1868; civil engineer, now in Buena Park, California; married, in California, November 15, 1908, Julia Stankey, who has since died.

III. George Henry Riner, son of David and Margaret Melissa (Flagg) Riner, was born at Little Georgetown, Berkeley County, Virginia, September 10, 1849, and died in Omaha, Nebraska, August 11, 1916. He went West and settled first at Mount Morris, Illinois, as a carpenter and builder in 1873. He made a trip to Missouri, but returned to Illinois, and several years later, in 1882, established as a lumber dealer at Rosedale, Kansas. In February, 1883, he moved his family from Illinois to this place, where he remained until 1885, when he became a partner in the Roach and Riner Sash and Door Company, at Kansas City, Missouri. He married, at Mount Morris, Illinois, March 2, 1876, Augusta C. Stroh. (See Stroh II.) To George Henry and Augusta C. (Stroh) Riner three daughters and two sons were born: 1. Margaret Adele, born at Mount Morris, Illinois, May 31, 1877; married, August 19, 1901, Edward Everard Canham, Jr. They live in Kansas City, and have three children: Margaret, Dorothy Ruth, and Virginia Edward. 2. Gertrude, of whom further. 3. Alice Josephine, born at Mount Morris, Illinois, August 25, 1880, died at Short Hills, New Jersey, April 11, 1922. 4. John David, born at Mount Morris, Illinois, August 24, 1882; married, at Gentry, Arkansas, September 1,

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1915, Nell June Sturgeon, and they reside in Kansas City. 5. George Holly, born at Rosedale, Kansas, July 14, 1885, died at Kansas City, January 7, 1886.

(“History of Ogle County, Illinois,” p. 778.)

IV. Gertrude Riner, daughter of George Henry and Augusta C. (Stroh) Riner, was born at Mount Morris, Illinois, November 28, 1878. She married (as second wife), at Kansas City, Missouri, October 29, 1900, John Taylor. (See Taylor II.) Mrs. Taylor is a Christian Scientist, member of the Mother Church in Boston. She is a member of the Neighborhood Association, of Millburn, New Jersey, where she long maintained a home. For many years she was a director of the organization and chairman of its baby welfare work, and took a leading part in its program of community service. In 1917 Mr. and Mrs. Taylor purchased the Smith house on Taylor Street, Millburn, and after remodeling, renovating, and partially furnishing, turned it over to the Neighborhood Association. It became known as Neighborhood House and at first served as a home for the district nurse and as headquarters for the baby clinic which Mrs. Taylor had organized. Several years later a day nursery was opened to meet a great need in the village and this, starting with only a few children, had an attendance in 1929 of 1,933 children. In 1921 Mrs. Taylor purchased the property adjoining Neighborhood House in the rear, fronting on Church Street and occupied by the parish house. The building was sold to St. Stephen's Episcopal Church and was moved to the church grounds, the property then being deeded to the Neighborhood Association to meet its growing needs. Mrs. Taylor is also a member of the Art Institute and the Woman's City Club, of Kansas City, Missouri, and of the Missouri Historical Society.

(The Stroh Line)

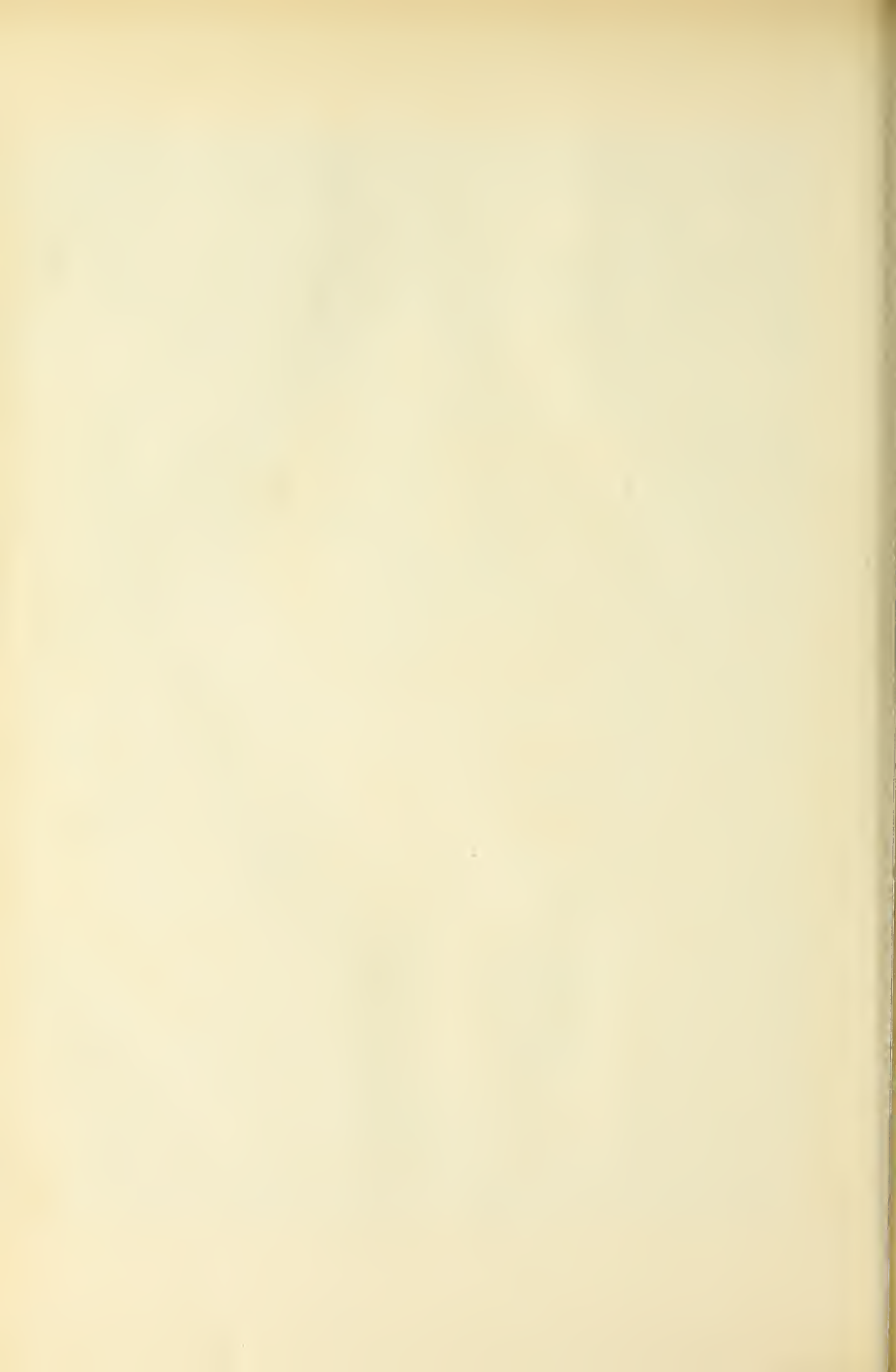
Stroh Arms—Or, a man habited argent, breeches gules, a border of the second, holding in the dexter hand a grenade of war, in the sinister a square.

(Rietstap—“Armorial Général.”)

The German family name of Stroh originated as a nickname, that is, “a man of straw.” Michael Stroh, a Palatine German, settled after 1743 in Bethel Township, now in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, and died before the year 1804, leaving a wife and five sons and two daughters, namely: John, Margaret, George, Sally, Joseph, Michael, and David. George Stroh, son of Michael, was born in Germany, June 2, 1741, and died on March 15, 1819. His wife, Anna Maria, was born



RESIDENCE OF MR. AND MRS. MAURICE F. GRIFFIN
75 BEECH HILL ROAD, SCARSDALE, NEW YORK





Mr. D. O. Ruffin





Oliva (Taylor) Griffin





John Thomas Griffin George Theodore Griffin

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

June 24, 1744, died November 26, 1844. Joseph Stroh, son of Michael, was born in Germany in 1743, and died in Dauphin County, August 14, 1827; he married, in 1766, Catherine Smith, and had nine children, of whom he left three sons and a daughter. He, with his brother George, settled in Fishing Creek Valley, West Hanover Township, Dauphin County, among the earliest settlers there; where there is still a family burial plot on the farm of a descendant named Stroh. The name is sometimes Anglicized Straw.

(The Family in America)

I. Nicholas John Stroh was born in Lykens Valley, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, May 5, 1798, and was probably a descendant of the above-named Michael. Nicholas J. Stroh received his early education in the grammar schools of Dauphin County, and entered college under the direction of Rev. Mr. Lockman, a Lutheran minister, who educated a number of young men for the ministry. After completing his college course, Mr. Stroh was ordained to the ministry by the Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania, about 1823. After preaching for various churches in the East, he traveled through Illinois and other Western states with a view to restoration of impaired health. On returning to Pennsylvania, he married, March 2, 1826, near Newville, Pennsylvania, Elizabeth Givler, born December 2, 1807. They came to Ogle County, Illinois, in 1845, and resided at Oregon one year and organized the Lutheran Church at that place. They then moved to Mount Morris, where he purchased two large farms, on one of which he made his home, and for many years engaged in farming, meanwhile preaching in the region round about. Rev. Nicholas J. Stroh organized the Lutheran Church in Mount Morris, and was its minister for a number of years. He died January 1, 1897, aged ninety-eight, and his wife died November 10, 1894. Children: 1. Maria, born November 23, 1828; married, July 4, 1846, Philip R. Bennett, merchant in Oregon, Illinois, born in Massachusetts, October 10, 1824. He died, March 1, 1855, and she married (second) William Schultz, born in New York, May 23, 1823. Four children by each marriage. 2. Luther M., born April 17, 1830. 3. Muehlenberg, born July 28, 1832. 4. Martha E., born September 6, 1835. 5. Rhenius, born April 27, 1837. 6. Gustavus A., born September 16, 1840. 7. Alfred E., born March 6, 1842. 8. Augusta C. (twin), of whom further. 9. Cecilia A. (twin), born February 16, 1844. 10. Josephine, born at Mount Morris, Illinois, June 6, 1848.

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

II. *Augusta C. Stroh*, daughter of Nicholas J. and Elizabeth (Givler) Stroh, was born February 16, 1844, and died at Kansas City, Missouri, January 9, 1923. She married George Henry Riner. (See Riner III.)

("Biographical Record of Ogle County, Illinois," pp. 216-17 (portrait); Egle: "History of Lebanon County," p. 351; Egle: "Notes and Queries, Annual Volume, 1896," pp. 170-71.)

(The Flagg Line)

Flegg (Flagg) Arms—Per pale^{or} and sable, a chevron counterchanged.

Crest—Two lion's gambes in saltire sable, enfiled with two laurel branches in orle vert. (Burke—"General Armory.")

Of the class derived from localities, the surname Flegg (in America, Flagg) originated from Flegg hundred, now divided into East and West Flegg, hundreds in County Norfolk, England. Algar de Flegg is in Blomefield and Parkin, History of Norfolk in the reign of Henry II (1154-89); Henry de Flegg in the reign of Richard I (1189-99); John de Flegg in the reign of Henry III (1216-72), and John Flegg in the seventh year of Henry VIII.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in America)

I. *Thomas Flegg*, the ancestor of most, if not all, of the Flaggs in the United States, was the second of four sons of Bartholomew Flegg, of Whimbergh and Shipdham, County Norfolk, and of Alicia, his wife, and was baptized at Whimbergh in 1615. He was entered as one of the three servants of Richard Carver, at Scratby, Norfolk, the point of their embarkation for New England, April 11, 1637 ("Hotten's Lists," p. 291), and as of the age of twenty-one years. He was a proprietor in Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1641, and served the town as surveyor, assessor, and as selectman, 1671, 1674-76-78, and died in Watertown February 6, 1697-98. His wife, Mary, whose family name does not appear, died in 1703, aged eighty-three. (Flagg: "Descendants of Josiah Flagg," pp. 60-67.) Children, born in Watertown, Massachusetts: 1. Gershom, of whom further. 2. John, born June 14, 1643; lived in Watertown; died February 6, 1696-97; married, March 30, 1670, Mary Gale. 3. Bartholomew, born February 23, 1644-45; served in King Philip's War. 4. Thomas, born April 28, 1646; married, February 18, 1667-68, Rebecca Dix. 5. William, born in 1648(?), killed in 1675, at Lancaster, by Indians. 6. Michael, born March 23, 1650-51,





Rheiner
(Reiner)
(Riner)



Stroh





Flegg
(Flagg)

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

died October 16, 1711. 7. Eleazer, born May 14, 1653, died in 1722. 8. Elizabeth, born March 22, 1654-55, died August 9, 1729; married, October 20, 1676, Joshua Bigelow. 9. Mary, born June 14, 1657, died September 7, 1720; married, June 3, 1674, Samuel Bigelow. 10. Rebecca, born September 5, 1660, died in 1721; married, November 19, 1679, Stephen Cook. 11. Benjamin, born June 25, 1662, died in Worcester, May 3, 1741. 12. Allen, born May 16, 1665, died in November, 1711; descendants in Connecticut.

(Bond: "Genealogies of Watertown," pp. 219-21.)

II. Gershom Flagg, son of Thomas and Mary Flegg, was born at Watertown, Massachusetts, April 16, 1641, killed at Lamprey River, New Hampshire, by Indians, July 6, 1690. He was a tanner and settled in Woburn, Massachusetts, about 1668. In King William's War he was a lieutenant in Captain Wiswall's Company in a fight with the Indians in what is now Lee, New Hampshire, until he was killed. He married, in Woburn, April 15, 1668, Hannah Lepingwell (or Leppingwell.) (See Lepingwell II.) Children, born in Woburn, Massachusetts: 1. Gershom, born March 10, 1669. 2. Eliezer, born in August, 1670, died July 12, 1726; married, in 1695, Esther Green. 3. John, born May 25, 1673. 4. Hannah, born March 12, 1675; married, January 9, 1695, Henry Green. 5. Thomas, born June 22, died June 23, 1677. 6. Ebenezer, of whom further. 7. Abigail, born January 8, 1680-81; married (first) David Cutler; (second) Stephen Wright. 8. Mary, born February 2, 1682-83. 9. Thomas, born April 19, 1685; married Hannah, surname unknown. 10. Benoni, born and died August 19, 1687.

(Woburn, Births, etc., Part I, p. 92.)

III. Ebenezer Flagg, son of Gershom and Hannah Lepingwell (or Leppingwell) Flagg, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, December 21, 1678, died there July 10, 1746. He married, December 25, 1700, Elizabeth Carter. (See Carter III.) Children, born in Woburn, Massachusetts: 1. Elizabeth, born July 25, 1701; married Jacob Whitmore. 2. Mary, born December 25, 1702. 3. Ebenezer, of whom further. 4. John, born September 7, 1706, died June 23, 1724. 5. Gershom, born July 29, 1708, died in 1730, Wilmington residence. 6. Thomas, born November 9, 1710, died in 1747; married Mary (Locke) Richardson. 7. Josiah, born November 12, 1712, died in 1741; married Mary Willis. 8. Ruth, born October 14, 1714. 9. Hannah, born October 1, 1716;

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

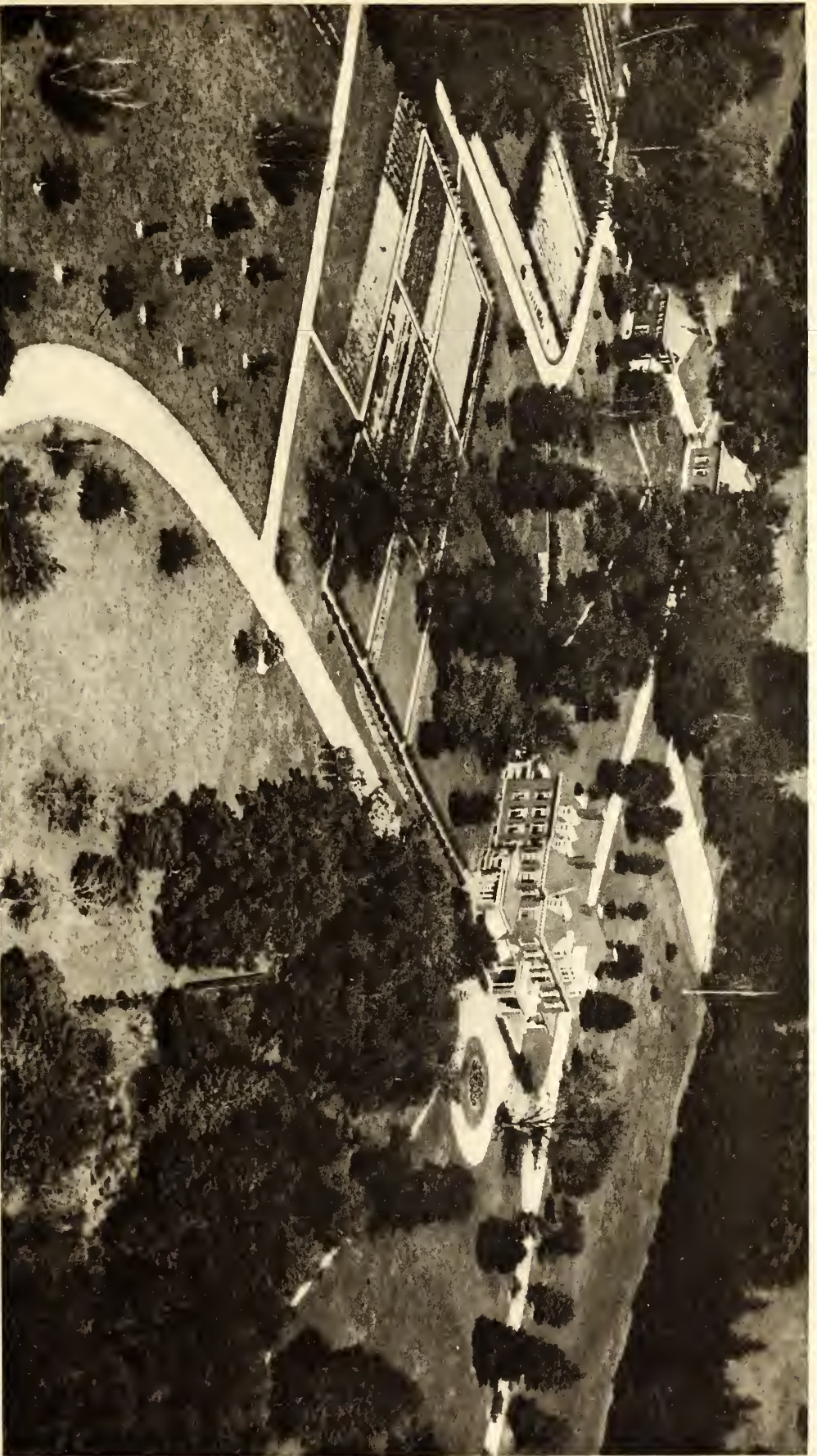
married Nathaniel Reed. 10. Abigail, born July 20, 1718. 11. Abigail, born June 7, 1722; married Samuel Estabrook.

IV. Reverend Ebenezer Flagg, son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth (Carter) Flagg, was born at Woburn, Massachusetts, October 18, 1704, and died in Chester, New Hampshire, November 14, 1796. He was a graduate of Harvard College in 1725; and later prepared for the ministry. In 1736 he was invited to become the successor of Reverend Moses Hale, the first minister of Chester, and was ordained September 22, 1736. He purchased a house and lot in 1736 from his predecessor; and was one of the great preachers of his day. Ebenezer Flagg was instrumental in the "Great Revival of 1741." In 1793, on reaching the age of eighty-nine, he withdrew from the active pastorate; the church granting him £30 a year and settling Reverend Mr. Bradstreet as his colleague. He married, in Boston, November 15, 1739, Lucretia Keyes. (See Keyes IV.) Children, born in Chester, New Hampshire: 1. Lucretia, born in 1741; married Peter Coffin, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. 2. John, born in 1743, died in 1793; Harvard, 1761; colonel in the Revolution; physician in Lynn, Massachusetts; married Susanna Towle. 3. Thomas, of whom further. 4. Josiah, born in 1748, died in 1799; served in the Revolution; married Anna Webster. 5. Sarah, born in 1751, died in 1831; married ——— Evans. 6. Richard, born in 1754, died in 1762. 7. Ebenezer, born in 1757, died in 1796; lived at Salem; married Mary Emerson. 8. Mary, born in 1759, died in 1842; married Ebenezer Greenough. 9. Catherine, born in 1762, died young.

V. Thomas Flagg, son of Reverend Ebenezer and Lucretia (Keyes) Flagg, was born at Chester, New Hampshire, October 17, 1745; probably lost at sea, for tradition says he was a sea captain. He married, August 7, 1765, Elizabeth Foss, daughter of Captain Zachariah and Sarah (Waterhouse) Foss, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Children: 1. Thomas, born about 1767. He was taken South by his "Aunt Keyes," his mother having died when her children were young. He later settled in Charlestown, Jefferson County, Virginia, now a part of West Virginia. 2. Josiah, of whom further. 3. John, said to have lived in Boston, Massachusetts.

VI. Josiah Flagg, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Foss) Flagg, was born about 1770, and died at Flagg's Mills, Berkeley County, Virginia, May 9, 1849. He and his brother Thomas were taken by their great





AEROPLANE VIEW OF WOODFIELD, SHORT HILLS
MILBURN, NEW JERSEY







WOODFIELD, SHORT HILLS.
MILLBURN, N. J.





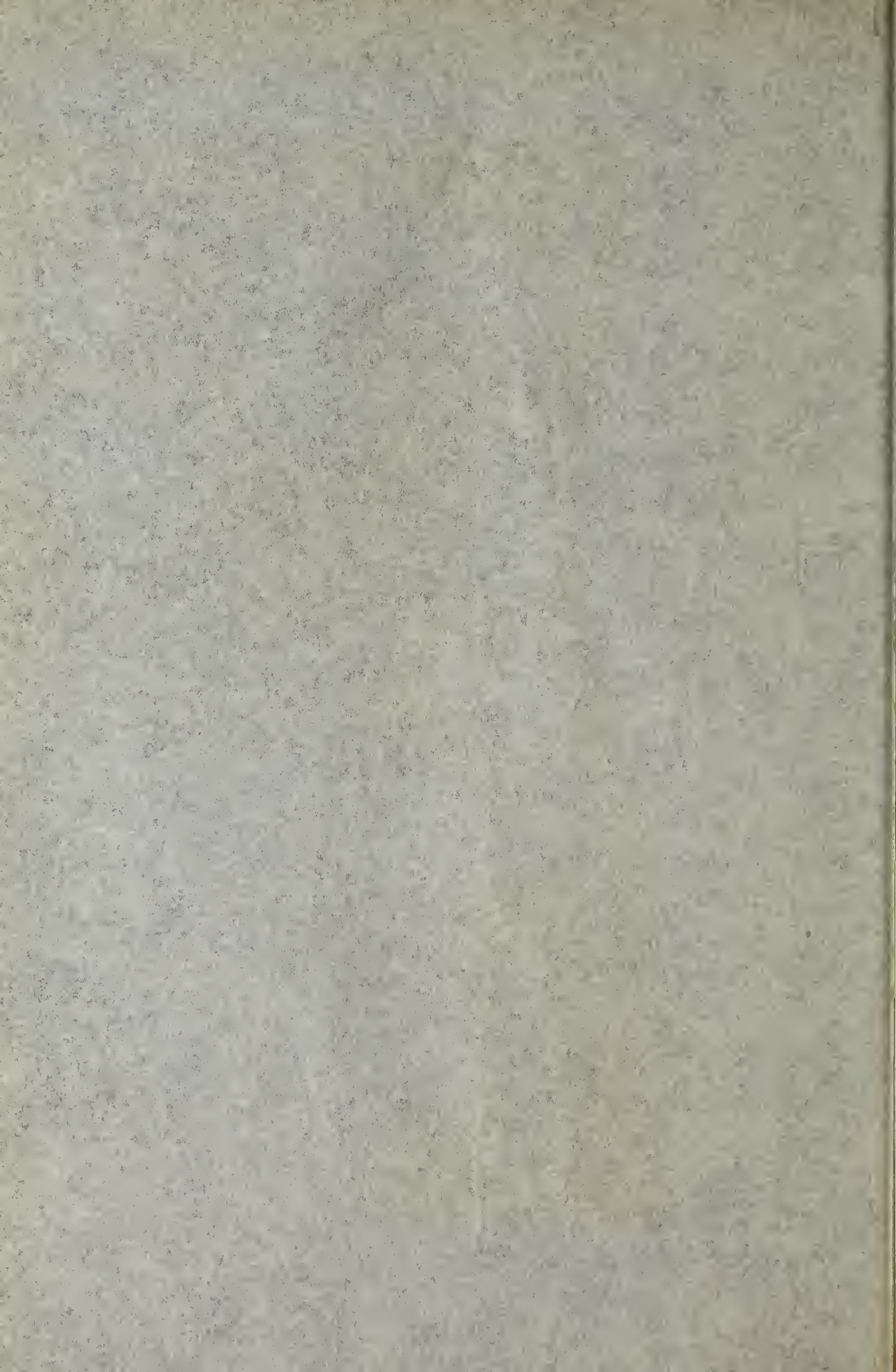
WOODFIELD, SHORT HILLS,
MILLBURN, N. J.







ENTRANCE TO WOODFIELD,
SHORT HILLS,
MILLBURN, N. J.



TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

aunt, Miss Ruth Keyes, sister of Mrs. Ebenezer (Keyes) Flagg, of Chester, New Hampshire, to the Virginia plantation of her father, Gershom Keyes. Josiah, having no trade and being an excellent violinist and dancer, on becoming of age became temporarily a dancing master. Among his pupils was Margaretta Shively, daughter of John Shively, a Swiss merchant, who had emigrated before the Revolutionary War, and purchased large tracts of land in old Frederick County, Virginia (the part set off in 1772 as Berkeley County, and now in West Virginia). Josiah Flagg married, January 28, 1790, Margaretta Shively, born about 1772, died February 20, 1835. After the death of her father, in 1792, she inherited his whole estate, and brought it to her husband, who sold part of the land, and built "Flagg's Mills." These consisted of one large three-story flour mill, one plaster mill, and one sawmill, all run by water power from the Tuscarora, and about one mile from Martinsburg. Children, born at Flagg's Mills, Berkeley County, Virginia: 1. Ruth Keyes, born December 17, 1790, died at Martinsburg, March 16, 1873; married, in 1812, Daniel Burkhart. 2. Molly, born July 2, 1792, died April 6, 1807. 3. Elizabeth, born May 21, 1794, died probably in her "teens." 4. Martha Matilda, born June 13, 1797, died August 22, 1800. 5. Ruhamah, born April 7, died June 25, 1800. 6. John Magnus, of whom further. 7. Thomas George, born November 14, 1803, died May 11, 1879, at Flagg's Mills; married, in 1828, Margaret B. Slemons. 8. Esther Joida Ann, born August 9, 1806; married (first) Joseph Minghini; (second) James Barnard. 9. Josiah David, born August 20, 1809, died August 24, 1885, a farmer; left an estate of some \$60,000, eventually divided between the families of his brothers and sisters. He married Caroline Burkhart, but had no issue. 10. Margaret Louisa, born May 18, 1811, died young.

VII. John Magnus Flagg, son of Josiah and Margaretta (Shively) Flagg, was born at Flagg's Mills, Berkeley County, Virginia, July 28, 1801, died at sea, September 24, 1849. He received a liberal education and as a medical student attended lectures at the University of Maryland School of Medicine, Baltimore, 1823-24. It is thought he began practice in Baltimore, but he removed later to Martinsburg. Being in ill health in 1849, he sailed at the time of the "gold fever" of 1849, for California, by way of Cape Horn, but died at sea near Cape Horn, September 24 (another account says October 19), and was buried at sea. John Magnus Flagg married, in Martinsburg, November 7, 1822, Eliza-

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

beth Roughton Hughes, born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, January 31, 1800, died at Rogersville, Tennessee, December 16, 1859, daughter of Nathaniel and Nancy (Roughton-Tanquary) Hughes. She retained a home in Martinsburg or in Little Georgetown, Berkeley County, until 1854; then lived with her children and friends until 1857, when she followed her youngest child, Henry G. Flagg, to Rogersville, Tennessee. Her love for her children was remarkable, and was repaid by remarkable loyalty. Children: 1. John Shively, born at Flagg's Mills, September 2, 1823; received a good general and medical education; but having remarkable mechanical ability, he became a carpenter and cabinetmaker, contractor and builder, and invented several mechanical devices. He was also a dealer in furniture and coffins, and patented, July 9, 1895, a permanent device for lowering caskets into the grave. At the opening of the Civil War, he served as lieutenant-colonel of the Eighty-ninth Regiment of Virginia Militia, Confederate States of America, under Colonel Samuel Johnson. It is believed he was at Gettysburg, and he was certainly in military service in Tennessee at one time. He ended his days with his younger brother Henry, in Whitesburg, Tennessee, July 11, 1900. He married, in Berkeley Springs, Virginia, October 15, 1845, Rosamah M. T. Hunter, born at Berkeley Springs, in 1818, died there, February 17, 1887. 2. Thomas George, born at Martinsburg, Virginia, March 12, 1825, died there January 10, 1910; married, in 1853, Martha M. Flagg. 3. Margaret Melissa, of whom further. 4. Henry Garther, born at Martinsburg, Virginia, June 20, 1828, died at Whitesburg, Tennessee, April 9, 1905; married, in 1860, Martha A. Campbell.

VIII. Margaret Melissa Flagg, daughter of John M. and Elizabeth R. (Hughes) Flagg, was born at Martinsburg, Virginia, July 9, 1826, and died at Willis, Virginia, April 22, 1905. She received her education in the city of Washington, District of Columbia. She married David Riner. (See Riner II.) After her husband's death Mrs. Riner lived with her daughter Emmaline (Mrs. Willis) in Willis, Virginia, and died there.

(Flagg: "Descendants of Josiah Flagg," pp. 13-33.)

(The Lepingwell Line)

Represented, in 1495, by Lawrence Leppingwell, the surname Lepingwell appears in County Essex, England. In 1552 there is a variation Leffingwell. It is evidently a place-name.





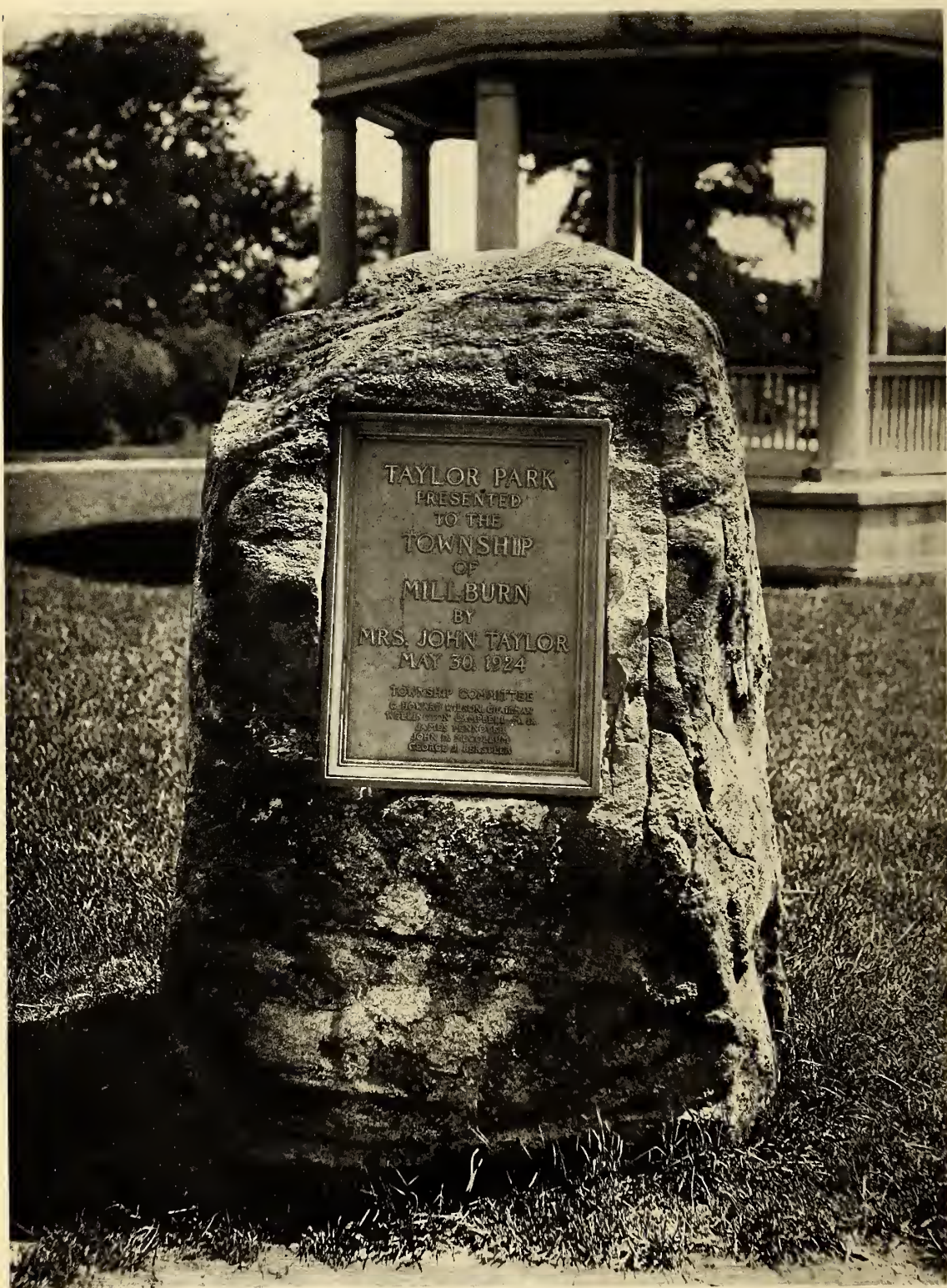
VIEW OF TAYLOR PARK SHOWING BRIDGE,
MILLBURN, N. J.



TAYLOR TOMBSTONE
PRESBYTERIAN CEMETERY
SPRINGFIELD, N. J.







TAYLOR PARK
PRESENTED
TO THE
TOWNSHIP
OF
MILLBURN
BY
MRS. JOHN TAYLOR
MAY 30, 1924
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JOHN B. SCOTTLAND
GEORGE A. HERZBERG

TAYLOR MEMORIAL TABLET IN TAYLOR PARK
MILLBURN, N. J.



TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

I. Michael Lepingwell (or Leppingwell), perhaps son of Thomas, of White Colne, Essex, baptized February 19, 1603, is on the records of Boston, Massachusetts, in 1636, and in the first tax list of Woburn, levied September 8, 1645. He died March 22, 1687. He married Isabel (surname unknown), who died November 17, 1671. Children, born in Woburn, Massachusetts: 1. Hannah, born September 1, 1642, and died February 10, 1643. 2. Hannah, of whom further. 3. Sarah, born March 10, 1648. 4. Thomas, born January 13, 1649; married, in 1675, Sarah Knight; (second) Hannah Dunthin. 5. Ruth, born January 2, 1650. 6. Michael, born June 8, 1651, died June 15, 1651. 7. Rachel, born March 4, 1653. 8. Abigail, born May 24, 1655. 9. Hester, born May 16, 1657. 10. Tabitha, born May 8, 1661.

II. Hannah Lefingwell (or Leppingwell), daughter of Michael and Isabel Lepingwell, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, January 6, 1647, and died in Woburn, January 4, 1741. She married, April 15, 1668, Gershom Flagg. (See Flagg II.)

(Lepingwell: Sewall's "History of Woburn, Massachusetts." Woburn Records of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 1640-1873. Leffingwell, 1637-1897; The Leffingwell Record, pp. 1-10.)

Carter Arms—Argent, a chevron between three cart-wheels vert.

(Burke—"General Armory.")

(The Carter Line)

Belonging to the large class of occupational surnames of which so many examples may be cited among surnames of today, the family name Carter is derived from the occupation of carter. Nicholas le Carter is in the Hundred Rolls of County Oxford, A. D. 1273, and John le Cartere in those of County Norfolk, Ricardus Carter in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, A. D. 1379.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in America)

I. John Carter, who was in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1640, soon settled in Woburn, where he was a freeman in 1644. He was probably a relative, but not a son, of Rev. Thomas Carter, first minister of Woburn. He was styled "Captain" John, and died September 14, 1692, aged seventy-six. His first wife, Elizabeth, died May 6, 1691, aged seventy-eight. John Carter married (second), in 1691, Elizabeth Groce. Children, born in Woburn, Massachusetts: 1. Elizabeth, born

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

August 8, 1643, died December 20, 1653 (or February 23, 1654.) 2. Mary, born March 8, 1646. 3. Abigail, born April 21, 1648. 4. Hannah, born January 19, 1651; married, January 1, 1668, James Converse, Jr. 5. John, Jr., of whom further.

II. *John Carter, Jr.*, son of John and Elizabeth Carter, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, February 6, 1653-54, and died there April 13, 1727. He was styled "Lieutenant" John, and married, June 20, 1678, Ruth Burnham, who died January 4, 1723-24, aged sixty-five. Children, born in Woburn, Massachusetts: 1. Elizabeth, of whom further. 2. Ruth, born October 18, 1681; married, September 17, 1700, Josiah Wright. 3. Mary, born July 17, 1683. 4. John, born August 8, 1685, died May 2, 1705. 5. Thomas, born July 3, 1687. 6. Abigail, born March 30, 1689. 7. Phoebe, born June 11, 1691. 8. Joseph, born February 16, 1692-93. 9. Samuel, born October 31, 1694. 10. Esther, born August 21, 1696. 11. Josiah, born August 3, 1698. 12. Jabez, born September 17, 1700. 13. Nathaniel (twin), born March 4, 1702. 14. Benjamin (twin), born March 4, 1702, killed by Indians, September 5, 1724.

(Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary," Vol. I; Woburn Records of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 1640-1873; Sewall's "History of Woburn," p. 598.)

III. *Elizabeth Carter*, daughter of John, Jr., and Ruth (Burnham) Carter, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, September 18, 1680. She married Ebenezer Flagg. (See Flagg III.)

(The Keyes Line)

Keyes Arms—Gules, a chevron ermine between three leopards' faces argent.

Crest—A griffin's head between two wings, holding a palm branch proper.

(Burke—"General Armory.")

The family name Keyes is the possessive case of Key, Kay, from residence at the quay, old English Kay, Key, from Old French Kail, John del Kai was sheriff of London, 1201, or from Welsh Cai, Latin Caius; Sir Kay of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," and Harrison's "Surnames.")

(The Family in America)

I. *Solomon Keyes*, according to Bond, son of Robert and Sarah Keyes, who came from England to Watertown, Massachusetts, before





Carter



Reyes



TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1633, married, at Newbury, Massachusetts, October 2, 1653, Frances Grant, and in 1664 and 1665 took up land in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, where he was town clerk and tithing man. He lived in the part set off as Westford in 1729, and was styled "Sergeant." He died in Chelmsford, March 28, 1702, and his wife Frances in 1708. The name in Chelmsford varies in spelling. Children, first five born in Newbury, the rest in Chelmsford: 1. Hannah, born September 12, 1654. 2. Sarah, born August 24, 1656. 3. May, born September 26, 1658. 4. Jane, born October 5, 1660; married, May 17, 1680, Samuel Cleveland. 5. Judith, born September 16, 1662. 6. Solomon, born June 24, 1665. 7. Joseph, born May 24, 1667. 8. Ruth, born April 4, 1669. 9. Moses, born March 25, 1671. 10. John, of whom further.

(Keyes: "Genealogy of Solomon Keyes.")

II. John Keyes, son of Solomon and Frances (Grant) Keyes, was born in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, August 4, 1674, and died in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, March 31, 1768. He settled first in Marlborough, Massachusetts, but removed to Shrewsbury about 1720, and was one of the founders of the church there. On August 7, 1723, his new house, which was nearly finished, was burned with three of his sons and two of carpenter Bragg's apprentices. John Keyes was styled "captain" and later became major. He married, March 11, 1696, Mary Eames, daughter of Gershom and Hannah (Johnson) Eames. She died April 16, 1772, aged ninety-five years. Children, born in Marlborough, Massachusetts: 1. Gershom, of whom further. 2. Mary, born October 24, 1700; married, January 18, 1720, Daniel Rand. 3. Solomon, born August 30, 1703. 4. Hannah, born July 9, 1706; married (first), in 1725, Gershom Flagg; (second) Eleazar Taylor. 5. Thankful, born May 24, 1709; married, August 21, 1721, Jonas Keyes. 6. John, born April 30, 1712. 7. Sarah, born March 5, 1714-15; married, December 21, 1731, Joshua Wilder. 8. Stephen, born April 2, 1718.

(Keyes: "Genealogy of Solomon Keyes," p. 158.)

III. Gershom Keyes, son of John and Mary (Eames) Keyes, was born at Marlborough, Massachusetts, March 1, 1697-98, and died at Keyes Ferry, near Charlestown, Jefferson County, Virginia. He was living in Shrewsbury in 1729, but later became a merchant in Boston; but before 1755 settled on the Shenandoah River in Virginia. Gershom Keyes married, in 1719, Sarah Eager, daughter of Graham and Lydia

TAYLOR AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Eager, of Marlborough. Children, born in Marlborough, Massachusetts: 1. Frances, born December 5, 1719. 2. Humphrey, born August 29, 1721, died April 19, 1793; married (first) Marcella Wade; (second) Sarah Hall. 3. Lucretia, of whom further. 4. Levina, born February 16, 1726. 5. Elizabeth, born April 4, 1728. 6. Ruth, who took Thomas and Josiah Flagg to Virginia about 1770.

(Flagg: "Descendants of Josiah Flagg," pp. 71-72.)

IV. Lucretia Keyes, daughter of Gershom and Sarah (Eager) Keyes, born in Marlborough, Massachusetts, August 18, 1723, died in Chester, New Hampshire, March 20, 1794. She married Reverend Ebenezer Flagg. (See Flagg IV.)



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1, 1930.

State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publishers of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22d day of March, 1930.

(Seal.)

FREDA M. KELLER,

Notary Public Bronx County, No. 38,

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 354.

(Commission Expires March 30, 1932.)

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AMERICANA

October, 1930

Slavery In New Jersey*

BY IRVING STODDARD KULL, M. A., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY,
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY



SLAVERY in the popular thinking of Northerners of this twentieth century is quite a different thing from the realities of the institution which stretched over some three-quarters of American history. Harriet Beecher Stowe's famous novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," plus the after-glow of victory in a great war which destroyed slavery have obscured for us the history and nature of that institution as an American labor system. It is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss the development and workings of American slavery, but to consider slavery in its development and decline in New Jersey, where it had large existence for nearly four-fifths of the State's history.

In New Jersey the institution of slavery had legal recognition at the very beginning of the colony's political existence. The earliest constitution, the "Concessions" of Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, in 1664, designated slaves as possible members of the settler's family. The proprietors made provision for grants of land to prospective settlers and additional grants for each servant or slave that he might bring in. Thus provision was made that those who should become planters, coming with the Governor, would be allotted 150 acres of land and for every able man servant which he brought in, 150 acres, and an additional seventy-five acres for every weaker servant or slave over fourteen years of age. For planters coming over later, grants of land were provided, but in lessened quantity. The object of these grants was, according to the "Concessions," "that the planting of the said province may be more speedily promoted."

*This article forms a chapter of "New Jersey—A History," soon to be published by this organization under the editorship of Professor Kull.—Ed.

SLAVERY IN NEW JERSEY

It is to be noted that these grants of land went to the planter and not to the servants or slaves that he brought in. Thus might he set up a large estate for himself and at the same time provide labor for the subjection of the frontier to the advantage of the Proprietors. Similar provisions were incorporated in the "Concessions and Agreements . . . of West Jersey" of 1676.

In these provisions of the "Concessions" is seen a fundamental need of the new colonies rising on the Atlantic seaboard—labor. How to provide labor for new settlements was the problem. The colonial period of American history developed two distinctive answers to that problem: (1) white servitude, based on indenture, and (2) slavery. Indentured servitude, based on the English law of apprenticeship, bound a man for several years of labor in exchange for his Atlantic passage to the New World. Such servitude was common in all the colonies and in the earliest colonies antedated slavery. Rapid economic changes which had been taking place in England left many in distress and promoted the system of indenture. Besides Englishmen, many Irish, Scotch and Germans came to the colonies under this system. In considering slavery in New Jersey, which is the concern of this chapter, the reader needs to hold in mind that from the angle of labor, slavery is a competitor of white servitude.

The development of slavery in New Jersey extended from the beginning of her political existence in 1664 down to the period of the Revolution. From that time on till the Civil War the institution was on the decline, the census of 1860 counting eighteen slaves in New Jersey.

How many slaves there were in New Jersey by 1702, when it became a royal colony, it is impossible to say. The considerable amount of legislation regulating slavery would seem to indicate that slaves played an important part in the economic life of the colony. Mr. Snell, in his "History of Sussex and Warren Counties," thinks that nearly all the inhabitants of northern New Jersey had slaves by 1690. The earliest recorded reference, says the same writer, to slave-holding in the Province is to the sixty or more slaves which Colonel Richard Morris, of Shrewsbury, had about his mill and plantation in 1680.

In the Dutch and German areas of New Jersey slaves were found in greater number, but south of the Raritan River their numbers decreased relatively, with the first acceptable figures, in 1737, in a total population of 47,402, there were 3,981 slaves, or 8.4 per cent. of the population.¹

1. Gordon, T. F., "Gazetteer of New Jersey," p. 29.

SLAVERY IN NEW JERSEY

New Jersey's greatest recorded number of slaves is that given in the United States census of 1800, when it was 12,422. At that time New Jersey had a greater slave population than any State north of Maryland, except New York. But at that time her slaves made up a smaller proportion of her total population than in 1737, in 1800 it was 5.8 per cent. in a population of 211,949. From 1800 on the census figures show a marked decrease in the actual number of slaves until, in 1860, New Jersey had eighteen slaves in a population of 672,035.

Growth of Slavery—To present the statistics of a subject is to leave one with the question, "How did they get that way?" The answer is to be found in the interplay of forces that made the history of New Jersey, economic, political and religious, and in part is to be read in the action of political bodies.

The earliest legislation implying the actual presence of slaves in New Jersey is a law of 1675 against transporting, harboring, or entertaining apprentices, servants or slaves. Legalized from the beginning of the Province, in view of this law, it is not improbable that slavery was here from the time of the colony's transfer from the Dutch.

Indians were held in slavery in New Jersey from an early time, though from what year cannot be said, nor have we information as to their numbers. Legislation enacted in 1682 establishes the fact that Indians were held as slaves as early as that. "Whereas," runs the preamble, "it is found by daily experience that negro and Indian slaves, or servants under pretence of trade, or liberty to traffic, do frequently steal from their masters," etc. Throughout the act the phrase "negro or Indian slave" is used. Proof enough that there were Indian slaves in New Jersey. Further evidence is to be had in advertisements for fugitives which are found in the early eighteenth century newspapers. Mention is made, too, of slaves of mixed blood, half negro and half Indian. The legality of Indian slavery in New Jersey was established in a Supreme Court decision in 1797 (*The State vs. Van Waggoner*) in which the Chief Justice said that the Indians "have been so long recognized as slaves in our law, that it would be as great a violation of the rights of property to establish a contrary doctrine at the present day, as it would be in the case of Africans."

Apart from its legal standing we know little of Indian slavery in New Jersey. The number of Indians involved can hardly have been large. Wars of conquest with their toll of captives are not in her history. Of

SLAVERY IN NEW JERSEY

the Indians that were slaves, we should like to know how they fitted into the scheme of the white man's economy and something of the psychological strain as their wild natures were exploited for a white man's profit. For these questions we have no answer.

On the contrary, sources are fairly abundant for the historiography of negro slavery in New Jersey. Its development becomes now our concern.

The need for a relatively large amount of common labor furnished favorable ground for the growth of the institution. The policy, moreover, of the government of Queen Anne artificially stimulated its development. In her instructions to the first royal governor, Lord Cornbury, he was directed to encourage the Royal African Company of England. The Queen was "willing to recommend" to the company that the Province "May have a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes, at moderate rates," and Cornbury was instructed to "take special care" to secure prompt payment for the same, and to seek a monopoly in New Jersey for this Royal dealer in men. The Governor was to report annually to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations the number of negroes imported and the prices that they brought.

The obvious desire of Queen Anne to encourage the importation of slaves and the natural hopes of the African Company did not meet with full sympathy in the Province. Labor was needed, but to many it seemed that white servants not only could fill the bill, but after the periods of indenture would become responsible members of society. Pennsylvania had seemed to gain such social advantages by statutory restrictions upon slave importations. In pursuance of the same objective New Jersey passed a statute in 1714 placing a duty of ten pounds upon every slave imported for sale.² A report from the custom house at Perth Amboy, in 1726, would lead one to think this law unnecessary, stating as it does that between 1698 and 1717 no slaves came in at that port. A curious legislative stroke if no slaves had been brought in for fifteen years. Either the custom house reports were defective, or many negroes must have been brought into the Province through other channels.

The law of 1714 expired in 1721. The Colonial Assembly at various times tried to reenact similar legislation, but not until 1767 did it succeed. In each case the bill met defeat through agencies less in touch with popular interests, the Council or Governor or Lords of Trade. In 1739 an Assembly measure was rejected by the Council; in 1744 a bill

2. Allison, S.: "Acts of the General Assembly" (1702-76), p. 31.

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apparently aiming at the entire prohibition of slave importations, with its ten pound duty on West Indian negroes and five pound duty on African negroes, was voted down by the Council. Temperamental hostility between the two branches of the lawmaking body may have had something to do with the fate of this bill. However that may have been, the Council argued the undesirability of curtailing slave importations at this time, contending that it would work injuriously to the people in general and to the farmers in particular: there was a scarcity of laborers because of the large number that had gone on the expedition to the West Indies, and adventurous ones found privateering a field of action; the development of the linen industry in Ireland was diminishing the immigration of servants from that country, and wars in Germany were bound to close that source of supply; what was needed was not prohibition, but encouragement of slave imports. In 1761 the subject was again agitated. Petitions from a large number of inhabitants brought fourth a new bill in the Assembly. Being informed by the Governor that his instructions would not allow him to assent to it, it was dropped; but the Governor, upon request of the Assembly, laid the matter before the Lords of Trade. Within a year Governor Hardy did assent to a bill placing import duties upon slaves with the understanding that it was to become effective with the assent of the King. Because of technical faults in the measure the Lords of Trade did not present it to the King and that was the end of it. But in 1767 an act, limited to two years, was passed, and in 1769 a more comprehensive measure went into effect, which continued in force through the remainder of the colonial era. The argument in support of this act, as in the earlier Assembly bills, was economic—the encouragement of the immigration of white settlers.

In 1773 petitions came to the Assembly praying that further importation of slaves might be prohibited and that manumission might be made more easy. The discussion which these petitions and resulting bills produced brought out a new factor in the situation. The economic arguments were still advanced, but now an ethical argument came to the front. The principles of justice and humanity now demanded not only no further importation of slaves, but that the institution of slavery itself come to an end. A new factor had come into the social life of New Jersey. In large measure, as far as New Jersey was concerned, this was rooted in the ethical judgments and activities of the Society of Friends. This ethical argument, moreover, was shortly to be supplemented by the political principles and moral enthusiasms of the Revolution.

SLAVERY IN NEW JERSEY

The decline of slavery in New Jersey dates from the American Revolution, but before considering that decline we need to see what slavery was like in New Jersey.

The Law of Slavery—American slavery as an institution had not a basis in English law. It was a growth on American soil, the steps of which are to be traced in the laws of the colonies and later American states. As was natural, the slave status was a departure from the servant status. In New Jersey, during the first generation, roughly through the Proprietary period (1664-1702), slaves were generally regarded in law very much as were apprentices and servants. The gradual appearance of special regulations for the government of slaves with special punishments and special forms of trial by the end of this period was giving shape to slavery as a distinctive institution.

By the time that New Jersey came onto the scene as a political entity, slavery in America had developed its elemental essentials and these were not explicitly laid down in her laws, but rather taken for granted. The slave's place and treatment in the economic order at the outset was much like that of the indentured servant, but where the servant owed labor for a fixed period, the slave owed labor for life. This was the first and major incident of slavery. A second characteristic and a consequence of the first was that the child of a slave mother was a slave and the property of her owner, and this held whether the father was slave or free, black or white.

Another natural step was the extension of the ownership of a slave's labor to ownership of himself as well. The slave became property, a chattel, and was treated as such in law. He could be sold or given away; he could be rented or bequeathed by will. In 1664 these basic aspects of slavery were well understood in America and were assumed in New Jersey and were consequently not formally set forth in law.

But just what did it mean for a society to have property in men? What practical adjustment resulted? In part we find an answer in legislation, in part in custom.

Turning to the laws of colony and State we find a long series designed to give security to master's property and render the slave harmless in the social system.

In the first place one group of laws was designed to control the slave's movements. He had no instinct for captivity, but a considerable aptitude for wandering off, and on occasion the ferries from Elizabeth-

SLAVERY IN NEW JERSEY

Town or Perth Amboy afforded means of leaving New Jersey behind him. Heavy penalties were imposed upon persons assisting in the transportation of slaves; in 1675 the penalty was put at five pounds, plus the loss sustained by the owner. Fines were imposed upon those who harbored another's slaves absent from their masters without certificates of permission. In other laws compensation was to be made to one who apprehended any runaway slave, the runaway's master paying the bill. Later provision was made for the recovery of fugitives from other states and their punishment, and for the regulation of the movement of free negroes.

Other legislation was designed to curb the slave's thievishness. A law of 1682 forbade trade or traffic with negroes, Indians and mulattoes. It made it an offense for any planter or inhabitant to buy, sell, barter, trade or traffic with any slave or servant for rum, brandy, wine or strong drink, or any other goods, wares or commodities. The penalty for the first offense was five pounds and ten pounds for subsequent offenses. The slave for his part was to be whipped, a half crown going to the wielder of the lash. This was an East Jersey law.

Corporal punishment by whipping was the regulation treatment for slaves whose offenses were less than felonies. Slaves could not be fined for they had no property and imprisonment meant economic loss for the owner. Therefore, whipping.

The negro's fondness for pork led him to shoot swine when presumably on a hunting jaunt. In consequence, an East Jersey law of 1694 provided that no slave should be allowed to carry shooting irons or take any dog with him into the woods unless accompanied by his owner. Violation imposed a money fine upon the owner.

A general revision of the laws of slavery was adopted in 1716. In a number of respects it appears more severe in its provisions than the earlier laws.

Turning from police regulations to criminal law for slaves we find that down to the eighteenth century the same general criminal laws governed both slaves and freemen. Both were tried in the ordinary courts for crimes and misdemeanors. But in 1695 special courts were provided for the trial of slaves and distinctive punishments were laid down. Slaves accused of a felony or murder were to be tried before three justices of the peace of the county and, if found guilty, were to receive the punishments "appointed for such crimes." Not till 1768 was the use of

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special courts discontinued, after which time slaves accused of capital crimes were again tried in the ordinary courts.

Roughly, the period of special courts for the slave was also one of special forms of punishment. It was not until after the Revolution, in 1778, that New Jersey enacted that all criminal offenses of negroes should be punished in the same fashion as offenses of white men of the State.

The criminal codes of the eighteenth century, whether of England or of her colonies, were very severe in comparison with present day standards. We are not surprised then to find severe and often cruel punishments provided for slaves. Mr. Andrew Mellick, in his "Story of an Old Farm," tells of a sentence imposed by the presiding justice of the Monmouth Court of Sessions in 1694 upon a negro convicted of murder. In the following language the justice addressed the negro:

Cæsar, thou art found guilty by thy county of those horrid crimes that are laid to thy charge; therefore, the court doth judge that thou, the said Cæsar, shall return to the place from whence thou comest, and from thence to the place of execution, when thy right hand shall be cut off and burned before thine eyes. Then thou shalt be hanged up by the neck till thou art dead, dead, dead; then thy body shall be cut down and burned to ashes in a fire, and so the Lord have mercy on thy soul, Cæsar.

The execution of the death penalty was not necessarily by hanging. A law of 1714 said that any "negro, Indian or mulatto slave" murdering or attempting the death of any freeman, wilfully murdering any slave, committing arson, "rape on any free subject," or mutilation of any free person, was to suffer the penalty of death, but the law did not specify the manner of death but stated that it should be such as the "aggravation or enormity of their crimes shall merit and require." Burning at the stake was often the form of execution. At Perth Amboy, in 1729, a slave named Prince was burned alive for the murder of William Cook. In 1738 a slave named Robert Hooper was burned at the stake at Rocky Hill for having killed a child of his overseer.³

Executions whether hanging or burning, were in the open and often attended by large numbers of spectators. Often slaves of the neighborhood were brought to the execution for the moral effect it might have upon them. The values of this pedagogical process are doubtful in view of the strength of the impulse that actuated a negro. A negro burned

3. The dates of these two cases are as given in Mellick: "Story of an Old Farm," p. 225.

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at Hillsborough (Millstone), in 1752, had killed his master in a fit of passion when he discovered that his master had helped himself to some tobacco in the slave's box.⁴

After the law of 1788, referred to above, burning seems to have been abandoned, but hangings continued and brought out the crowds. In 1791 a negro was hanged in front of the old courthouse at Newark. According to custom, the condemned was taken to the First Presbyterian Church, where his funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Uzal Ogden, and we are told that the church was crowded.⁵ Maybe not so different from crowding court rooms today.

When the State took a slave's life in payment for crime it at the same time was taking a white man's property and, in accordance with the principles of property, made recompense to the slave owner—thirty pounds if the slave was a male, twenty pounds if a female.

In considering the status of the slave we have seen it rooted in the nature of property. The slave was a chattel. No better illustration of this is there than in the many advertisements in which slaves are listed along with household furniture, farm animals and farm utensils. For example, there is notice of the sale of a farm at Elizabeth, in 1801, which reads: "On the above farm is also to be sold a negro man with four children, a horse, chair, cows, and farming utensils."⁶ Further, slave status was fixed in the distinctive police regulation and punishments of crime. But the very fact of trial for crime was a recognition that, though a chattel, a slave was more than a chattel. He was also a man with a humanity common to his master. As if a law of nature, this fact set limits to the master's control. Moreover, rights of the slave were recognized in law. As early as 1682 we find provision "that all masters and mistresses having negro slaves, or others, shall allow them sufficient accommodation of victuals and clothing." Queen Anne sought the passage of a law which would protect servants and slaves from "inhuman conduct." She would stop not short of capital punishment for the "willful killing of Indians and negroes." After independence from Great Britain the State government lay down punishments for inhuman treatment of slaves. At all times the owner of a slave was obliged by law to support him and, after the master's death, the heirs were held responsible for the slave's support. Moreover, after the establishment of the State

4. Mellick: "Story of an Old Farm," p. 226.

5. *Ibid.*, 226, 227.

6. Cooley, H. S.: "A Study of Slavery in New Jersey," p. 56; quoting "Centinel of Freedom," VI, p. 11.

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government, provision was made that a certain amount of education be provided for the slave.

Life of the Slave—The laws of slavery are in large measure laws of property and as such are a sort of frame work in which the slave lives his daily life without telling much of that daily life. That is to be found not in the laws, but in the customs of the time, in the ways in which bond and free worked and lived together day after day.

This custom was a changing thing. It began with the time when the negro was still bound by his savage inheritance with no speech but an African dialect and few guides but his jungle taboos, and stretched into later years when the black, by process of imitation, had appropriated the clothes, speech, and manners of the white man. This custom was also modified as the problems of the early settlement of the white man found solution and gave place to the problems of a more intricate civilization.

Slavery in New Jersey, as in the other American colonies, had its roots in the labor problem and remained throughout an economic institution. The use of slave labor was, in the eighteenth century, very general in the eastern portion of New Jersey, and continued so well into the nineteenth century. One observer, about 1824, when slaves had all but disappeared in Pennsylvania and New York, while travelling in New Jersey, referred to it as the "land of slavery," noting that almost every farmer had from one to a half dozen slaves.⁷ This observation did not fit the State as a whole for at that time less than three per cent. of the population were slaves.⁸ As facts may be gleaned from advertisements in the newspapers of the late colonial period and in the early years of statehood, slaves were employed in a great variety of work. Slave men served as farm laborers of all sorts, stablemen, coachmen, stage drivers, sailors, boatmen, miners, iron workers, sawmill hands, house and ship carpenters, wheelwrights, coopers, tanners, shoemakers, millers, bakers, cooks and for various house and personal service. Slave women were employed in all kinds of household service, including cooking, sewing, spinning and knitting; and as dressing maid, barber, nurse, farm servant.⁹ The slave could perform practically all manner of labor that the growing colony and early State required. This brought him into more intimate relations with the whites, who were often working side by side with their slaves. In

7. Peter Chandler: "A Biographical Sketch and His Diary," compiled by Henry S. Chandler, p. 6.

8. United States Census, 1820, gives 7,557 slaves, which were 2.7 per cent. of the population.

9. Cooley, p. 55.

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consequence the social demarcation between slave and white was never the clear-cut thing that it was in the South.

In New Jersey, slaves lived in close personal relation to the families of their masters, who regarded them as proper subjects for their care and protection. On the whole slaves were well treated in New Jersey. They were well fed, well housed and cared for when sick. Among the Dutch farmers slaves were "generally treated as members of the family; living under the same roof . . . even sitting down at the same table."

Slave dress presented a variety in material and style. This may, in part, be due to negro taste, but also to the disposition of his master or mistress. Descriptions of dress are to be found in the advertisements of runaway slaves. When the mulatto Job ran off he had on "a lightish-colored cloth coat, figured worsted waistcoat, a flannel shirt, a pair of leather breeches, light grey yarn stockings, and a pair of pumps, felt hat, with a yellow button on it." The slave Kent ran away in "a white linen shirt, brown broadcloth coat, old black plush jacket, new leather breeches, thread stockings, new shoes with carved metal buttons, and a new felt hat." Cato, a young buck of twenty-three, ventured forth in a "blue broadcloth coat" and a "light colored lace jacket." Peter Bogart, of Princeton, in 1818, advertised for a female negro slave who "had on when she went away a red plaid gingham gown, Germantown shawl, green silk bonnet and plum-colored shoes."

Concern for the slave's education varied. As noted above, following independence, a certain minimum of education was required by law, but as early as 1740 there is record of a slave who could read and write and in time some acquired a fair education. Frequently slaves spoke both English and Dutch and occasionally Spanish and Danish. Negro aptitude for music manifested itself early, affording pleasure for themselves as for others and ability to play the violin was not unknown.

Religious training of the slaves was also a concern of masters. We may well believe that the negro of colonial days did not learn to make fine distinctions between the creeds or to burden his mind with the weight of theology. How long persisted the crude responses to African fears we can only guess, but the mind-sets of a savage race no doubt lingered, with varying vitality, of course, at least through the period of slavery in New Jersey. The slave and free negro adopted the phraseology of the formal religion of the white man and they went to the white man's church. Dressed in their best the slaves went with their masters on Sunday, but occupied seats in the gallery or in the rear of the church. Similarly, in

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death, the slave was buried in a corner of the graveyard, "lest when the trumpet of resurrection sounded there should be a disagreeable confusion of persons." No doubt many slaves became sincere and devout Christians. It was not till the nineteenth century that negroes had separate places of worship. In this the Methodist Church was largely instrumental. Their first congregation was organized at Salem in 1810. One was formed in Trenton in 1816 and a year later a negro congregation was organized in Bridgeton. By 1840 nearly every large town in the State had a negro church or place of worship.

Though slaves in New Jersey were in general well treated, there were cases of oppression which led to flight and the fugitive slave was not uncommon. Moreover, the labor routine of the Dutch and English had not a counterpart in the negro's African background and when it redounded to another's profit little wonder that the slave tried at times to escape it. Laws were early put into the statute books offering rewards for apprehending fugitives. These have been previously discussed. The newspapers carried advertisements of runaway slaves. The following appeared in the "Freedonian" of New Brunswick, January 29, 1818:

30 DOLLARS REWARD

Ran away from the subscriber on the 24th of December last, a negro boy named

Major, or Charles,

as he prefers the latter name he will probably go by it; by trade a Tanner, said boy is about 18 years of age, 5 ft., 11 in. high, stout made, darker complexion than ordinary, rather down look and speaks low when spoken to, large hands and feet, the little finger on each hand is stiff and crooked, occasioned by having been frozen, a large scar believed to be on the left side of his head. Had on when he left home a linen drab coatee, black cloth trousers and hat.

The above reward will be given to any person who will lodge him in any jail so that I may get him and reasonable charges paid if brought home.

JOHN MINER.

Again we read, May 7, 1818:

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD

Ran away from the subscriber in Princeton on 13th Feb. last a female negro slave named Elsy Murray, about 20 years of age, 5 ft. 6 or 7 in. high, of about the middle grade of blackness, reads very well and is intelligent. . . .

She had a pass for two days only and is believed to be in the neighborhood of Piscataway as she had a brother living in that quarter. All

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persons are forwarned harboring her at their peril. Any person apprehending her and lodging in any gaol in this state so that the subscriber may get her again, shall receive the above reward. PETER BOGART.

N. B. The subscriber will sell the above slave for reasonable price, she is an excellent house wench.

The reading of many advertisements reveals the fact that the runaways were young. Similarly the slaves offered for sale were young. This may be due to less attachment upon the part of the master for the young, or to greater wanderlust in the young, or to an over supply as the children grew to working age.

In any case the sale of slaves reveals a lack of respect for the personalities of the sold. The separation of husband and wife was rare in New Jersey, but the sale of children out of the family was not uncommon. Though custom in New Jersey accepted the sale of slaves as a matter of course, it looked with disfavor upon sale into Southern States. There was some such as the following item from a New Orleans newspaper of 1818 testifies:

Jersey negroes appear to be peculiarly adapted to this market—especially those that bear the mark of Judge Van Winkle, as it is understood that they offer the best opportunity for speculation. We have the right to calculate on large importations in future, from the success which hitherto attended the sale.¹⁰

Public opinion, however, was adverse to such sales as was revealed by the necessity of a certain Jacob Van Wicke of defending himself in the press because of his operations of interstate slave trade.¹¹ It is to be noted that this came at a late date and expressed opinion after New Jersey had adopted a gradual abolition law.

Slavery was an evil institution, but if it had its history of cruelties it also had its stories of affectionate relations between master and slave. The manuscript "Recollections" of Dr. David D. Demarest tells such a story:¹²

My grandfather had a considerable family [of slaves]. Sarah was an old woman in my early childhood. A miracle of faithfulness and industry entirely devoted to the interests of her master and his household. In many respects she ruled it. She alone knew what we were to have for our meals. She prepared the meats, gathered and prepared and cooked the

10. Quotation in U. B. Phillips: "American Negro Slavery," p. 188.

11. New Brunswick "Fredonian," June 4, 1818.

12. Used with permission of his son, Dr. W. H. S. Demarest.

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vegetables. Grandmother and mother looked after the pastry and cake. Nobody trespassed on the domain of Sarah. Even grandfather bowed in submission. She had a daughter whose name also was Sarah and it was a day of festivity when at the age of 18 she obtained her freedom. Then there was a son who was younger but who, when he reached twenty-one, went off to care for himself and speedily went down to the level of the free negroes of those days.¹³ Sarah remained in the household just as if she had never obtained freedom. I know not what arrangement was made with her. But she remained, was married to Harry, a slave of Abraham Lozier. Sarah bore several children and they remained a part of our family. After a time Harry and Sarah wishing to live together persuaded grandfather to buy the former and so he came into the family. After the death of my grandfather, they set up for themselves. They lived in the neighborhood and Sarah always came to the old home when special help was needed, and was always treated with great respect.

. . . . Tom was virtually free. He would run away and stay away for weeks until his clothes were worn out, and he felt a longing for the comforts of his master's kitchen. Then he would return and go to work and continue in it until another freedom-seeking fit would overmaster him. Once I remember that grandfather had him arrested and put in gaol at Hackensack. The old gentleman went to see him and greatly enjoyed his expressions of penitence and promises of good behavior in all time to come, if his Master would only let him out and take him home with him, which of course was done, it was a foregone conclusion. Tom survived his master. He became infirm, he sat in the corner by the kitchen fire, on his legs were running loathsome sores. My mother dressed them daily, she cared for him as if he had been her father, until his death released her from this service. . . .

. . . . Our next door neighbor had an old slave named Jackie. After the Master's death Jackie was greatly exercised about his prospects for he was sure to pop into new hands, and he anticipated anything but a comfortable old age. And so he importuned my grandfather to buy him and he did so, knowing that he could be of little use to him, but purely from humane motives. He could not bear to think of the old darkey's days of infirmity as made heavy by neglect or cruelty. So he too found an asylum, and tender care in the old homestead until his release by death.

. . . . In the family the darkies were our playmates, there was no such thing as young master or young missus. They never waited on us or did anything for us, more than one of us would do for the other. Never was the flogging of an adult slave known and the youngsters received their whippings when deserved just the same as the white children and they were usually administered by their own mother. The father gen-

13. Cf. "Cazenove Journal," 1794, p. 8.

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erally lived on other farms and saw them only as they came to visit them on Sunday and occasionally at other times.

Nowhere is a happier picture of slavery in New Jersey to be found than on the farm of Aaron Mellick at Bedminster. One may read it in Andrew A. Mellick's "The Story of an Old Farm." Two paragraphs cannot escape quotation:¹⁴

The slaves on the "Old Farm" had their indulgences and enjoyments. The Christmas season was one of great festivity, of some pomp, and not a little dignity. During the week between Christmas and New Year's day they generally gave a party when the older colored people of respectability were invited. In those days the slaves were known by the family names of their masters, so on such occasions in the living-room and outer kitchen, which were given up to the entertainment, were to be seen the Gastons, Klines, Linns, Van Dorens, Van der Veers, and such others from near and far as attended the same church and mingled in the same colored society. There was much style and a profuse use of large and heavy words, each person being addressed as Mr., Mrs., or Miss. At the supper, after a lengthy grace fervently uttered by the one supposed to be the most gifted, even staid Dick Mellick, who took upon himself the service of the table, displayed airs quite foreign to his generally modest deportment. This supper was, of course, entirely under Nance's supervision, and in quality and quantity was creditable alike to her as a cook and to her old master as showing the liberality and kind feeling he extended to his slaves, "*No, Sah, Sarvunts, if you please.*" Although whiskey, cider and metheglin were always furnished to the lowly guests, a too free indulgence would not have been countenanced by the hosts, nor was it ever known, the whole party always conducting themselves most decorously and politely, endeavoring as far as possible to be "jes like white folks." The pleasures of the Christmas season were not confined to this one festivity; but little work was expected of the blacks during the entire holiday week, for, dressed in their best, their whole time was devoted to visiting and pleasure.

Another great day for the Bedminster colored people, always celebrated by Dick and Nance, was "general training," usually occurring in the middle of June. Then it was that Dick took the big wagon and put on its tow and linen wagon-cover, tying up the sides so that from within an unobstructed view could be had of the martial array. Nance and the children were placed on chairs in the front, and behind was a barrel of root beer of Dick's own manufacture, and a corn-basket full of large round ginger cakes—they called them bolivars—baked by Nance the day before. In addition there was a plentiful supply of new-mown grass from the bleach patch in the garden, which was always mowed at that

14. Pp. 606, 607.

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time; this was to keep the beer cool and to give the horses a bite during the day. Dick, in his Sunday clothes and displaying a most conspicuous nosegay, would then seat himself on the foreboard, seize the reins, and with a stalk of a long whip against his shoulder and the lash hanging behind, would set off with his happy family and join the procession of teams that from early morning had been slowly moving up the long hill in the direction of Pluckamin. On reaching the grounds the horses were taken out and tied to a fence and the business and pleasures of the day commenced. As long as the barrel and basket held out, beer was to had for two cents a glass and cakes for a penny a piece. Between customers the sable merchants had plenty of friendly visitors, the children, meanwhile, playing about the wagon, or sitting quietly in round-eyed wonder at all the glories of the day. With the approach of night Dick "geared" his horses and drove slowly home, his spirits lightened by the pleasures he had experienced, and his pockets full-weighted with big copper pennies. He would now have pocket-money for all his needs for months to come, and some to drop in the black bag each Sunday morning at church when the deacon passed it in the gallery, which Dick always did with a most reverential bow.

The Revolution in New Jersey throws interesting light upon the relations between whites and blacks. Our information is all too scanty, but some bits that we have are significant. It would seem that not a few slaves of New Jersey fought in the Revolution in places of their masters, in some cases being purchased for their substitute values. Among the papers of the State Historical Society Library is to be seen an affidavit of a slave, Samuel Sutphin, who was purchased by Casper Berger from a Mr. Bogart to take Berger's place and serve in his stead during the war. When the war was over, the slave returned to the peace time service of his new master. How many slaves did military service in the Revolution it is impossible to say. In Washington's army at the battle of Monmouth were 700 colored men, a goodly proportion of which must have been recruited from New Jersey, slave or free.

Immediately after the Revolution an interesting form of manumission is found. Slaves that had become the property of the State through the confiscation of Tory estates were granted their freedom by special acts of the Legislature. In recognition of past services to the State or Federal cause the negroes were given their freedom.

Abolition of Slavery in New Jersey—These acts of emancipation came at a time when the movement for abolition in New Jersey was already in full swing. The movement had roots that ran far back, but it

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was at the time of the Revolution that public opinion gave it hearty support. In fact, it was in no small degree a product of the Revolution. The truth is that interest in the Revolution has been so largely political and military, and for many patriotic and genealogical, that its far-reaching social aspects have been little comprehended. The fact is that one of the most significant chapters in the history of the abolition of slavery in the United States is the American Revolution. The practical result was the abolition of slavery in all the states north of Maryland.

Tracing the anti-slavery movements in New Jersey from the beginning:

The earliest argument against slavery was an economic one—the unprofitable or less profitable character of it. It is an argument that never ceased to be used as long as slavery existed in the United States. It first gained legal expression in New Jersey in 1714, when a statute was adopted putting a duty of £10 on every slave imported for sale. The object was to stimulate the immigration of white servants, who it was thought would better serve the colony. Becoming free at the end of the periods of their indentures they would become dependable elements in the colony. However, in 1721, this provision was permitted to expire and, though from time to time bills seeking to reëstablish an import duty came before the Legislature, it was not until 1767 that such became law. In 1769 a more comprehensive law was adopted that remained in force to the end of the colonial period. The arguments advanced in the Assembly during the half century and more since 1714 were made on apparently economic grounds. During this period manumission was permitted by law, but the concern of the makers of law was in guaranteeing the community against the burden of maintaining the freedmen. So the act of 1714 also provided that the master must provide security against a cost to the community. Similarly, the law of 1769 said that “slaves may be manumitted, if a surety bond of 200 pounds be paid.”

Although the acts of 1767 and 1769 appear to have been put through with economic arguments there seems little doubt that the Assembly was held in line by pressure from the Friends among whom a strong abolition movement had been going on. A new factor had come into the situation—a moral argument. In 1773 the Assembly received several petitions praying that further importation of slaves might be prohibited and that manumission might be made more easy. In consequence two bills were introduced. At the same time a new note was struck in petitions from the counties of Cumberland, Burlington, Monmouth, Essex, Middlesex and Hunterdon, “setting forth the evils arising from human slavery.”

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So keen was this moral concern that the bill favoring manumission aroused great interest while its companion, laying a prohibitory duty on slaves imported, never got beyond its second reading.

The year 1773 may well be taken as publicly marking the beginnings of abolition in New Jersey. If credit is to be given to an individual for his turn of affairs in New Jersey, it is to be given to John Woolman, who had died in the preceding year of small-pox while in England, where he had journeyed in the interest of abolishing the slave trade in America. Few men in the history of New Jersey have laid such substantial claim upon the affections of men as has Woolman. Little is known of his personal life but his "Journal" remains today one of the great pieces of American literature. For its beauty of expression, sensitiveness of spirit and fine idealism it has no superior. He early sensed, and in advance of his day, the fundamental evil of slavery. When twenty-three years of age he said to his employer, who had asked him to write a bill of sale for a negro whom he had sold, "I believe slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion." Woolman saw that slavery violated the sacredness of personality. "Liberty was the natural right of all men equally," he said some years later.

In the course of his life Woolman travelled extensively. He travelled among the Quakers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but he also travelled into New England and the South. Slave-holding by Quakers weighed heavily upon him. In 1754 he published "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes" in which he contends that slaveholding is contrary to Scripture. Largely because of his appeal, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting voted that the Christian injunction to do to others as we would that others should do to us "should induce Friends who held slaves to set them at liberty, making a Christian provision for them." In 1759 Woolman journeyed among Friends studying conditions and, in the Yearly Meeting of that year, he urged the members of the Society "to labor against buying and keeping slaves." He made constant visits among slaveholders, since, as he said, he "had felt a drawing in the mind to this said work." It was chiefly through Woolman's work that the Society of Friends, by the end of the colonial period, made slaveholding a bar to membership in the Society. In 1776 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting directed the subordinate meetings to "deny the right of membership to such as persisted in holding their fellowmen as property." The Society of Friends stood far in advance of any other religious group on the matter of slavery.

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It was the influence of the Friends that gave interest to the discussion of the bills before the Assembly of 1773 providing for the prohibition of further slave importations and for easier manumission. In 1775 a strong anti-slavery petition came before the Legislature praying that it "pass an act to set free all the slaves now in the Colony." This was signed by fifty-two inhabitants of Chesterfield in Burlington County. Others than Friends were coming to favor emancipation, but the Friends were the most anti-slavery force in New Jersey down to the Revolution. Other forces then came into the situation and gave further speed to the movement.

The conflict with England was productive of a great moral and philosophical enthusiasm. This had found supreme expression in the Declaration of Independence. "All men are created equal," and "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, . . . among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Did this mean that black men were the equals of white men and equally endowed by their Creator? Men with logical minds or benevolent hearts said so. James Otis, herald of the new era while he sounded the keynote of the Revolution, at the same time pleaded the cause of the slave. Later he said: "The colonists are by the law of nature free born, so indeed all men are, white or black."¹⁵

Could Americans with good grace fight England to gain their freedom and at the same time deny freedom to the enslaved blacks? Rhode Island said "no" as she passed, in 1774, a law providing that slaves thereafter brought into the colony should be free. She stated her reason: "Whereas the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest, and as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves should be willing to extend personal liberty to others," etc.¹⁶

It was not an unalloyed moral enthusiasm that worked to the advantage of the slave during the Revolution. There was also the element of fear, fear that if we denied to the slave freedom while we fought to gain it for ourselves, our own battles might be in vain. Said Dr. Rush, in 1773, "National crimes require national punishment. This evil of slaveholding cannot pass with impunity, unless God shall cease to be just or merciful." A year later, the Rev. Nathaniel Niles, in a sermon at Newbury, Massachusetts, said, "May we not fear that the law of retaliation is

15. Locke, M. S.: "Anti-Slavery in America," 1619-1808, p. 49.

16. Jameson, J. F.: "The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement," pp. 35, 36.

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about to be executed on us? . . . What reason can we urge why our oppression shall not be repaid in kind? . . . Let us either cease to enslave our fellowmen, or else let us cease to complain of those that enslave us."¹⁷

This mixture of a sense of fear and Revolutionary philosophy is found in New Jersey. In the words of John Cooper we read:

. . . as tyranny is the accursed thing against which we have waged war, how can we hope to prevail against our enemies whilst we ourselves are tyrants, holding thousands of our fellow creatures in slavery under us?

The Lord did not leave it in doubt with Joshua what was the reason they could not succeed; he told him in plain terms the reason was because they had also transgressed his covenant—they had "the accursed thing" among them. And if the Lord is still the same God, deciding the controversies amongst men upon the same principles, then, although Britain may have transgressed his covenant in endeavoring to enslave us, if we are not only also, but equally in the transgression, by holding the Africans and their posterity in slavery, how can we expect he will decide in our favor, unless we recede from such transgression? . . . Can we imagine our prayers to Almighty God will meet with his approbation, or in the least degree tend to procure us relief from the hand of oppression, whilst the groans of our slaves are continually ascending mingled with them? . . .

. . . And if we keep our present slaves in bondage, and only enact laws that their posterity shall be free, we save that part of our tyranny and gain of oppression, which to us, the present generation, is of the most value . . . and I fear our reward . . . will be the vengeance of Heaven. . . .^{17a}

Governor Livingston breathed freely the air of the Revolution as he asked the New Jersey Assembly in 1778 to provide for the manumission of slaves. The Assembly took no action, but asked the Governor to withdraw his request. He did so, but asserting that he intended, with all his power, "to push the matter until it is effected, being convinced that the practice is utterly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity and humanity; and in Americans who have almost idolized liberty, peculiarly odious and disgraceful."¹⁸ One student of the emancipation of slaves in New Jersey thinks that the inaction of the Assembly in 1778 was due to her people being too engrossed in the problem of their own self-preservation and the establishment of a new government to permit their altruistic

17. Locke: *Op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60.

17a. "New Jersey Archives," 2d Ser., IV (newspaper extracts, IV, 1779-80), pp. 651, 652.

18. Bancroft, George: "History of the United States," V, p. 441.

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motives full play.¹⁹ In any case the return of peace in 1783 saw a renewal of anti-slavery activity.

An initial episode in this renewal, as the tale has been told, was of dramatic character—Dr. Bloomfield's emancipation of his slaves. In 1783, Woodbridge made elaborate preparations for the celebration of the first Fourth of July since independence. An ox had been roasted for a public feast, a platform erected for speeches, and, decked out in gala attire, the crowd entered into the spirit of the occasion. In this setting, Dr. Bloomfield, father of Joseph Bloomfield, who was later to be Governor of New Jersey from 1803 to 1812, mounted the platform with his fourteen male and female slaves and took his stand in the center with seven on his right and seven on his left. Then stepping a little in front of them he made an address upon the subject of slavery, in which he spoke of the incongruity of a celebration of American freedom while part of the population remained in servitude. At the conclusion of his speech he pointed to his slaves and said, "From this day these are emancipated and free, absolved from all servitude to me or my posterity."²⁰

A society for promoting the abolition of slavery was formed in New Jersey in 1786. A constitution adopted in 1793 provides for annual meetings of members from the whole State and semi-annual county meetings. Its preamble reflected the philosophy of the Revolution as it declared "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to be "universal rights of men." Membership in the society was not large, but its members were able men and it played an influential part in obtaining the passage of laws for the gradual abolition of slavery and in securing in the courts such rights for slaves as the laws gave them. The aims of the society were moderate, seeking a gradual rather than a radical solution of the problem. Its president in 1804 declared that it was not "to be wished, much less expected, that sudden and general emancipation should take place." True policy, he said, was to "steadily pursue the best means of lessening, and by temperate steps, of finally extinguishing the evil."

The first anti-slavery legislation in New Jersey after the Revolution was a law of 1786 directed against importation of slaves and providing for manumission without security. More drastic legislation was adopted in 1788. Anti-slavery petitions, the activities of abolition societies and the steady pressure of the Friends had brought about these acts and were

19. Gardner, D. H.: "The Emancipation of Slaves in New Jersey," "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," IX, No. 1, p. 10.

20. Mary R. Thomas in the New Brunswick "Sunday Times," July 4, 1926, p. 19.

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to finally secure the passage of the Abolition Law of 1804. Petitioners from Morris and Essex counties, in 1790, prayed for abolition. The Assembly committee at the time hesitated to go so far, but ventured the opinion that there would be no slaves left in the State by the end of a generation. But petitions continued to come in. Action was nearly secured, in 1798, which would have given freedom to all children of slaves born in future upon reaching the age of twenty-eight.

By the end of the eighteenth century every State north of the Mason and Dixon line had provided for either absolute or gradual abolition of its slaves excepting New Jersey. New Jersey finally acted, in 1804, when a law providing for gradual abolition was passed. Every child born of a slave after the Fourth of July of that year was to be free, but was to remain the servant of the owner of its mother until twenty-five years of age, if a male, and twenty-one years, if a female. During such periods of time the master's right to the services of the child were essentially not different than if it were a slave and such services were transferable property. The law required that the master file a birth certificate for every such child. These provisions might put a considerable burden upon an owner of slaves, who could anticipate but small return from such children, though many years of care and expense would be put upon him. This objection was met by requiring that the owner of the mother must maintain the child for one year, but after that period he might abandon it. It thereby became a charge, as a pauper, upon the township or county, to be bound out by the overseers of the poor. This provision resulted in an unexpected drain upon the treasury and not a little fraud. After trying out amendments, in 1811, it was repealed.

In 1844 New Jersey adopted a new Constitution. In a Bill of Rights it said, "all men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness." Did this free all slaves in the State? A similar provision in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 had led to a court decision abolishing slavery in that State. The New Jersey court, on the other hand, in 1845, said that the Constitution of 1844 did not abolish slavery, that the provision was not designed to apply to "man in his private, individual or domestic capacity; or to define his individual rights or interfere with his domestic relations, or his individual condition."

The court of New Jersey hereby lagged behind public opinion, but its

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decision had but two years to stand. In 1846 slavery in New Jersey was finally terminated by law. It did not mean, however, full freedom for the newly freed men. The slave became an apprentice bound to serve his present master or "executors or administrators until discharged." On the other hand "an apprentice shall not be discharged unless he desires to be." Whether because of the wishes of masters or apprentices there were still, in 1860, a remnant in servitude—eighteen slaves as listed in the national census.

The New Jersey law would say eighteen apprentices, but the line between apprentice and slave was a pretty thin one. Nevertheless, the law of 1846 conferred additional rights upon the slave. He could not now be sold without his permission and a written bill of sale signed by himself. The courts now afforded him larger redress under the law for servants. The greatest gain in the new law was "that all children born to negro apprentices shall be absolutely free from birth and not subject to any manner of service whatsoever." The master was obligated, however, to support such children until they were six years of age, after which time, if the parents could not take care of them, they might be bound out to the overseers of the poor.

New Jersey and the National Issue of Slavery—Between 1804, when New Jersey provided for the gradual emancipation of its slaves, and 1846, when she technically terminated it, slavery had become, in the United States, the greatest public issue. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 provided a contraption which made short-fibered cotton a profitable crop. Here was a raw material which the factories of Old and New England could not get too much of. Thus cotton became the root of the civilization of the South. It motivated the southern frontier movement; it built the wealth and the civilization of the South.

But cotton had a greater significance. Its rôle was no less than to give dynamic to the whole economic life of the United States during the middle period of our history—the period between the second war with England and our Civil War. The essence of that period was swift and revolutionary change—change in our economic, social and political life and change in our philosophies. The period saw the development of three economic sections. The East espoused the industrial revolution with a vengeance, setting up the new machines and building factories with capital which the War of 1812 had driven from the sea. The West, between the Alleghanies and the Missouri, gathered to itself the flooding stream of

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men and women seeking free lands and opportunity and set up an agrarian empire. The South, with its staple crop, set up the "cotton kingdom." Thus arose within the United States three diverse sections. But no one of them lived its life alone and the economic and political history of the period was one in which each was making profitable adjustments with the other two sections and all were trying to live under one political roof.

The key to the economic interrelationships of these three sections was cotton. Cotton was the great staple with a seemingly inexhaustible market and the South devoted its energies to little else. Much of the food supply for its plantations it bought from the West, which it paid for with drafts on Eastern banks. With the credits thus acquired by the West, that section bought manufactured goods from the East, which also sold the products of its factories into the South. Thus did the three sections of the country establish a course of triangular trade to the mutual advantage of each and the cotton staple was the key to the whole. Cotton, moreover, figured enormously in foreign trade. In 1791, the total export of cotton had been 200,000 pounds, by 1803 it was 40,000,000. Hardly a year passed down to 1860 that cotton did not more than equal in value all other American exports, at times doubling all others in value. The census of 1860 reveals a crop of 2,300,000,000 pounds, which was three-quarters of the world output.

On closer examination, one concludes that the North got an unduly large share of the profits of this scheme. In addition to providing the South with manufactures it gathered the middle-man's profits on its foreign importations, and made handsome profits out of the transporting, banking, insuring and brokering which it conducted for the South. After the bills of business were paid, the planters spent the balance in Northern hotels and watering places, where they and their ladies crowded in the summer seasons.

Cotton was the magic that gave speed to America in this middle period. What was more natural than that cotton should be king? And so it was. For a generation the cotton planters ran the government. They elected presidents, controlled congressional majorities and dominated the Supreme Court. But at the bottom of this Cotton Kingdom lay a blighting force—slavery, which in time was to split the country into two sections and ultimately lead to war. That is a long story which has no place in this book. Our concern with it extends only to New Jersey's attitude toward the issue.

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It was about 1830 that slavery was sharply injected into our public thinking by William Lloyd Garrison.²¹ From that date the North began the more active shaping of an abolitionist program and the South a philosophy of defense. Where did New Jersey stand on slavery as a national issue?

In 1787 Congress excluded slavery from the new territory north of the Ohio River and west to the Mississippi. Three years earlier Thomas Jefferson had proposed that slavery be excluded from all the West, south of the Ohio as well as north. This proposal failed of adoption for the lack of a single vote. That vote might have been obtained but for the absence from Congress of one of New Jersey's delegates, and, wrote the late Austin Scott, had not "illness kept him at home that day the history of this country might have been wholly changed."²² This conclusion seems doubtful to the present writer, but it affords an interesting speculation. The fact is that the United States, as they emerged from the Revolution, came to be divided by the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary line and by the Ohio River into two parts—slave and free.

The first sharp political conflict over slavery developed over the admission of Missouri. On that occasion the New Jersey Assembly passed resolutions protesting against the admission of Missouri as a slave State. In this stand the ethical motive played some part, no doubt, but economic and political motives seem to have been uppermost.²³

In 1824 the New Jersey Assembly drew up a set of resolutions and submitted them to the legislatures of the other states. They urged the emancipation of all slaves and offered a plan for its accomplishment. The chief feature of the plan was foreign colonization. Moreover, inasmuch as the evil of slavery was national, the "duties and burdens of removing it" ought to be borne by all the people and by all the States of the Union.²⁴

The Mexican War thrust slavery again into the forefront of American politics. A vast domain was added to American territory in consequence of the war and the question arose, what was to be the status of slavery

21. Garrison founded his newspaper, the "Liberator," in 1831.

22. "A Highway of the Nation" in "Semi-Centennial Celebration of the New Jersey Historical Society," p. 174. Cf. von Holst: "Constitutional and Political History of the United States," I, p. 287. Dr. Scott cites no authority for the illness of the New Jersey member or for knowing how he would have voted had he been present. For vote on the question, see "Journals of Congress," April 19, 1784, pp. 98, 99.

23. "Assembly Journal," January 13-19, 1820; "Proceedings, New Jersey Historical Society," IX, p. 20.

24. "Assembly Journal," November 23, 1824.

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within it? While that question was before Congress, the New Jersey Legislature resolved "that the Senators and Representatives from New Jersey in Congress be requested to use their best efforts to secure the exclusion forever of slavery or involuntary servitude from any territory thereafter annexed to the United States, except as a punishment for crime."²⁵ Somewhat similar resolutions, only stronger, were adopted two years later.²⁶

As time went on, however, and slavery became more and more the major issue in politics, it cannot be said that New Jersey was conspicuous for its anti-slavery position. In 1844, when slavery for the first time occupied the central place in a presidential election, Theodore Frelinghuysen, one of Jersey's distinguished sons, who was the running mate of Henry Clay in that contest, had no severe words for slavery. The exigencies of politics cautioned silence. And in 1860, when Lincoln was elected President, New Jersey was the only Northern State that did not give its entire vote for him; in 1864 she gave her whole vote against him.

This was not due to absence of anti-slavery leaders. We have already observed the work of John Woolman with the Friends of New Jersey and beyond and its significance for abolition in the eighteenth century. New Jersey was to contribute another whose rôle was on the national stage. This was Benjamin Lundy, the most interesting figure in the cause of the slave before Garrison, who came under his influence as a disciple to become, in time, master. Lundy was born a New Jersey Quaker, but later was a resident of several slave States. He began, in 1815, the organization of anti-slavery societies, several of them in Southern States. In 1821 he founded an abolition paper, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." Garrison later said of him, "His heart is of gigantic size. Every inch of him is alive with power. . . . Within a few months he has travelled about twenty-four hundred miles, of which upwards of sixteen hundred were performed *on foot!* during which time he has held nearly fifty public meetings."²⁷ The number of anti-slavery societies increased greatly under the labors of Lundy and it is not too much to say that he was the originator of the abolitionist movement of the North.

If New Jersey played but a minor part in the anti-slavery crusade between 1830 and 1860, it was not for the lack of a fine tradition; it was due primarily to the fact that she was caught in the economics of the

25. "Seventy-first Legislature, Third Session, Statutes," p. 188, February 16, 1847.

26. "Seventy-third Legislature, Fifth Session, Statutes," p. 334, March 2, 1849.

27. W. P. and F. J. Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison, I, p. 92.

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"Cotton Kingdom." That story is to be found in the character of the trade relations already suggested above. The economic development of the Eastern States rested in large measure in the ability to sell the products of their factories to the South. New Jersey lay at the heart of the Industrial East. The history of the city of Newark amply illustrates.

Early in the nineteenth century, Southern planters in their Northern journeys were impressed by the fine shoes made in Newark. That was the beginning of a shoe trade which increasingly shod the feet of whites and blacks in the cotton belt until Newark became a household word throughout the South. Shoes were but a single item, though an important one; great quantities of clothing, carriages, harnesses and saddlery were bought from Newark workshops which achieved reputations for excellence in strength; style, finish and beauty.²⁸

In Joseph's Atkinson's "History of Newark" is told the story of a merchant who took a lot of carriages into the South. Reaching his destination he found a fair in operation. The arrival of this cargo of carriages aroused the jealousy of competitors who attempted to protect their interests by spreading the report that these carriages never saw Newark. Without avail; when their genuineness was established, they were all sold at handsome prices.²⁹

The relations of Newark with the South are, of course, but one detail of the story. At one side of New Jersey was the city of New York and at the other side Philadelphia. Between them lay the industrial life of the State, all of which pulsated with the beat of the plantation pulse. Naturally then the prosperity of the South was of concern to New Jersey business interests. Naturally, also, the ambitions of merchants conflicted with the ideas of abolitionists. Young lawyers who wanted wealthy clients found it good policy to expound their humanitarianism upon Northern causes, and preachers of city churches found enough to preach about without offending the pillars of the church with abolitionist doctrine. This is not only good psychology, but evidence enough exists to establish the attitude of the city churches of New Jersey upon the slavery question.

A review of the sermon literature in New Jersey in the generation before the Civil War is striking for its lack of zeal in the abolitionist cause. New Jersey preachers did not go so far as to call slavery a divine institution entrusted by God to the South for safe keeping as did the Rev.

28. Shaffer, Leon: "Business Relations of Newark with the South to 1861" (in MS.).

29. Atkinson, Joseph: "History of Newark," p. 294.

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Benjamin M. Palmer, of New Orleans, but their stand was not calculated to antagonize the South. A sermon of the Rev. John C. Rankin, of Basking Ridge, January 4, 1861, illustrates. In it he said:

I am no advocate of slavery; I have always been opposed to it, and have never desired to see it extended or perpetuated as a system. Would that there were not a slave in the land or in the world! But the fact is that it does exist, and the North has not treated it as she should. The South has reason to be aggrieved. They are aggrieved very deeply. My own blood boils within me as I think of the wrongs that have been heaped upon them, and are threatened against them. I do not wonder at their resentment. Four billions' worth of property is jeopardized by this agitation, and in addition to that of the peace—aye, the life of every family is endangered. We do not realize it here, but still, my friends, they feel it keenly there. These wretched Northern Abolitionists stand at a distance, and with a fiendish malignity, cloaked under a hypocritical garb of benevolence, feel that it is fun to scatter fire-brands and death over fifteen States of the Union; but they who dwell on the soil have to look the danger in the face. And they do. . . .

. . . . New Jersey, thank God, has hitherto taken no part in these agitations. New Jersey, and I am proud to stand upon her soil, to count myself one of her citizens, has always been one of the most conservative and patriotic States of the Union. Long may she enjoy the honors of her devotion! And may her example be felt on all around. . . .

In February, 1848, an anti-slavery lecturer complained that in Newark five clergymen refused to give notices from their pulpits regarding his lectures. The Rev. Samuel B. How, pastor of the First Reformed Dutch Church of New Brunswick, from 1832 to 1863, gave comfort to the slave holder in an argument before the General Synod of his church, October, 1855, published a year later under the title "Slave-holding Not Sinful." With the labored exegesis of the day he devoted well over a hundred pages to establish his point. Did not Abraham, with whom God had made a covenant, hold slaves and was he not "called the friend of God?" Dr. How found another strong argument in the case of Hagar, a fugitive slave of Abraham. When she fled from Sarah, the angel of the Lord said unto her, "Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands."³⁰ To the argument the New Testament contributed the story of Onesimus, a slave who ran away from his master Philemon. Coming under the influence of Saint Paul that apostle sent him back to his master. And it could be pointed out that Christ had not preached against slavery.

30. Genesis 16:6-9.



LINCOLN STATUE, EAST ORANGE

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Was it not presumption then for the men of Dr. How's day to say that slavery was sinful? Reading his Bible, he said it was not.

The Presbyterian Church, in which Dr. How had had his training (he had graduated from the Princeton Seminary), was particularly conservative and the New Jersey Synod (Old School) was especially so. Whereas economic pressure no doubt contributed to this, an additional factor was the attitude of the Princeton Theological Seminary from which over half of the Presbyterian ministers of New Jersey came. After surveying the lives and writings of the great men who made up the seminary faculty one concludes that while these men were not advocates of the slave system they diligently avoided its discussion and, while the humanitarian spirit of the North was laying the train for the freedom of the slave, Princeton Seminary and its graduates played little part in the movement.³¹ The fact that a substantial number of Southerners were always present in the student body may have had something to do with this attitude of the seminary, but a more fundamental explanation is to be found in the general character of the Presbyterian Church (Old School) in the years before the Civil War.

In conclusion, the stand taken by New Jersey on slavery as an institution in the life of the Nation was one guided in large measure by her place in the economic scheme of things, in which the developing industrial life of the State in large part depended upon the continued prosperity of the slave-owning planters of the South. Consequently, abolitionism that would destroy the labor system of the South, or lead to secession of the South from the Union, with a probable free trade system with England, made no appeals to the pocket sense of New Jersey's industrialists. The distinctly agrarian sections of the State contributed the chief support to anti-slavery. This is revealed in the election of 1860.

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31. Professor Royal F. Nichols in a Master's thesis in manuscript in the Rutgers University library amply establishes this conclusion. It is consonant with the author's findings in the study of the attitude of the Presbyterian Church toward American slavery.

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Taunton's Original Seal of Plymouth

BY FRANK WALCOTT HUTT, SECRETARY OF THE OLD COLONY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TAUNTON, MASSACHUSETTS



EXCURSIONS into the tercentenary field are taking communities into many of the least-travelled byways of an old and half-forgotten period of history, or one that has been overlooked until some such an anniversary as the present one appears. As we now delve into the sources—the business and epistolary writings of two and nearly three centuries ago—these, more than any other means reveal to us the Taunton village folk, and the (from the present viewpoint) queer and quaint customs of a long-lost hamlet by the Tetiquet River.

Despite the enormous and irremediable loss that was Taunton's in the fire of 1838, that destroyed writings, so we are told, whose value not even tradition has wholly appraised, we are still the fortunate possessors of papers whose signatures and date pretty nearly approximate the town's settlement. We may well say that as to the signatures, the sign-manual of some of those men who shared in the genesis of Taunton; and the tercentenary motive could include no better purpose than the preservation of every scrap of writing that has to do with the Colonial and Revolutionary chapters in the local story.

Here is the romance of an old deed, a paper that has been in existence since 1677, year after the close of the King Philip War; Elizabeth Poole had been dead only twenty years; Taunton itself was settled only about forty years before.

Generally, to most people, deeds are dry-as-dust documents; immediately interested parties find vital interest in them. But the deed of which we write will always have a very lively value to a multitude of people, for two reasons:

It is a deed of Assonet Neck lands that had been seized by the Colony to pay the expenses of the Indians wars, the first seizure of lands made in this section, all of Taunton's purchases theretofore having been made originally of the Indians, with or without a confirmatory deed from the government.

The deed is sealed with the Plymouth Colony Seal, and on which seal

TAUNTON'S ORIGINAL SEAL OF PLYMOUTH

can now only be discerned the word "Plimoth" and the date "1620."

What makes this deed of surpassing value to the Old Colony and to Taunton is the fact that in the course of an interview with an official of the Plymouth Historical Society, Rev. Henry M. Medary, a member of the Old Colony Historical Society Board of Directors, was told that only two seals like this one are known to be extant, the one in Taunton's possession, the other being in Holland, the Plymouth Historical Society being the owner of only a plaster cast of the seal. This seal has been photographed a number of times by other historical societies and by individuals associated with historical writing and, in order to ensure its further preservation, it has been put under glass and framed by the Emery Record Preserving Company.

It is too lengthy a document, and of too many legal repetitions to reproduce here; but therein it is stated that Constant Southworth, treasurer of His Majesty's Colony of New Plymouth, with the assistance of Nathaniel Thomas, was authorized to make sale of the lands of Assonet, to defray the Colony's debts.

"In consideration," the deed reads, "of the full and just sum of one hundred and fifty pounds in lawful money of New England, and other good pay to me, the said treasurer," the bargain being made between the General Court and George Shove, Richard Williams, Walter Deane, James Walker, William Harvey, James Tisdale, all of Taunton (one-sixth part of the land to each), their heirs and assigns forever, the boundaries being given in the usual great detail; and Mr. Southworth setting his hand and seal to the deed "in the year of our Lord, 1677, and in the nine and twentieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc." Josiah Winslow was governor of the Colony.

The story of the Assonet Neck negotiations, a peninsula two miles long and less than one mile broad, long a fishing and hunting ground of local tribes, is thus told by Rev. S. H. Emery in his "History of Taunton."

The Indians had always refused to sell this, their last holding in this section; and it was seized by the Colony to pay the expenses of the Indian wars; and in 1675 for the lands "at Assonett, 200 pounds" were pledged by the General Court for the "incouragement of the Soulders sent forth on the first expedition against the Indians."

Therefore, on November 12, 1677, Constant Southworth, treasurer of the Colony, conveyed the Assonet Lands to the individuals heretofore named, which lands, Francis Baylies, historian, says were divided among

TAUNTON'S ORIGINAL SEAL, OF PLYMOUTH

them on May 23, 1680; and this tract was made a part of Taunton in July, 1682, by order of the General Court at Plymouth.

When Dighton was incorporated, in 1712, this tract was included in the boundaries of that town; but it was added to Berkley in 1799, and so continues.

Dr. P. W. Leland, a former director of this society, and a student of Indian nomenclature, recorded in an article that appears in the "Historical Society Proceedings, No. 3," that the name Assonet signifies a stone-place, in allusion to the out-cropping granite mass some seventy feet in height, just east of the village.

And so as we lay aside this document for another, later on, we do so with no little respect for the meticulous care with which it was produced, and that with which it has been preserved. Our vision does not run riot as we suppose the associates in the deed to have been well-to-do, so far as that might be, then. Authentic tradition still points out to us the site of their first homes in and around the Green, which was then a very extensive tract of land; and we see Williams, Hall, Harvey and Dean welcoming the eminent folk of the Colony, Governor Winslow, Treasurer Southworth; a substantial small community who might have got along well enough with the Indians if Philip could have been induced to follow in his father's footsteps.

The deed is a chapter in the colonial story; and real people and events throng between the lines without any strenuous appeal to our imagination.



Early Arkansas History*

BY A. L. BRAMLETT, PH. D., AND DAVID Y. THOMAS, PH. D., ARKANSAS



DISCOVERY and Explorations—Arkansas history begins with the coming of Hernando de Soto, in 1541, nearly three-quarters of a century before an English or a French settlement was made in America. After the discovery of America, the Spaniards had their abiding interests only in places where gold and silver were known to exist. In their adventurous and heroic search for these precious metals, they were led across strange lands, disease infected swamps; across deep rivers and mountains; through trackless forests, filled with wild beasts and savage Indians. The only ones who could succeed in such bold enterprises were the bravest and most daring, like Cortez, Pizarro, Coronado, and De Soto. And De Soto was a typical Spanish adventurer—ambitious, brave, cruel, proud, haughty and resourceful. He was a Spanish nobleman, well educated, and had served under Pizarro in Peru, where he had gained experience, fame and fortune. He asked the king of Spain for the Governorship of Cuba, and the privilege of conquering Florida.

He came to Cuba, but very soon (May, 1539) landed in Florida with a well-equipped following of over 500 men, 200 or 300 horses, and bloodhounds. De Soto set out from Tampa Bay for the rainbow's end of fortune and fame. For about two years the Spaniards roamed through the wilderness of the present states of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. They endured many hardships, suffered from disease and the attacks of the Indians. They robbed and murdered the natives for food, clothing and shelter. They also compelled the natives to act as servants and slaves for them.

After spending the winter of 1540-41 somewhere in northern Mississippi, De Soto and his followers set out in a northwest direction and in May, 1541, came to the Mississippi River, perhaps near the present city of Memphis, Tennessee, and soon were the first whites or Europeans to set foot upon the soil of Arkansas. Across the river they saw, as given in their own words, "a fair and pleasant land."

They had come to the largest river they had ever seen, called by the

*This article is a section of "Arkansas and Its People—A History," of which Dr. Thomas is editor, soon to appear from the press of this organization.—Ed.

EARLY ARKANSAS HISTORY

Indians the Mes-cha-ce-be; but which the Spaniards called the Rio Grande. They thought it to be about "a league wide, and nineteen to twenty fathoms deep." These explorers were wholly unaware of the importance of this discovery. They had no vision of this great river in the future, carrying the trade and commerce of its great valley inhabited by the prosperous and happy people. It took about a month for the Spaniards to prepare barges or flatboats to cross. During this time the Indians on the eastern side of the river were friendly, and furnished supplies to De Soto. But those on the west side, who knew nothing of the Spaniards, and who viewed their coming with a mingled feeling of awe, curiosity, and fear, at times showed hostility. Once the Spaniards were very much surprised to see a fleet of about 200 canoes, filled with these Indians, painted and decorated, the warriors standing erect, armed with bows and arrows, their chieftains sitting under awnings of woven cloth. They were apparently bearing gifts of food. This scene seemed to the Spaniards "like a fair army of galleys." They suspected treachery and hostility on the part of the Indians and drove them away.

It is quite impossible to trace accurately the route of De Soto in his wanderings through Arkansas. The records kept of the expedition were of the most meagre kind. The rivers, mountains and other landmarks were unnamed, and left so; dates and distances and directions were sparingly given, or guessed at. The names of Indian villages were generally given, but these people, because of wars and migrations, did not have places of permanent abode. Trails upon which some writers rely have, no doubt, changed with the shifting locations of the various tribes. And then, too, over 125 years were to pass before other white people set foot on Arkansas soil. Hernandez de Biedma, a member of the expedition and a friend of De Soto, kept a brief diary of the wandering in Arkansas which filled about three printed pages. A Portuguese adventurer with the expedition, who called himself the "Gentleman of Elvas," wrote a narrative story of nearly twenty pages, but his writing contains many doubtful stories and Indian speeches. Later, Garcilasso de la Vega wrote an account of the expedition as it was described to him by one of the survivors. He rather boastfully claims accuracy for his narrative.

After having crossed the Mississippi safely, De Soto at once started up the river. He soon came to Aquixo, a village somewhere in the present Crittenden County, and here he was told by the natives that a three days' journey up the river would bring him to the dwelling of a great cacique of the province of Casqui. The Indians everywhere were

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anxious to get rid of the Spaniards, and seemed quite willing to pass them on to others. The Indians seemed unable to unite in order to drive the marauders from their country. De Soto decided at once to go to Casqui. The Spaniards waded through swamps covered with water, and then came to a village on higher, drier land. Some of the natives fled; a few were captured; and some were killed. Then after a three days' journey, Casqui, the home of the cacique, was reached. The direction of this march was not given, but Casqui was probably on the St. Francis River, not so very far above its mouth. The Spaniards were worshipped as children of the Great Sun, and brought presents of food and cloth. The Indians asked De Soto to heal the blind, but he begged to be excused. He did, however, set up a cross for them and took this opportunity to say that the Lord represented by the cross expected the Indians to furnish the Spaniards food, cloth, and similar supplies.

After leaving Casqui, many villages and mounds were passed. The expedition was now no doubt between the St. Francis and Mississippi, and the country must have been higher and drier than it is today, as the earthquakes of 1811-12 (nearly 300 years later) caused a sinking of the land.

De Soto came to Pacaha, near the Mississippi, which was the farthest north reached on his journey in this section. "The Gentleman of Elvas" gives the time as June 19, 1541. He describe the place as being "very great, walled, and beset with towers, and many loopholes were in the towers and walls. And in the town was a great store of old maize,—where the governor lodged was a great lake, that came near unto the wall; and it entered into a ditch that went round about the town. . . . From the lake to the great river was made a wear (*sic*) by which the fish came into it, which the cacique kept for his recreation and sport." He describes several kinds of the fish. "There was another fish called the peel fish; it had a snout of a cubit long, . . . and in the river there were some 150 pounds weight, and many of them were taken with the hook." From here, Pacaha, De Soto sent out an exploring expedition, which was gone eleven days. The country visited was reported to be sterile and thinly populated.

After leaving Pacaha, the expedition turned to the northeast, wandered through a wild country, turned to the southwest, and on August 4, 1541, came to a town called Quigaute, the largest one they had seen since leaving Florida. Biedma says the town was on the branch of a great river. Some people think that De Soto had now come to White

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River, while others believe that the place was on the Arkansas. The explorers remained at this town for a few days, securing food, clothing, slaves, and women from the Indians. Part of this town was burned.

After leaving Quigaute, a northwesterly direction was taken, and after eleven days' journey, they came to a province called Caligua, or Coligoa, near the mountains, where the Indians went to hunt buffaloes, and where De Soto and his companions hoped to find gold and silver. It was a place of "fat soil and plenty of maize." Coligoa, thus described, was doubtless between the White and Arkansas rivers, near the Ozark Mountains. (Could the "fat lands" have been the "Oil" Trough Bottoms near Batesville?)

At this time, the summer of 1541, Coronado, a bold Spanish explorer from Mexico, was wandering in the country northwest of De Soto, within reach of a messenger, if De Soto had only known it.

From Coligoa, the Spaniards turned to the south or southwest and, after travelling for about nine days, reached a town called Cayas, where there was good pasturage for the horses, and houses and maize to be taken from the Indians. Here was found salt which the Indians secured by raking up the sand along the river, putting it in baskets, and letting water filter through it. The water was then evaporated by boiling in a pan, thus leaving the salt. Here they found "a lake of very hot water, and brackish." It seems pretty certain that they were now encamped on the Ouachita River near the present Hot Springs.

Now De Soto began to seek a place for winter quarters. He wanted to find an Indian settlement with enough houses to accommodate his men, pasturage for his horses, and enough Indians for slaves and women. He finally decided to winter at a province called Autiamque, which he was informed lay about twelve days' journey to the southwest of Cayas. In addition to being well populated, De Soto was told that it was near a body of water that he thought might be an arm of the sea. From there fresh supplies of men and horses might be secured from Cuba. By this time 250 men and 150 horses had been lost. And, too, one of the chroniclers says that for three years De Soto's "Donna Isabella" in Cuba had not heard from him.

After a roundabout journey of about two weeks, across mountains to the south of Cayas (Hot Springs?), to various places, to the "foot of high mountains," and across the Red River; the weary travellers reached a village in Autiamque. It lay in a plain just beyond the mountains, and near it "a river that came out of the province of Cayas," says Biedma. So the

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winter quarters were on the Ouachita; and far above its mouth, as later De Soto travelled down the Ouachita ten days "towards the Great River." It must have been some distance above the mouth of the Saline River. The Spaniards took possession of the town, giving the "Governor" the best part of it. They took more slaves, men and women, and compelled them to build a stockade. The supplies secured were of all sorts; corn, beans, and walnuts, besides mantles and skins. Here Juan Ortez, De Soto's faithful interpreter, died. He had known many Indian languages, and his death was a serious loss.

On March 6, 1542, the Spaniards left Autiamque with the intention of reaching the sea. After travelling down the river for ten days, they crossed one (perhaps the same, the Ouachita) on rafts or barges. Then they entered a wilderness, "a country so low, full of lakes, and evil ways." Food was scarce and the Indians were troublesome. De Soto had now doubtless crossed the southern boundary of the State. The Spaniards reached a river "that fell into the Great River." This must have been the Red River. De Soto heard of the town of Guachoya on the Great River, where he intended to build brigantines to send to Cuba "to let them know that he was still alive."

His scouts found only large creeks, canebrakes, thick woods, and no habitations. The "governor fell into great dumps to see how hard it was to get to the sea, and worse because his men and horses were diminished." The Indians grew defiant. But the Spaniard could kill Indians yet. In speaking of the slaughter of the natives at Nilco, the Gentleman of Elvas said: "The shrieks of women and children were so great that it made the ears deaf of those who followed him. . . . Some (Spaniards) killed old and young . . . and all they met, though they made no resistance."

On May 2, 1542, De Soto, the "valiant and virtuous" died. He was probably wrapped in some old mantles which were weighted with sand and dropped at night into the Mississippi.

The Spaniards made other wanderings under the new leader, Louis de Moscoso, and at the mouth of the Arkansas or Red River (doubtless the latter) they built, with much labor, seven brigantines or boats, and floated down the "Great River" to the Gulf of Mexico.

In September, 1543, they reached their people in Mexico, "blackened, haggard, shriveled, half naked," clad in skins, "looking more like beasts than human beings." They "kissed the ground when they landed

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and their eyes to heaven, remained untiring in giving thanks to God." Thus ended one of the most remarkable expeditions in all history.¹

This expedition is of historical interest, but what were its results? What effect did it have on the history of Arkansas? Its object was a failure; no gold or precious metals were found. The Spaniards learned something of the geography of the country; its rivers, mountains, soil, climate, and inhabitants. The natives had met them in peace and friendship, but they were robbed and murdered for their villages and homes, food and clothing. They had been enslaved, killed, and their women debauched. They were cut down with the sword on the slightest provocation. Sometimes they were maimed and crippled as examples to others. It had been a robbing and murdering expedition, yet the Spaniards had with them priests, who carried the cross and called themselves Christians. These priests could dangle the cross or crucifix before the eyes of the poor, dying wretches and absolve their souls.

The Indians, we learn, had formed a tribal system of government. They lived in villages, raised crops of maize, a few vegetables, and fruits. They went on hunting expeditions and engaged in wars. Their religion was simple and childlike. Their civilization was somewhat beyond the nomadic.

One hundred and thirty-one years after De Soto, in 1673, a small band of French were the next white people to come to Arkansas. Spain had not profited by the expedition of De Soto, either by further explorations or to claim the Mississippi Valley. By this time the English had taken possession of the Atlantic Coast, and according to their charters to colonizing companies, laid claim to all the land between certain parallels to the "south seas." The English charter of 1665 to the eight Lord Proprietors for Carolina included Arkansas. The French had now settled on the St. Lawrence, and were rapidly pushing their explorations and claims to the west and southwest.

When the French first came into the region of the Great Lakes, they heard stories of the Mighty River far to the west and southwest. The ambitious Louis XIV of France and his great minister, Colbert, believed that this river might lead into the Pacific, and open for the French the long desired route to the rich Indies and China. The able governors and intendants of new France were filled with a desire to extend the colonial

1. The foregoing account is taken from "Biedma and the Gentlemen of Elvas" in *Publications of Arkansas Historical Association*, I, pp. 466-99; Herndon: I, pp. 73-84; Ogg: "Opening of the Mississippi," pp. 125-42; Goodspeed Publishing Company, "North-east Arkansas," pp. 496-98.

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empire of their king; the shrewd fur traders wanted to make money; and the devout Jesuits, who were bound by sacred oaths to carry the Gospel to the remotest foreign lands, were anxious to preach to the Indians.

About 1665 the French learned of the great prairie regions, of the many Indians there to be converted, and of the "Missipi" River, which might lead to the Indies.² By 1673, a retiring intendant, in Canada, Talon, wished to link his name with some great enterprise, and the new governor, Frontenac, the ablest of all the governors of New France, in the spring of 1673 gave permission and the necessary help for an expedition under the command of a priest and a trader. The Jesuit priest was Father Jacques Marquette, who said he would gladly lay down his life for the salvation of the souls of the poor savages, an attitude very different from that of De Soto. The trader, Louis Joliet, was principally an "envoy" of the King, to discover new countries.

On May 13, 1673, these men, in two canoes, accompanied by five rowers and two Indian guides, who later turned back, began their long journey by crossing Lake Michigan, ascending the Fox River to its source, and then over a short portage into the Wisconsin River. After descending it, they entered the Mississippi, June 17.

Marquette wrote an interesting account of their observations and experiences. He noted the beautiful flowers, vast plains, shaggy buffaloes, and many other things. At one place, he says, "we met from time to time monstrous fish, which struck so violently against our canoes that we took them to be large trees, which threatened to upset us."³

They prepared their meals on shore, and slept at night anchored some distance from the banks for safety. Marquette preached to the Indians whenever possible. No Indians were robbed, killed or enslaved; whites and natives throughout the whole expedition met on friendly terms.

Near the Arkansas River, the Frenchmen came to a village on the west bank of the Mississippi called Mitchigama. Here a great crowd of Indians came out in large tree canoes, making a terrible uproar. They were armed with bows, arrows, clubs, and axes. Happy for the Frenchmen that De Soto and his cruelties were now only a tradition. Marquette held aloft his peace pipe, the calumet, and the danger ended in a hospitable welcome; with later a feast of mush, fish, and roasted dog meat.

Next day a long canoe appeared carrying ten men, who led the Frenchmen about ten leagues (twenty-five or thirty miles) to Akansea, near

2. Reuben Gold Thwaites: "France in America," p. 56.

3. "Jesuit Relations," LIV, p. 142.

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the mouth of the Arkansas River. Before this town was reached, however, Indians in two canoes met them, singing and bearing gifts of things to eat. When the canoes drew near, the leader of one stood up and offered the peace pipe. The visitors were led to the village, received kindly and feasted. Marquette preached as usual. The Indians had steel axes—an unmistakable proof of their contact with Europeans.

Marquette and Joliet now realized that the main object of the expedition was accomplished. The Mississippi evidently did not enter the Pacific, but the Gulf of Mexico—the country of the Spaniards. To go farther would involve great danger; perhaps death from the Indians who evidently had firearms; or perhaps capture and death by the Spaniards. If they never returned, the French authorities would lose the benefit of the knowledge that had been gained by the expedition.

Accordingly, after a short rest, the party began the long, wearisome return journey, July 17, 1673. Joliet went directly to Quebec to make his official report, having made a map and a written account of the expedition. He lost these, however, when his boat capsized near the end of his long journey. Marquette returned to his missionary work. He had contracted malaria on his visit to the Arkansas River, and this no doubt hastened his death, which occurred in the forests of Michigan in 1675.

Nothing was immediately done to occupy the great Mississippi Valley. The French authorities had not only learned that this river afforded no water route to the Indies, but their geographical knowledge of the country was increased.

The next explorer to reach Arkansas was the greatest of them all, a man with a vision of a great New France, and plans for occupying and holding the Mississippi Valley. And with the coming of the great La Salle, the object of the expeditions changed from that of seeking gold, or of discovery, to the more important one of building forts, establishing colonies—empire building.

Sieur de la Salle was a well-educated, talented son of wealthy French parents. The governor of Canada, at the beginning of La Salle's work, was the bold, ambitious, able Frontenac. These two men planned to have a chain of forts built down the Mississippi, and to plant colonies in its valley. This would hold the country, control the Indians, and secure a monopoly of the fur trade. Frontenac, La Salle and many others were engaged in this industry. From 1666 to the time of his preparation for the trip down the Mississippi to its mouth, into the country of the Span-

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iards, La Salle travelled over the region about the Great Lakes, the upper Mississippi and Ohio rivers. He was a good trader, knew Indian ways and customs, and enjoyed the confidence of Frontenac.⁴ He had interested Louis XIV and his great minister, Colbert, in his and Frontenac's plans.

On La Salle's return from France, he brought with him the man who is often called the Father of Arkansas, Henri de Tonty. He was a good soldier, persevering, loyal and brave. He had lost a hand in battle, and had an artificial iron one, which he kept covered with a glove. He could use it effectively in a fight at close range, and he received the name of "Tonty of the Iron Hand." La Salle needed a soldier as lieutenant because he did not propose to stop at the Arkansas, as Marquette and Joliet had done, but he intended to go to the very mouth of the river, among the Spaniards, if necessary, and claim the whole country for France.

After many delays and losses in preparation for the expedition, La Salle was at last ready. As far as the King of France was concerned, the official purpose of the expedition was to find a port for French ships in Mexico, to penetrate that country, and to explore further the western part of New France.

La Salle was accompanied by Father Hennepin, the chronicler of the expedition, the faithful Tonty, and quite a party of others. They left the Illinois country in the spring of 1682. The French stopped at De Soto's old crossing at Chickasaw Bluffs. Then they went to an Indian village at the mouth of the Arkansas. Here La Salle took formal possession of the territory for his King, Louis XIV. The Indians from the village of Kappa came in canoes to meet them as they had done for Marquette and Joliet, about ten years before. The chief came and exchanged the peace pipe. At the villages the visitors were feasted and entertained. At the largest village peace was formally confirmed; the Indians acknowledged the jurisdiction of the King of France over them and their territory. This was no doubt a strange ceremony to these simple savages. La Salle had not come to seek gold, to rob, and murder, as De Soto had done; nor to explore the country and convert the natives as was the purpose of Marquette and Joliet. He came to take possession of this territory in the name of his King. Little did the poor savages realize that their age-long seclusion in the great woods and plains was now at an end. But only a few whites like La Salle had caught a vision of the coming immigrants

4. Thwaites: "France in America," pp. 60-65.

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into this great region, and its strategic importance in the making of New France.

After resting a few days among the friendly Indians near the mouth of the Arkansas, La Salle proceeded to the mouth of the Mississippi. Soon after reaching that place, April 9, 1682, he erected a large cross bearing the insignia of France and in an appropriate short speech, claimed the whole valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries for France. He called the country Louisiana, in honor of his King. And the territory of the present State of Arkansas, as far as a mere claim could make it so, became a part of the French Empire, and received a name.

By a hard, toilsome journey, La Salle and his companions returned in their boats up the Mississippi. La Salle hastened to Quebec to make his report. But his friend and helper, Frontenac, had been replaced by La Barre, who was not very friendly toward La Salle. He found also that the English had now entered vigorously and effectively into competition with the French in the fur trade.

But La Salle never tarried at Quebec to parley with La Barre. He and Tonty had already begun to build forts in the upper part of the Mississippi Valley, principally to hold the country for France, and partly to help secure their own fur trade. La Salle had planned to build a line of forts all the way to the mouth of the Mississippi, and he was anxious to secure supplies and settlers for a colony at its mouth,⁵ in order to hold that part of the country.

In France La Salle found that Colbert, who had realized the importance of his plans, was dead. But the King dealt generously with him. In July, 1684, four ships were secured; also soldiers, colonists, and supplies. He expected to find the mouth of the Mississippi and to found a colony some distance up the river. Unfortunately, he went too far west and landed on the coast of Texas. But most unfortunately of all, he lost his ships by desertion, or by being wrecked; and with this loss, in addition, part of his men and most of his supplies. There was trouble with the Indians, lack of food, disease, desertions, mutinies, and various other discouragements; thus his troubles came thick and fast. At last, in 1687, La Salle was shot in a cowardly manner from ambush, his body stripped and left unburied to feed the vultures and the wolves. Thus had ended miserably or alone in the great wilds of America three men who had come to the Arkansas region—De Soto, Marquette, and La Salle. De Soto and La Salle were separated in length of time 145 years.

5. Thwaites: "France in America," p. 67.

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La Salle's expeditions have further connection with Arkansas history. Tonty, of the "Iron Hand," the faithful, devoted friend, had gone down the Mississippi with a party of French and Indians to meet La Salle. There they waited and searched long and faithfully for him. As Tonty finally returned up the Mississippi he visited his old friends, the Arkansas Indians. And some land there had been granted to Tonty by La Salle when he returned from his trip to the mouth of the Mississippi a few years before. Now some of Tonty's companions, pleased with the country, the Indians, and its good situation for a trading post, begged Tonty to allow them to remain there. Tonty gave permission for ten of his men to establish a fort, to trade with the Indians, to cultivate land, and to make an effort to civilize the natives. He had constructed a store or commercial house of his own. It was located at an Indian village called Assotone, a short distance from the mouth of the Arkansas. Thus was established, not a colony, but a trading post. Homes, in the true sense, were not built. This trading post was perhaps at times deserted. But it was certainly the first settlement of its kind in the whole middle or lower Mississippi Valley. This was 1686, a few years after the settlement of Pennsylvania by William Penn.

After La Salle's death, Joutel and six companions started to walk the long distance through swamps and forests to Canada. After a toilsome journey, they finally came to the south bank of the Arkansas River, and were surprised and overjoyed to see a small building on the other side, on the top of which was a cross. They found only two Frenchmen at the post, as the others had gone to Canada. These refugees did not tell of the death of La Salle, and continued their long walk to Canada.

After Tonty finally learned of La Salle's death and the plight of his followers in Texas, he made a most heroic effort to reach them. But he was forced to give up the attempt because of the desertion of his followers. On his return, he, too, came to the Arkansas post, almost dead with malaria. He found a few Frenchmen there who helped him through his sickness.⁶

In 1699, Tonty, wishing to aid the people at the Arkansas trading post still more, made a grant of several acres of land to establish a church, and for three years supported a missionary priest there, who was to teach the natives agriculture as well as Christianity. Some writers call Tonty the Father of Arkansas. History has never given him full credit for what he did.

6. Weston Arthur Goodspeed: "The Provinces and the States," I, pp. 108-10; Thwaites: p. 70.

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About this time occurred a very significant visit to the Arkansas post. Tonty, in 1686, had left his small garrison of ten men in charge of Jean Couture, who later gained some importance as a trader and explorer. In 1693 Couture deserted the French and went to the English on the Atlantic Coast. During 1699-1700 he led a band of English traders down the Tennessee, the Ohio, and the Mississippi rivers and up to the Arkansas trading post. His purpose was to open a line of trade from the Arkansas country east to the Carolina coast.

Until his death Tonty continued his unselfish, heroic efforts to secure the colonization and the holding of the Mississippi Valley. He gave his support to others in this great work as loyally as he had given it to La Salle. He died at the newly-established Mobile settlement in 1704.

As we know, after De Soto, Spain did nothing to explore further or to hold the Mississippi Valley. And the French came into the St. Lawrence, in 1534, and laid claim to the country, but this was 138 years before they even knew the location of the source or mouth of the Mississippi. They settled Quebec in 1608, but it was three-quarters of a century before any colony or trading post was established in the middle or the lower part of the great valley, as Tonty established the trading post on the Arkansas in 1686. And the final disposition of the country was to be decided, not by European monarchs and diplomats, who would use it as a pawn in furthering political schemes, or as a place to establish trading posts to enrich certain favorites, but by colonists, who came to the New World to establish homes, to secure economic well-being, political and religious liberty. When the weak trading post on the Arkansas was established, the English had planted homes, villages, and towns all the way from South Carolina to Maine, and had laid claim to all the land west to the "South Seas."

Such men as Marquette, Frontenac, Tonty, La Salle and Colbert had a vision of the great Mississippi Valley settled with happy, prosperous French peasants. And to carry the work further came D'Iberville, a native Canadian, a bold soldier and sea fighter. He went to France and repeated the old story of the strategic importance of the Mississippi Valley, and what it would mean to France to occupy and hold it. He, too, secured listeners, and obtained from the King four vessels, soldiers, colonists, and supplies. In 1699, he started for the Mississippi, and without serious difficulty, established a fort and a settlement at Biloxi, on the Gulf Coast near the Mississippi. Leaving his vessels there in a safe harbor, he started west in canoes and rowboats and soon found the Missis-

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ssippi River. About 160 miles up the river he met the chief of an Indian village all dressed up to receive him. The chieftain wore an old blue serge coat that had been given him years before by the generous Tonty.

D'Iberville did not ascend the Mississippi as far as the trading post on the Arkansas. He wanted to find a suitable elevated place for a settlement on the lower Mississippi. A settlement there would be useful in holding the country against the Spanish or the English. Spain was now shaking off her lethargy and indifference concerning settlements along the Gulf and lower Mississippi Valley, and in the year before D'Iberville started for France had sent ships to fortify the places on the coast that the French would probably attempt to occupy.

The French, too, met an English war vessel on the Mississippi. The English were also seeking a place for a colony. But the low, water-covered, mosquito-ridden coast did not appear inviting, and they readily left when the French rather nervously bolstered up courage to tell them that the whole country was claimed by France. Later, one of D'Iberville's men ran across an English trader at the mouth of the Arkansas. Falling sick of fever, D'Iberville soon left his colony and forts on the Gulf Coast and died in Cuba in 1706.

Arkansas Under the Old French Régime, 1700-63—During this time, 1700 to 1763, several governors had charge of the settlements and posts in Louisiana, which included all the Mississippi Valley south of the Illinois country. The settlers, as a rule, did not prosper; malaria and yellow fever killed many of them, and they spent too much time hunting mines, pearls, buffalo wool (!), hides, and furs. Some of the Governors were very corrupt and inefficient. Nothing was done to settle the interior of the country and Tonty's post on the Arkansas was neglected.

The first attention the Arkansas region received was in 1712. Louis XIV, having become wearied with the heavy expenditures necessary for the government of Louisiana, granted to Antoine Crozat, a wealthy French merchant, a monopoly of the granting of land, mines, and trade for a period of fifteen years.⁷ This was done through La Motte Cadillac; the governor and Cadillac joined Crozat in the deal. In 1715 Cadillac received some samples of lead and silver ore from southeastern Missouri, so he decided to visit that country. He passed through the Arkansas Indian villages and the Arkansas trading post. The post might have been deserted at the time. There were then probably not over thirty or

7. Ogg: "Opening the Mississippi," p. 203.

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forty families in the whole Louisiana territory. Cadillac's party discovered a lead mine on the headwaters of the St. Francis River, but no gold or silver was found, and he considered the expedition a failure.

Crozat, himself, never came to Louisiana. He was only interested in it as a money making proposition. No valuable minerals were found, and he made no advantageous trade agreements with the Spaniards. The Chickasaw Indians, possibly stirred up by English traders, gave trouble. The French traders and hunters were displeased because of the low price Crozat paid for hides and furs. Every trader had to secure a license from him. He punished severely those who violated this regulation. Cadillac, himself, wrote: "This colony is a monster without head or tail. . . . Has it not been asserted that there are mines in Arkansas and elsewhere? It is a deliberate error. Has not a set of novel writers published that this is a paradise? . . . I never saw anything so worthless. . . . I do not believe that there is in the universe another such government." Crozat, like King Louis XIV, found Louisiana too expensive, and surrendered his charter in 1717.

The next person to take the Louisiana white elephant was the notorious John Law, a native Scotchman, then in France; a refugee, a gambler, but withal, a shrewd, energetic man. He knew a great deal, or thought he did, about banking and big business.

In 1717 John Law organized the Western Company to exploit the resources of Louisiana. King Louis gave the company a charter; granting to it the exclusive right of land grants, coasts, islands, and harbors; the sole regulation of all trade and prices; the power to appoint and dismiss officials, and to levy and collect taxes and customs. It received all equipment, warehouses, supplies, and arms owned or held by either Crozat or France in Louisiana. The company was required to settle 6,000 colonists and 3,000 slaves within the territory during a period of twenty-five years. The Indians were to be instructed.

False reports of the riches and resources of Louisiana were broadcast over France in order to rush the sale of shares in the company. Louisiana gold was shown on the streets of Paris. New Orleans was represented as a beautiful and flourishing city.

Law and his company certainly gave Louisiana and the Arkansas section a vigorous boost. Many thrifty, industrious settlers and slaves were brought. But some of the emigrants were kidnapped; some were "runaway creditors," "miserable wretches," "vagabonds," and "fallen

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women." In all, over 7,000 settlers and 600 negroes in forty-three boat-loads came to Louisiana. Trade and agriculture grew. In 1718, New Orleans was made the capital of the province.⁸

Law himself had believed in the scheme. He secured a beautiful, fertile tract of land, twelve miles square on the left side of the Arkansas River and above Arkansas Post. It included some Indian villages and fields. For this grant Law was required to settle 1,500 people on the land and to keep some soldiers there to protect the colony.

Directors were at once sent out with one hundred men in five small boats to make preparations for the coming of this colony. A great storehouse for supplies was built. In it were to be stored the provisions and tools to be sold to the settlers. Cabins for the colonists were built. These preparations were no doubt very strange proceedings to the few roving hunters and Indians about Arkansas Post.

Some slaves were purchased for this colony and trained workers and laborers, mostly from the Germanies, were sent over. It is said that Law planned to send at least 9,000 Germans from the Palatinate on the Rhine. In the fall of 1720, 250 settlers came and the next spring more arrived. Some historians say that he sent, in all, 700 German families, and spent \$300,000 of his own money on the project.⁹ Many of these people died on the way, and were dropped into the sea, or covered with sand on the banks of the Mississippi River.

The rest of the story is best told by Father Poisson, in an account written at Arkansas Post in 1726: "The French settlement on the Arkansas would have been an important one had Monsieur Law continued four or five years. His grant was on a boundless prairie, the entrance of which is two gunshots from the house in which I am. . . . His intention was to found a city here, to establish manufactures, to have a number of vessels and troops, and to found a duchy. The property he sent into the country amounted to more than 1,500,000 livres. . . . He meant to arm and equip two hundred cavalrymen. . . . This was not a bad beginning for the first year, but Monsieur Law was disgraced; of the three or four thousand Germans who had already left their country, a large number died in the East; nearly all on landing in the country; the others were recalled. The Company of the Indies took back the grant and shortly afterward abandoned it; the entire enterprise has therefore fallen to pieces. About thirty Frenchmen have remained here; only the excel-

8. Ogg, pp. 210-12.

9. Bancroft: "History of United States," II, p. 354.

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lence of the soil and climate has kept them, for in other respects they have received no assistance. My arrival here has pleased them, for they now think that the Company of the Indies had no intention of abandoning this district . . . in as much as they had sent a missionary here. I cannot tell you in what great joy the people received me. I found them in great need of all things."¹⁰

Law had become bankrupt and left France the latter part of 1720. Storehouses, cabins, and homes about Arkansas Post were soon deserted. Some of the settlers went to New Orleans, expecting, perhaps, to return to Europe. Others established a German settlement on the Mississippi, near New Orleans. In 1722 one visitor said that only forty-seven persons remained at the Post, and that in 1723 it was entirely abandoned. But as we have seen, Father Poisson said that there were about thirty people there in 1726.

After the downfall of Law, the Western Company did not want to lose all that he had accomplished, so a commandant, or director, was appointed for Arkansas Post at a salary of about \$400. One of his duties was to try to secure colonists for the settlement there. A few soldiers from New Orleans were also stationed at the place for many years, and it was continued as a trading post. A number of boat loads of supplies and products now passed yearly between the Illinois country and lower Louisiana. Robber bands, composed of whites and Indians, who preyed upon this trade, became very troublesome about the mouth of the Arkansas River. So a small fort and storehouse for supplies was built there, and was probably garrisoned in connection with Arkansas Post. This fort also served as a defense against the Chickasaws. These Indians fiercely attacked it in 1748, but they were driven away. A fort, or rendezvous, was built later at or near the mouth of the St. Francis River, but it was soon abandoned.¹¹

The Western Company, after the fall of Law, sent out several exploring expeditions. One was that of La Harpe, in 1721, who was selected to explore the Arkansas. It was now nearly two hundred years after De Soto. Bienville, the brother of D'Iberville, was acting governor at New Orleans. He ordered La Harpe to take sixteen soldiers, to start from Arkansas Post, and to ascend to the headwaters of the Arkansas. He was to learn the quality of the land, about the Indian tribes, and mines (if any); keep a journal; note the navigability of the stream; and

10. Goodspeed, *op cit.*, pp. 190-91.

11. Thwaites: "France in America," pp. 208-12.

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ascertain whether or not the Spaniards had any settlements in the region. He left Arkansas Post March 10, and proceeded up the Arkansas River till April 17. The explorers were impressed by the "big rock" near the present city of Little Rock. They saw many wild animals in a very beautiful country. Sickness of La Harpe's men compelled him to abandon the expedition. He failed to secure all the information Bienville wanted. Some writers think he went as far as old Fort Gibson, but he had only reached the Big Rock by April 9, and he started back soon after this date.

La Harpe was also instructed to repair the stockade at the Post of Arkansas. He did this on his return, and left Lieutenant de Boulage there. A permanent garrison was now probably kept at the place.

The effort to govern Louisiana through companies proved a failure. The monopolies granted them were very burdensome to the people. The Chickasaw and Natchez Indians on the banks of the Mississippi were troublesome. Burdensome crop regulations, trade restrictions, some dissolute, worthless settlers and many inefficient officials, all formed a combination of things that made such company rule impossible. One writer said, in 1724: "There is graft and miscarriage of justice . . . the army is without discipline . . . the people are not protected . . . murderers and thieves go unpunished. . . . They (the people) are a disgrace to France . . . without religion . . . without justice . . . without order."¹²

After Law's failure, the Western Company directed affairs in Louisiana through a Supreme Council, with a governor at New Orleans as chief director. After the company gave up its charter to the king in 1731, the governor and council were continued. The Louisiana Territory was divided into nine judicial districts, and Arkansas was made the eighth. Each district had a military commander and a judge.

During Vaudreuil's governorship, 1743-53, the commandant at Arkansas went to New Orleans and during his absence left a corporal in charge. This corporal and his men soon stole all they could carry away and left the country.¹³

Of the number of governors appointed for Louisiana, some were good, more were indifferent, and a few were bad. These governors, as a rule, had power to make various regulations and laws. In 1722 Bienville issued the famous Black Code, a curious combination of the humane and

12. Ogg, p. 228.

13. M. W. Benjamin, "Publications Arkansas Historical Association," II, p. 340.

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the brutal in law making. For instance, for the first offence of running away, the slave's ears were to be cut off, and one shoulder branded; for the second, he was to be hamstrung and the other shoulder branded; for the third, he was to be put to death. The slave was also to be executed for stealing, or for striking his master, or his master's children, hard enough to raise a bruise. They could not bear arms or serve as witnesses against their masters. On the other hand, slaves were not to be forced by their masters to marry; the families could not be divided in sales; they were to be fed and clothed, and given religious instruction.¹⁴ A royal edict, in 1724, fixed the death penalty for all persons who maimed or killed a horse or horned animal. In 1728, a tax of one cent per acre was levied on all land held. One law provided that if a man committed suicide, a trial was to be held over his dead body, and if a verdict of suicide was rendered, his body was sentenced to lie unburied and rot. It is not known what laws (if any) were in operation at Arkansas Post from 1685-1700 under the old Canadian régime. But after 1700 the laws for Louisiana, such as royal edicts, edicts of the governors, and general laws of France, when applicable, were in force there.

During all this time the people at the Post were mostly hunters and trappers. A few women and some priests came. The men often married Indian women. The people took up Indian manners and customs; they dressed like them, and lived like them in many ways. They engaged in no regular industry, except hunting. They did little farming. With a few trinkets, cloth, hatchets, powder and guns, they often made long hunting and trading excursions up the White and Arkansas rivers. A few scattered settlements of French and half-breeds were made on these streams. When enough furs, hides, buffalo robes and bear oil were gathered at Arkansas Post, they were sent in boats to New Orleans. Merchants or traders were located at Arkansas Post to engage in buying and shipping.

Arkansas Post never grew after Law's colony in 1720. In 1744 it was supposed to contain twelve male inhabitants and ten slaves. One hundred years after its settlement (1785) it had a population of only 196.

Settlers and traders in the Arkansas country were never murdered by the Indians like the English were in Kentucky and Tennessee. Occasionally some lonely hunter or settler was killed; as for instance, the Osage Indians killed five trappers on the Arkansas River in 1720. The native Indians were of a more peaceful disposition than the Cherokees

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-45.

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and Choctaws, who lived east of the Mississippi River. They were few in number, and their hunting grounds were very slowly taken by settlements.

Louisiana Territory, on the whole, did grow, however. Agricultural industry became more important; sugar cane was introduced in 1751, and soon became profitable. More slaves were brought into the country and were used in the cultivation of cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar cane. In 1763, 13,000 people were in Louisiana, and perhaps 3,000 at New Orleans.¹⁵

Louis XV is said to have had a contempt for Louisiana. Some Indians, especially the Chickasaws, were very troublesome and hard to control. The English were now crossing the Appalachian mountains, securing trade, and inciting Indians against the French. The expenses of its government and protection continued to rise; from \$60,000 in 1742 to \$92,000 in 1747 and \$172,000 in 1753. Spain, an ally of France, had become involved in the Seven Years' War, and after the defeat of the latter in 1763, Spain was given all Louisiana west of the Mississippi, with the city of New Orleans. This would partly recompense her for the recent loss of Florida. Then, too, this exchange might prevent the English from capturing the whole territory. So, in 1763, Louis XV turned the Great White Elephant over to Spain.

Arkansas Under the Rule of Spain—Louisiana, under Spain, included the country west of the Mississippi, and New Orleans. Arkansas was a part of this territory. Charles III, King of Spain at the time of its transfer, was a man of character and intelligence. He directed the first Spanish governor of Louisiana, D'Ulloa, to make few changes in the administration of the government, and Louisiana was to be independent of the Ministry of the Indies (the governing body of the colonies) and of certain regulations in operation in other colonial possessions.

As a rule, Spain sent very able men to govern Louisiana, such as O'Reilly, Galvez, and Carondelet, but the first governor, D'Ulloa, was not a good selection. He lacked leadership and tact at a time when many of the French inhabitants were heart-broken and angry because of the transfer to Spain. They felt that they had been given away without their consent or knowledge. Some favored ones under the old government were keenly disappointed. The rich and influential merchants were displeased because of the Spanish trade laws. Accordingly, a small rebellion broke out in New Orleans against the new governor and Spanish rule. The matters in controversy were not of very general interest, and the

15. Thwaites, pp. 282-83.

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uprising was easily suppressed by the governor, O'Reilly, the successor of D'Ulloa, with troops from the West Indies. He hanged a few of the leaders, and rather unjustly secured the title of "Cruel O'Reilly."¹⁶

After this rebellion more changes were made in the government. Many laws in force in other Spanish colonies were now put into effect in Louisiana. Even Bienville's Black Code was reenacted. The Spanish Cabildo took the place of the French Supreme Council. The governor had civil and military powers, and was given a secretary, as well as an attorney for a legal adviser. The intendant had charge of commercial matters and foreign affairs. He, too, had a secretary and a legal adviser. There were also comptrollers, surveyors, official interpreters, port captains, and notaries. A provincial alcalde supervised parishes outside New Orleans. And upper Louisiana, including Arkansas, had a lieutenant-governor, and all the local political divisions there had their officials.

Appeals in important legal cases could be taken to the captain-general in Cuba; then, perhaps, to the royal audiencia in Santo Domingo, and from there possibly to the royal council of the Indies in Spain. Many of the political offices could be bought, and there were corruption and inefficiency in the conduct of the government, notwithstanding the many precautions taken by the home government to prevent it. For instance, the Spanish treasury was generally kept in a chest having three locks, and the key for each lock was held by a different official. The governors spent much time intriguing with the Indians against the English and Americans, and with the American settlers west of the Alleghanies.

The lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana, with his headquarters at St. Louis (Missouri), had charge of the revenue, financial matters, Indian affairs, the selection of subordinate officials, and was head of the court system. The court at St. Louis gained a reputation of being rather arbitrary in its actions, but it was an efficient one.¹⁷

Each parish or local district had its commandants, and they were important personages in their districts. Arkansas Post had one. This official was to secure the observance of the laws, arrest criminals and execute all warrants drawn up by the government. He tried all cases involving twenty dollars or less. He executed the Black Code, the detailed and severe regulations concerning slavery. He was to prevent settlement on the public lands without licenses.¹⁸

16. Chambers, N. E.: "Mississippi Valley Beginnings, Etc.," p. 131; Ogg, p. 324.

17. Chambers, pp. 100-09; Goodspeed, pp. 272, 278, 288.

18. Goodspeed, pp. 260-72.

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One of the most important things these commandants did, and one they seemed to enjoy doing, was making out land warrants, and giving the owners of these possession of the property.

Another duty of the commandant was the supervision of trade and trade regulations in his district. For a short time following 1769, at Arkansas Post, he was authorized to prevent trade with the English, although the English gave better prices than could be secured elsewhere. This was partly due to the fact that Spain levied oppressive export duties. If the person engaged in this forbidden trade was caught, his goods were confiscated and he was probably sent to New Orleans for trial. All traders were licensed by the commandant and he was authorized to see that the Indians received a fair price for their hides and furs. It is no puzzle why these commandants at Arkansas Post were prominent men there, and often married into the wealthiest families. They often secured much property for themselves, such as large tracts of land. And they generally remained in Arkansas after their term of office expired.

Villiers was probably the first of these, followed by Chalmette, in 1780, who married the daughter of the wealthy old French trader and land owner, Lewismore Vaugine, who lived on the Arkansas River, a few miles above Arkansas Post. Don Joseph Valliere, the commandant from 1786 to 1790, married another one of his daughters. From 1790 to 1801 this official was the chivalrous and gallant Don Carlos Villemont, who also married at Arkansas Post, and continued to live there until 1823. The last one was Francis Caso, commandant from 1802 to 1803.¹⁹

The Spanish system of land grants allowed these local authorities to issue land warrants, to order surveys for applicants, and to give possession; a practice which led to many abuses. The surveyors, it is said, sometimes made their surveys and plots without ever seeing the land. The owner could then mark his boundaries to suit himself. The warrants and surveys were supposed to be sent to the Spanish governor for his signature, but his signature was sometimes forged. Even without his final approval, the applicant could secure possession of the property and pass it to his heirs. As a rule, each head of a household was allowed 800 arpents of land for himself, and 50 arpents additional for each child or slave. Very large grants could be made by the king only.

After the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, not over one-fourth of the land was held under a complete title. Just as soon as it

19. Josiah, Shinn: "Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas History," pp. 24, 25, 44, 79; Bolton and Marshall: "Colonization of North America," p. 398.

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became known that Spain was to give up the possession of Louisiana, the Spanish officials from intendant or governor to commandant seemed very willing to grant the public lands to claimants, to themselves, relatives and friends. This was especially true in all upper Louisiana. Many people were fearful that when the United States took possession their land claims would not be allowed.

March 26, 1804, Congress passed an act invalidating all Spanish land claims originating after the cession of Louisiana to the United States. Then later a commission was created to adjudicate all these claims. The President, Thomas Jefferson, appointed J. B. C. Lucas, Clement B. Penrose, two old French settlers, and Edward Bates, commissioners. This commission was very lenient and all claims were allowed unless it was very evident that fraud had been committed; and about 680 acres was the usual amount allowed. Those whose claims were rejected were permitted to appeal to the territorial courts, but very few who made these appeals secured anything.²⁰

William Russell, of St. Louis, at that time the most noted land speculator in upper Louisiana, in 1812 presented 123 different Spanish land claims that he had bought from the original owners, and he was allowed twenty-three. Later, Edward Bates, who was appointed, in 1812, recorder of land titles in Missouri, confirmed many of these old Spanish claims, provided the applicants could show that they had occupied the land for a number of years.²¹

Some of the most important of these old claims are well known. As for instance, Valliere, the above-mentioned commandant at Arkansas Post, secured an immense tract of land in the uninhabited northern part of the State. "On White River, extending from the rivers Norte Grand and Cibalos to the source of said White River, and ten leagues in depth." He had secured his grant and surveys, and later his heirs claimed it was all legal and genuine. This grant was invalidated by the courts in 1847 on the grounds that the necessary settlements and occupation had not been made according to the usual requirements in such Spanish grants.²²

Jean Filhiol, the commandant of the Post at Ouachita, in 1803, forged Governor Miro's signature to a grant made to himself. It included the Hot Springs. The courts invalidated this claim in 1829 as clearly a fraudulent claim. The Winter claim is probably the most noted of all. In

20. "American State Papers, Public Lands," VI, pp. 639-42.

21. Herndon: "Centennial History of Arkansas," I, p. 128.

22. Hempstead: "Historical Review of Arkansas," I, pp. 23-24.

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1797 Elisha, Gabriel, and William Winter, William Russell, Joseph Stillwell and others (ten in all) secured over 1,200,000 acres of land, selected on Arkansas River and near Arkansas Post. The grant was claimed to have been made by Governor Carondelet in 1797. Don Carlos Villemont and others were supposed to have made surveys. But the original surveys and grants were not produced. The United States commissioners, in 1808, and again in 1813, decided that no surveys had been made. The number of acres or arpents called for in the claimed surveys and grants did not tally. While different Spanish governors announced various changes in the requirements for land grants, such as size of the grant, conditions of occupancy and of cultivation, it was always true that in cases of very large requests for land, such as this one was, only the King himself could make the grants. So, if Governor Carondelet had made the grant, he had exceeded his authority. This grant was supposed to have been for the encouragement of the production of wheat, hemp, and flax. The Winters had actually moved on their land, and had made improvements. They appealed to the land commissioners, to Congress several times, and finally, in 1848, to the courts, but everywhere the claims were declared null and void on the ground that forms and procedure required had not been followed.²³

In 1829 another torrent of these old claims appeared. Again a special court was appointed, consisting of Thomas P. Eskridge and Benjamin Johnson. A large number of these grants had been made and signatures forged in New Orleans. Then with a few witnesses, they were brought to Arkansas and distributed among the most influential men of the State. Practically all the prominent lawyers secured some. The United States Attorney at Little Rock found it impossible to secure a competent lawyer to assist him in the prosecution of the frauds, because the fraudulent grants had been so widely distributed among them. He finally found an able helper in Richard Searcy, of Batesville. The courts at first seemed friendly to the claimants; and many spurious claims were granted. The United States Attorney-General at Washington accused the United States Attorney at Little Rock of not vigorously prosecuting the cases against these men. But he appears to have tried to do his duty. Later this court refused to validate many illegal claims.

Several new settlements were made in Arkansas during Spanish rule, and its population steadily grew. There were several causes of this

23. "American State Papers, Public Lands," VI, pp. 939-42; III, 289. Case No. 17, p. 895, Winter et al. v. U. S., Federal Cases, Circuit and District Courts, 30, p. 350.

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growth. Some French inhabitants moved across the Mississippi River, when in 1763 the eastern side of it was given to England. The Missouri country, and not Arkansas, received almost all of these people. A few Tories came to the West during the American Revolution. Also at this time Spain announced a very liberal land policy, and in 1796 families were offered farms for a little more than the cost of surveys. A farm of about 500 arpents could be secured for about forty-one dollars. Some Spanish officials thought that if the country could secure a loyal population it could never be taken from Spain. About this time permission to secure land and make settlements could be obtained also at the newly-established Camp Esperanza on the Mississippi River above the mouth of the St. Francis.

In 1766 a settlement was made above the mouth of White River at a place which afterwards became widely known as Montgomery's Landing. Its first settler, D'Armand, became a rich merchant and fur trader. From 1790 to about 1800 many choice places, rich river bottoms, were chosen for settlements. Some of the settlers had English names, as the Winters, Stillwells, and Philipses. John Baptiste Janis and a few other Frenchmen prior to 1800 settled far up in the country at Clover Bend on Black River, in Lawrence County. The Gravieres are said to have been on Black River by 1793. By 1798 Dardenne and Greenlick had settled at Dardanelle on the Arkansas nearly a hundred miles above Little Rock. By 1763 John B. Imbau is said to have had a cabin at Little Rock. In 1793 John Friend lived at Belle Point on White River. Moses Bivinnett and David Mooney settled on the St. Francis about 1797. Near the same time William Patterson and Sylvanus Philips formed a settlement on the Mississippi about where Helena now stands, then called Little Prairie. Perhaps several settlements were made of which there are no records. So under Spain the settlement of Arkansas really began outside Arkansas Post. In 1785, by a census ordered by Governor Miro, the territory had a population of 196, and in 1799 a census showed 386. She was now receiving real settlers—home builders—not the transient hunters and soldiers. Spain, too, was quite willing to aid in church matters, and church schools; but, of course, absolutely nothing was done for public education. The young folks grew up without learning.²⁴

Trade grew under the control of Spain, but it would have grown much more, if she had not levied many burdensome duties. O'Reilly, in 1769, forbade all trade with the English and ordered all goods to be

24. Goodspeed, p. 278.

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carried in Spanish ships. Later this English trade, or smuggling, was winked at. Then, in 1785, Miro allowed unrestricted trade with the English. These trade regulations continually varied and this greatly handicapped business. Arkansas Post became the center of fur trade with the Arkansas Indians, but the trade of this post with New Orleans probably was not over \$3,000 in 1785.

Athanese de Mézières, who did much to establish Spanish rule in the province, complained of a band of outlaws on the Arkansas River. According to him, one Brindamur, who was "of gigantic frame and extraordinary strength, . . . whose sole employment was to roam the forests and entertain himself in hunting," ran off with another man's wife and, on the death of her husband from grief, went to Arkansas Post and there married her and returned to his haunts up the river and made himself "king of the vagabonds and highwaymen."²⁵

Neither did Spain carry out any definite policy concerning the trade on the Mississippi by the people of the new American Nation, the United States, and her rapidly growing population west of the Appalachians. The lack of transportation facilities across these mountains made the use of the Mississippi as an outlet for this western trade absolutely necessary. Spain had complete control of the Mississippi below the thirty-first degree north latitude. After much controversy and much ill will had developed between the two countries, Spain, in 1795, promised the people of the United States the right to use the Mississippi for shipping and to have a freight depot, or free deposit, at New Orleans. This trade now grew rapidly; boats and barges sent loads of flour, beef, tobacco, hides, grain, and cotton to New Orleans, and from there to all parts of the world.

Yet Spanish Louisiana was still the Great White Elephant, a region of possibilities, but held as a loss instead of an asset. And now (about 1800) the great Napoleon Bonaparte had secured control of the French government. He wanted to make amends, he said, for the foolish diplomacy that had given Louisiana away, and he had dreams of a great colonial empire in the New World. He would bring back home the unappreciated child of the Old Régime, and bring to realization the dreams of La Salle and many others.

The rulers of Spain gave all of Louisiana to France for the mere promise of the little two-by-four kingdom of Etruria as a gift for the unworthy son-in-law of the Spanish King. Napoleon agreed never to

²⁵ H. E. Bolton (Editor): "Athanese de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier," 1768-80, I, pp. 160, 166-69.

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alienate Louisiana and to keep it as a "wall of brass" for a protection to the other Spanish possessions to the west and southwest. This treaty was made at San Il Defonso, October 1, 1800.

The terms of the treaty were kept secret for some time, and it was nearly a year before rumors of it reached the United States. Jefferson was at that time President of the United States, and he and others were greatly disturbed when they heard the news. The Americans had fully expected to use the Mississippi for an outlet for its western trade if weak Spain continued in control of it, but what would happen if powerful France, governed by the masterful Napoleon, with his dreams of a colonial empire, kept control?

Jefferson had definitely learned of Louisiana's transfer to France, in May, 1801. Suddenly, in October, 1802, the right of deposit at New Orleans given the Americans was withdrawn. This act greatly alarmed the uneasy Jefferson, and angered the westerners. They talked of forcibly seizing New Orleans, and members of Congress openly said that it must be either fought for or bought.

On January 3, 1803, Congress voted \$2,000,000 to bear the expenses of an adjustment of certain foreign matters. Jefferson appointed James Monroe to assist Robert Livingston, American minister to France, in trying to arrange for the purchase of New Orleans, and a strip of land about 600 miles long and from thirty to fifty miles in width, which would give us control of the west bank of the river all the way to the Gulf. Jefferson said the destinies of our country hung on the negotiations. He instructed Monroe to offer as much as \$10,000,000 for the Floridas and New Orleans, and to promise American citizenship to the inhabitants, and trading rights to France for ten years. And, if it proved absolutely necessary, to guarantee the west bank of the Mississippi to France. If this sale was not secured, efforts were to be made to obtain land for only a post and the right of deposit.²⁶ The French minister at Washington was shrewdly informed that if Napoleon would not agree to some satisfactory arrangement of the matter, the United States must come to very friendly terms with England.

James Madison and some others cared not one whit for the territory beyond the Mississippi, and said it could never be of any value to the United States. It was still a great uninhabited wilderness, except in a few places.

26. "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, pp. 540-41.

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For weeks Robert Livingston played a diplomatic game of hide-and-seek with the astute, slippery French minister, Talleyrand, trying to buy New Orleans and West Florida, the stretch of Florida that extended westward along the Gulf. James Monroe had hardly reached France when Napoleon suddenly announced that he had decided to sell the whole of Louisiana to the United States. He thought that we ought to want it all.

The following explanation is commonly given as to why Napoleon had changed his plans. Le Clerc, his brother-in-law, had failed miserably and lost his life in trying to conquer Santo Domingo, which Napoleon expected to use as a sort of stepping stone to Louisiana. War was about to be renewed with Great Britain and he knew that he could not hold Louisiana after the war started. Another reason was the need of money to conduct the war.

April 11, 1803, Talleyrand proposed to sell all of Louisiana. Livingston, much surprised, said that the United States might, in addition to West Florida and New Orleans, purchase all of Louisiana north of the Arkansas River. After a few days, and when Livingston had somewhat got over his surprise, he and Barbé Marbois, who had taken Talleyrand's place in the negotiations, tried to agree on the price. Livingston offered at first about \$4,000,000, and Marbois asked about \$23,000,000. They finally agreed on \$15,000,000. Marbois did some good bargaining, as Napoleon had said that he would be satisfied with less than that amount. Monroe and Livingston agreed to pay certain American claims against France to the amount of nearly \$3,750,000, which was to be deducted from the purchase price, leaving \$11,250,000 to be paid to France.

Within a short time after the receipt of Jefferson's message announcing the purchase, the Senate ratified the treaty and the House, after considerable wrangling and hot debate over the right to be consulted in treaties involving money payments, appropriated the necessary funds. The President was given authority to appoint representatives to receive the territory, and to organize a temporary government for it. Six New England Senators voted against the purchase of Louisiana.

Napoleon said, "I have given England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." After Livingston and Monroe had studied their maps, and caught the old vision of La Salle of the great valley filled with happy, prosperous people, they warmly grasped each other's hands, and considered this the greatest event of their lives. Loyal Republicans and enthusiastic westerners saw, or thought they saw, the

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wonderful possibilities of the new territory, while dissatisfied Federalists and pessimistic easterners believed, or pretended they did, that our Constitution had been violated; a nation (Spain) had been wronged, which might cause a war; that our country had been so enlarged that it would never hold together; and that millions of dollars had been literally thrown away buying unhealthy swamp lands and barren, worthless plains.²⁷

Securing of Louisiana was, indeed, a wonderful transaction, although made by American commissioners who were without authority to buy it. It had occurred during the term of a President whose theories and construction of the Constitution did not authorize the purchasing of foreign territory and the promising of its people American citizenship. It was sold by a man who, Spain claimed, never rightfully owned it, as he had not fulfilled the conditions of its cession to him. Then even if he did have a right of ownership, he had promised to keep it. Then, too, the Constitution of France, which Napoleon pretended to recognize, forbade the chief executive to sell territory of his own free will. For these reasons some historians have said that we were receiving stolen goods. The small voice of Jefferson's conscientious doubts on his constitutional rights was soon drowned by the shouts of an approving people. But he really had not violated the Constitution, for that gave him the right to negotiate treaties and treaties commonly dealt with the transfer of territory.

It was indeed a great event, for both Arkansas and the whole United States. No one knew the boundaries, or the resources, or the possibilities of the newly acquired territory. In addition to Arkansas, it included the area of the whole, or part, of what is now thirteen other states at a price of about three cents an acre.

Louisiana, too, was sold just at the time when it was changing its white elephant aspects, and soon began to grow rapidly in population, trade, and industry. There were then about 50,000 white people in the territory and many thousand slaves. From 1795, the production of sugar cane was put on a paying basis, and cotton growing was profitable. In 1802 the value of the exported cotton alone was \$1,344,000; and the exports of sugar, molasses, hides, lumber, horses, cattle, and grain made over a million more.

After Napoleon had secured Louisiana from Spain, he waited over two years, till June, 1803, before he directed Pierre Clement Laussat, of New Orleans, to receive the country for France. And this worthy gentleman acted in no haste, and Spain's flag was not hauled down till Novem-

27. Goodspeed, II, pp. 232-65.

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ber 30, 1803. But the loyal French inhabitants saw the tri-color flutter in the breeze only twenty days, and then, with saddened hearts, they saw it again hauled down—many people there had witnessed the same performance in 1763—and the Stars and Stripes take its place.

Jefferson had appointed W. C. C. Claiborne, Governor of Mississippi Territory, and the later notorious Brigadier-General James Wilkinson, to go to New Orleans and represent the United States on this occasion. The transfer of authority of the upper part of the territory from France to the United States occurred at St. Louis, March 10, 1804. Some time during the spring Arkansas Post and Fort Esperanza were turned over to the United States. At St. Louis the transfer was made to Major Amos Stoddard, of the United States Army. The transfer from Spain to France had occurred only the day before. Major Stoddard wrote that he allowed the French flag to remain up one whole day to satisfy the wishes and sentiments of the old French settlers.

As a Part of the Territory of Louisiana and of Missouri Territory, 1805-19—Article three of the purchase treaty with France provided that the ceded province should be incorporated into the American Union as soon as possible; that its citizens should be given the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of other citizens of the United States; and that in the meantime they should be protected in the enjoyment of their religion, liberty, and property. Some people opposed to the purchase of Louisiana claimed that it was unconstitutional to provide citizenship for "foreigners" in this manner.

On the day of the acceptance of Louisiana, W. C. C. Claiborne, by direction of President Jefferson, became invested with all the powers and duties hitherto held by the French governor and the intendant. Claiborne issued a wise and conciliatory address to the Louisiana people. He told them that belonging to the United States brought a sure inheritance of freedom and the security of liberty, property, and religion. He assured them that commerce and agriculture would be promoted and that they would be received as brothers by the American people. The new governor was at this time only twenty-eight years of age, a direct descendant of stubborn old William Claiborne, who once defied Lord Baltimore over the possession of Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay. Young Claiborne later became a prominent citizen of Louisiana.

March 26, 1804, Congress divided Louisiana into two parts. The lower part was called the District of Orleans, and all the territory above

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the thirty-third degree north latitude was called the District of Louisiana and placed under the territorial government of Indiana. This parallel of north latitude is the southern boundary line of the present State of Arkansas. Under Spain, this northern portion of Louisiana had a separate government with a lieutenant-governor, but no suffrage was granted the people, and they had no legislative assemblies.

In the Territory of Indiana, the governor, William Henry Harrison, a secretary, and three judges were appointed by the President, and they exercised the legislative, judicial and executive functions of the government. So the people as yet were not given self-government. But the mixed population of French, Spanish and English had, with the exception of some of the English, little or no experience in self-government. The matters requiring the attention of government officials were few, and were mostly concerning trade and Indian affairs.

Harrison appointed Samuel Hammond deputy governor at St. Louis, and commandants were selected for different districts or posts. These men were under the direction of the deputy governor. James B. Many had charge of Arkansas Post. Each district or post had a justice of the peace, sheriff, recorder, assessor, coroner, and probate judge.²⁸ The laws of the territory of Indiana were, as a rule, used in the courts.

This District of Louisiana attached to Indiana lasted only about a year, as Congress, March, 1805, organized it into the Territory of Louisiana and provided for its government. By this act, the lower portion of the territory, or what is now the State of Arkansas, and some of the southern part of Missouri, was called the District of New Madrid, and placed under the government of this new Territory of Louisiana.²⁹

For this Territory of Louisiana President Jefferson appointed General James Wilkinson governor, and Dr. Joseph Browne, of New York, his secretary. Browne was a brother-in-law of Aaron Burr, and his appointment was doubtless recommended by Burr and Wilkinson. J. B. C. Lucas, John Coburn, and Rufus Easton were appointed judges. The governor of the Territory was authorized to divide the settled areas into political and civil districts. St. Louis was made the capital.³⁰

James Wilkinson, the first governor of the Territory, was a very shrewd, intriguing scoundrel. He had served in the Revolutionary War, became a general at the age of twenty, and was involved in the Conway

28. Herndon: "Centennial History of Arkansas," I, p. 135.

29. "United States Statutes at Large," II, pp. 331-32.

30. Chambers: "Mississippi Valley Beginnings," p. 235.

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Cabal conspiracy against Washington. He had fought bravely at Saratoga. He went to Kentucky after the close of the Revolution and conducted a mercantile business. He sold his services to Spain, accepted a pension from that country, and was given special trading favors at New Orleans. He took an oath of allegiance to Spain and apparently promised to help that country separate Kentucky and other parts of the West from the United States. But what he really intended to do, or just how much real service he intended to give Spain against the United States, nobody knows. He did give Spain some aid, but he also furnished Jefferson with maps and information about the West and aided Long and Pike at the beginning of their exploring expeditions. He had fought well under Mad Anthony Wayne against the Indians. He succeeded Wayne in command of the army and later thwarted some Spanish intrigues with the Chickasaws. At one time he had the confidence of Washington and Jefferson and they were no mean judges of people and human nature.

As we have seen, Jefferson appointed Wilkinson governor of Louisiana Territory. Wilkinson then gave Aaron Burr a certain amount of help, encouragement, or both, in his conspiracy schemes in the West. Because of this collusion with Burr and some high-handed acts as governor, Jefferson removed him. He later had command of some troops in the Southwest and exposed some schemes of Burr, his old friend. Later he so mismanaged a Canadian campaign in the War of 1812 that he was tried by court martial, but was acquitted.

As if there were not enough districts already, the Legislature of the new Territory of Louisiana, meeting at St. Louis, June 27, 1806, divided the District of New Madrid, just created the year before. An imaginary line was run west from near the present city of Memphis, and the territory south of the line, which comprises about two-thirds of the present State of Arkansas, was called the "District of Arkansaw." It was probably given this spelling by some one who knew nothing about the old Gallicized Indian name of the country.

After Jefferson removed Wilkinson, in 1807, he again appointed one of his special friends, a Virginian, Colonel Meriwether Lewis. He had just made himself famous in the Lewis and Clark expedition. He was born near Jefferson's old home, in 1774, and had been President Jefferson's private secretary from 1801 to 1803.

In 1808 Governor Lewis selected officials for the new "Arkansaw" district. Harold Stillwell was appointed sheriff; Joseph Stillwell, his brother, Francis Vaugine, and Benjamin Foy were appointed judges of

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the Court of Common Pleas. The Stillwells, prominent in early Arkansas history, claimed large tracts of land above Arkansas Post under old Spanish grants. They came from New Jersey by way of Kentucky. Francis Vaugine belonged to a prominent old French family at Arkansas Post. Benjamin Foy was from Camp Esperanza, opposite Memphis. He settled there in 1794, and was the owner of an old Spanish land grant. Andrew Fagot, an old French resident at Arkansas Post, was justice of the peace for the district. A judge of the Probate Court, John W. Honey, and a Deputy Attorney-General, Percy Wallis, were also appointed.³¹

Lewis was firm, business-like in his methods, and knew the Indians and pioneer needs and conditions. He was having a successful administration when, unfortunately, while on his way to Washington, in 1809, he either committed suicide, or was robbed and murdered; probably the latter.

To succeed Lewis, President James Madison, in 1810, appointed General Benjamin A. Howard, of Kentucky. He was governor until 1812, when he resigned and served as brigadier-general during the War of 1812. Howard was the last governor of the Territory of Louisiana, for June 4, 1812, Congress changed the name Territory of Louisiana to the Territory of Missouri. The most important of all these positions had been given to men who lived outside the territory and who were political or personal friends of those making the appointments.

Jefferson ordered explorations made in the territory of the Louisiana Purchase to obtain information of the geographical and industrial conditions of the country. In 1806 Zebulon Pike led explorations to the West and Southwest, and when he was on the headwaters of the Arkansas, he had Lieutenant J. B. Williamson descend that river. He and three companions in two small canoes made the descent in somewhat over two months. Two bands of French hunters were passed; one about Little Rock, and the other near the present Pine Bluff. No settlements were mentioned except the one at Arkansas Post. A few of the tributary streams and some Indian villages were noted. The map made of the country passed through contained very little information. In 1804, Dunbar, a scientist, explored the country of the Ouachita as far as Hot Springs, and made a map of that region.

After the Louisiana Purchase, many immigrants came into the Arkansas region; or rather the coming of settlers, which began under Spanish

31. Shinn: "Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas," pp. 25, 30, 49, 86, 97. Herndon: "Centennial History of Arkansas," I, p. 137.

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rule, greatly increased. Settlements now continued to be planted farther and farther up the rivers and creeks on the rich bottom lands and places open to navigation. The early settlers, of course, had been mostly French. Very few Spaniards came. But now the people who came were mostly English, German and Irish from the older Eastern States.

Settlers were now scattered for some distance out from Arkansas Post. The Pyeatts from North Carolina and a number of other families formed, about 1806, the Crystal Hill settlement above Little Rock. About 1803 John Hogan and others formed a settlement at Copperas Creek on the St. Francis. Other people soon settled at various places on the river. On White River, B. H. McFarlane had settled as far up as Poke Bayou (Batesville), probably as early as 1804. Many other people of whom we have no record were now settling on the various streams far up in the wilderness. A Protestant minister, John Carnahan, began preaching tours up Arkansas River in 1811.³² In 1799 the population of the Arkansas country was probably not over 368, about 500 in 1803, and 1,026 in 1810.³³ Of these, 765 whites and 109 negroes were on the Arkansas, and 159 whites and 29 slaves in the Esperanza, Hopefield, and St. Francis region.

The Missouri Territory, organized 1812, was of the first class, consequently it had a legislative body, consisting of the governor, appointed by the President, a council of nine members, and an elective representative assembly of thirteen. The council served for five years, and each member must own at least 200 acres of land. The representatives served two years and were freeholders. The assembly met annually. The seat of government was at St. Louis.

Before Governor Howard resigned, October, 1812, Missouri Territory was divided into thirteen electoral districts for the election of members of the Legislature. He called for the election of these representatives, and a delegate to Congress. The "District of Arkansas" did not then contain 500 free male inhabitants, and was not allowed a representative in the Territorial Legislature.

The first Territorial Legislature of Missouri, thirteen members, met in St. Louis, December 7, 1812. The elected Assembly nominated eighteen persons, and from this number the President of the United States chose the council of nine. None of the men chosen was from the Arkansas District. But one of the men selected, John Scott, of St. Genevieve,

32. Shinn: "Pioneers," pp. 40-48.

33. Hempstead, I, p. 50.

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Missouri, later played a prominent part in early Arkansas political history. After the Council was nominated, the Lower House of the Legislature adjourned to meet with the council in the first General Assembly of the Territory of Missouri, July 5, 1813.

When this Assembly met, William Howard Clark had been appointed Governor to succeed Howard, who had resigned. Clark was a younger brother of George Rogers Clark and was a joint commander in the Lewis-Clark expedition. He was from Kentucky, but was, like Lewis, a native of Virginia. He had been brigadier-general of militia and Indian agent in Missouri. The Indians called him Chief Red Head. He was the governor as long as Arkansas remained a part of Missouri Territory. He became one of Missouri's leading citizens.³⁴

The Assembly of 1813 provided for the taking of the census of the free male inhabitants of the Territory in order to arrange the basis of representation. It reassembled in December of the same year and created Arkansas County, embracing the whole of the present State of Arkansas, except the northeastern section, which was left a part of New Madrid County. The line of division of these two counties ran from Island Number 19, in the Mississippi River, southeast to the mouth of the Little Red River, thence up this river, west to the boundary of the Osage Indian Purchase, and thence north with this line. The county seat was Arkansas Post. The judges of Missouri Territory held two terms of court per year at Arkansas Post.

In June, 1814, Governor Clark announced the number of Representatives to be elected from the various counties on the basis of the census just taken. Arkansas County had 827 free white males and so was entitled to one Representative. The members of the Legislature were elected every two years on the first Monday in August, and the Assembly met the first Monday in December following election. Henry Cassidy, a surveyor, who lived near the mouth of the St. Francis River, seems to have been the first person ever elected (August, 1814), to represent the people of Arkansas in a Legislature. He may not have attended the meetings of the following Assembly held at St. Louis till in January, 1815. In the Assembly of December, 1816, John Cummins, of Arkansas County, was a member of the Council.³⁵

The laws of the older states were followed by the Legislatures of Missouri or Louisiana Territory in their law making. In 1807 it was

34. Hempstead, I, pp. 53-54.

35. Herndon, I, pp. 141-42.

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provided that divorces by either party could be secured on the grounds of adultery, desertion, lack of procreation, and bigamy.³⁶ In 1808, over six per cent. interest was forbidden; a person who stole money should be fined treble the amount stolen, and be whipped not exceeding thirty-nine lashes on "his or her" bare back; and men who married a girl under eighteen must secure the consent of her parents or guardians. In 1814, the unnecessary or wanton cutting of timber on the town common land was forbidden; in 1815, all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were subject to militia duty; in 1816, slaves, for any violation of the laws of the Territory, were to be whipped according to the discretion of the court. Any person convicted of forgery or counterfeiting could be bound to labor for a term of seven years, and hired to any suitable person who would pay the fine and costs. The sold-out person could be kept bound with a chain.³⁷

Qualifications for voting from 1812 to 1819 were: free white manhood suffrage, with a territorial residence of a short time, and the payment of a county or territorial tax. Ballots were not used, but the record of the votes were kept in a poll book. The delegate to Congress, Territorial Representatives, and the sheriffs and clerks of the counties were elected by popular vote.³⁸

After a very bitter struggle in Congress, an enabling act for the admission of Missouri into the Union was finally passed, March 6, 1820. For some time citizens of that State had petitioned for admission with stipulated boundaries that would leave Arkansas without the confines of that State, and without an organized government except the local ones. Plans were at once made for securing a territorial government for Arkansas. Trappers and hunters were indifferent about the matter, criminals and refugees from justice gathered on the outskirts of the settled areas probably opposed it. Those who favored territorial government were the more or less law abiding citizens in the settlements, land speculators, politicians and lawyers, who could secure positions or more work. Many of the politicians and lawyers in Arkansas were angry with Governor Clark for giving practically all the offices to men about St. Louis. Now Statehood could be looked forward to. This would boost immigration and land values.

Land speculators were always numerous and aggressive in new

36. Steele and McCampbell: "Laws of Arkansas" (1835), p. 218.

37. Steele and McCampbell, pp. 130, 173, 196, 198, 311, 394.

38. Joseph T. Robinson: "Publications of Arkansas Historical Association," III, pp. 166.

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regions. Of this class, William Russell, of St. Louis, was the leader. He was able, aggressive, and unscrupulous. About 1817, he came to Arkansas Post to direct, or at least help direct, the movement for territorial government for Arkansas. A petition favoring it was circulated in the settled areas. A bill for this purpose was introduced into the House of Representatives by John Scott, author of the measure, who was at that time delegate to Congress from the Missouri Territory. The boundaries of the territory sought lay between 33° and $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude; except the "jog" in the northern boundary line between the Mississippi and the St. Francis rivers. This measure was soon passed and was approved by President James Monroe, March 2, 1819.

It provided for a governor to reside in the Territory and to serve a term of three years. He had command of the militia, appointed certain officials, granted pardons, and managed Indian affairs. The legislative powers were vested in the governor, the three territorial judges, and an elected Assembly. The judiciary consisted of three Superior Court judges, appointed by the President, and such inferior courts as the Territorial Assembly might organize. The "Post of Arkansaw on Arkansaw River" was named as the seat of government until otherwise directed by the legislative department. It is very probable that the plan of moving the capital to its present location at Little Rock was already on foot. William Russell was already at Arkansas Post, quite willing to assist in these matters.



Novel Record of America's Growth in Red Cross Annals

WRITTEN FOR DOUGLAS GRIESEMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF ROLL CALL,
WASHINGTON, D. C.



UNIQUE sidelights on the history of the United States are found in the annals of the American Red Cross, today one of the institutions of American life. The services rendered by the organization since its inception parallel, in their nature and the causes which brought them forth, the various epochs of the country's growth.

Almost half a century has elapsed since a raging forest fire in the Northwestern States literally baptized in fire the then infant American Red Cross, just chartered by Congress during the administration of President Arthur of the United States. The relief services then set in motion have been called forth in the ensuing period for a total of 938 domestic disasters, with an expenditure of almost \$50,000,000. In addition, the organization has been the medium through which Americans extended their bounty to nearly every quarter of the globe on various occasions.

In the early days, besides forest fires, which still cause frequent calls for Red Cross aid, the country was afflicted with such misfortunes as cricket and grasshopper plagues in the Middle West, which almost annually wiped out the resources of struggling, pioneering wheat farmers. Prairie fires were added to the list, and the forest fires of the early days frequently spread terror and destruction in the West and Northwestern settlements. Droughts were another prolific cause of suffering, especially in Western communities of those days, and hail storms were another.

In the South of that early day, epidemics of smallpox, and even the dread yellow fever, sent calls for the Red Cross nurses who, even then, were ever ready for an emergency of peace and war. Snow avalanches, mountain slides, shipwrecks, are listed. Earthquakes and hurricanes came, and with each new trial, the Red Cross rose to greater heights of proficiency in meeting them.

First, the harassed courier on a foam-lathered horse was relied on to bring word of some scene of death and destruction, or of dreaded epidemic.





AMERICA'S GROWTH IN RED CROSS ANNALS

In return, the creaking buckboard of the West, the covered farm wagon, and pack train brought willing Red Cross workers and the limited stocks and supplies and materials which met disaster then.

Today the radio buzzes out its message of distress and an airplane, or a fleet of them, soars off within the hour to peacefully "bomb" a flood-marooned populace with well-chosen sacks of food and clothing, tents, blankets, and medicine. Or, the same planes speed relief directors and their staffs, to organize relief on any scale which may be needed.

The director is assured, in most cases, of finding much preliminary work under way upon his arrival, carried forward by local Red Cross workers of the Red Cross Chapter or chapters in the affected community. These have been drilled in disaster relief and disaster preparedness until, in many cases, there is no emergency which has not been anticipated, and which cannot be met intelligently and promptly. Into these plans have been incorporated the usefulness of every modern invention. The radio operators of the country have been organized as members of communications committees under the Red Cross chapters in their neighborhoods. The government has placed at the disposal of the Red Cross its great aviation resources in its army, navy, and National Guard air forces. The navy is ready with swift cruisers and destroyers, transports; the army with troops and tents, motor trucks, blankets, supplies of various kinds.

The vast field of preventive medicine has been studied and its lessons applied in prevention of epidemics following disasters such as floods or great destructive storms which leave a fertile breeding ground for typhoid and smallpox.

The great business structure of the country has been organized by the Red Cross for contributing its share in material, business methods, and individual leaders, for great emergency operations. The scientists of the United States Weather Bureau now give the Red Cross warning of the approach of hurricanes, and predict floods. In short, every force of modern America which offers any use, has been applied by the Red Cross in its work.

To the small branch of the Red Cross in Dansville, New York, in 1882, is credited the first disaster relief, following a forest fire. Today there are thousands of local Red Cross chapters covering nearly every section of the United States, headed by the leaders in the civic, business, and professional groups of their respective communities.

The Johnstown Flood of May, 1889, was one of the early major disasters which called forth Red Cross relief efforts. Before that, even,

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were the Ohio River flood of 1883, an earthquake at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1886, drought and poisoned waters in forty Texas counties in 1887 and 1890.

Other occasions of Red Cross duty were the yellow fever epidemic in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1888; tornadoes which killed 3,000 persons in Charleston, Savannah, and on the coast of Louisiana; the cyclone and flood at Galveston in 1900; the San Francisco fire and earthquake; various mine explosions, forest fires, hurricanes, and other events.

The "Titanic" sinking in 1912 was an event still well remembered; the Red Cross aided survivors and otherwise assisted in the relief work.

The sinking of the "Lusitania" in the World War, fresh in everyone's memory, brought Red Cross workers into action.

The influenza epidemic of World War days was another catastrophe in which the Red Cross served the whole country, while it was concentrating other efforts on the front in France.

The Wall Street explosion, the great Mississippi flood of 1927, these recent headlines in the Nation's history, are all identified forever with the Red Cross symbol, for in each of these epochal events the Red Cross served.

Besides those mentioned, there are a host of floods, storms, fires, explosions, epidemics, wrecks on land and sea, of which the same can be said; happenings which were seemingly unforgettable at the time, but which have faded with time in the memory of the public.

In membership, the Red Cross has kept pace with the country's growth. In place of the small band of devoted workers of those nearly forgotten days, the Red Cross today is a national force, and even an international one. The small band of yesterday now is represented in millions of Americans everywhere. Where the Red Cross made its contribution to the Spanish-American War in terms of individuals and small groups, backed by committees scattered over the country, the World War saw the Nation sending its sons and its munitions on one ship, and its daughters and the output of humanitarianism in every home, on another.

The membership which makes its work possible nowadays, is renewed and built up each year through the roll call, which this year is from November 11 to 27, both significant dates in the country's history, and appropriately chosen by the American Red Cross as its enrollment period.

The Expansion of Rhode Island---Chronological---Based on Official Records

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.



HE progress of mankind is mainly the progress of ideas, ideals, and principles: yet man lives, moves, and has his being in a world whose physical forces act in a uniform manner from inherent constitutional principles, called the laws of nature. The problem of human history is to discover the reaction of the human mind, or rather, of different types of mind, to the stimulus of its environment. The key to history, and largely the explanation of variations of philosophical and religious opinions, lies mainly in an ethnological or racial knowledge of human nature. The mass of mankind have not sufficient mental force to overcome the pressure of environment, but move in the line of least resistance. Especially is this the case in what is called the Oriental type of mind; it regards all events and all human acts as predetermined and unchangeable and inevitable: that is, its theory is fatalism: its practice, active and despotically compulsive force by the rulers,—passive, because impotent, submission or servitude by the ruled. But this mental impression is not to be mistaken for religion, which is an active, living principle in the heart and conscience.

Roger Williams, the founder of the town of Providence, represents a really religious type of mind: yet he was not the first discoverer of the principle of Christian religious liberty; which had been rediscovered already in Holland, and in Plymouth Colony, by study of the writings of its chief discoverer and exponent, Paul, the "apostle to the Gentiles." Roger Williams, born in London, England, about 1604, son of James and Alice (Honeychurch) Williams, in 1620 obtained permission to attend the sessions of the Court of Star Chamber for practice in shorthand, and there, by his alertness of mind and openness of heart won the regard of Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench; who, in 1621, secured for him admission to the Charterhouse School; thence he went to Pembroke College, Cambridge University, whence he graduated in 1627. In 1629, he became chaplain to Sir William Masham, of Otes, in County Essex. February 5, 1631, he landed at Boston, Massachusetts, from the ship "Lyon," with his wife Mary, born Barnard:

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and soon after began as an assistant minister at Salem, and expressed conceptions not all of which could be wholly passed over by any government of his day; first, he opposed the charter of Massachusetts Colony because it recognized the King rather than the Indians as the source of the title to the lands. This utterance was hardly called for, for under that charter of March 4, 1629, Governor Cradock and council, of Massachusetts Bay in New England, sent on April 17, 1629, a letter of instruction from England, to John Endicott, the deputy governor in Massachusetts, with the emphasized clause: "And above all, we pray you that there bee none in our precincts permitted to doe any iniurie (in the least kinde) to the Heathen People; and if any offend in that way lett them receive due Corecon; and wee hold it fitting you publish a Proclamacon to that Effect, by leaving it fixed, under the Companys seale, in some eminent place for all to take Notice. If any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our Patent, we pray you to endeavour to purchase their Tyle, that we may avoyde the least scruple of Intrusion." (Records of Suffolk County, Massachusetts. Lib., No. 1, Folio 77: in Hazard, Eb. "Historical Collections and State Papers," Vol. I, p. 256; also p. 278.) This instruction was carried out to the letter, as shown in the writings of Governor Winthrop, Cradock's successor, and in the records of Indian deeds in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, quite as plainly as in Rhode Island.

A more pertinent, but plainly impolitic, utterance by Mr. Williams was: "That civil magistrates should not be empowered to punish as sins, offenses purely against God,—those forbidden in the first table of the Decalogue; but only offenses against man." Roger Williams had carried Separatism to the point of individualism; yet he was also an idealist; but the Puritans, both in England and New England, were vitally concerned for constitutional and representative civil government, a liberty under law: law as opposed to absolutist overriding of both law and liberty; to escape which, many, not yet decided on civil war, which came in England but few years later, emigrated to New England, while as desirous of orderly government as ever. Massachusetts Colony held a critically responsible position, being regarded by the King as the head and front of colonial resistance to his will; as was afterward shown at the opening of the Revolution. To allow any disintegrative influence within, or under its jurisdiction was dangerous; particularly as Williams told the Salem Puritans that they ought to repent for having belonged to the Church of England. The Puritan leaders, already out of favor with

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King Charles, seeing the danger that such preaching would, if allowed, bring down on them penalty from the Church, urged him to desist, and Williams went to Plymouth, where he was, for two years, assistant minister: then returned to Salem and to repetition of his views; and in consequence was ordered, October 9, 1635, to depart out of Massachusetts jurisdiction the next spring; but as he endeavored by private discourse still to draw others to his opinions, it was decided, in January, 1636, to send him to England. The plan being revealed to him in time to evade it, he set out, with his servant, Thomas Angell, for the lodge of Massasoit, sachem of the Wampanoags, with whom he had become acquainted while at Plymouth. In a letter to Major Mason, Williams describes his next movement, in the spring of 1636: "I first pitched and began to build and plant at Seekonk; but received a letter from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, of Plymouth, lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into their bounds, and they were loth to displease the Bay, to remove to the other side of the water (Seekonk River), and then, he said, I had the country free before me, and we should be loving neighbors together." Soon after, he, with his five companions, passed in a canoe around Fox Point and up Providence River, where they landed in the 4th month (June), and settled at Mooshassuc, where sachems Canonicus and Miantonomi conveyed to him a tract of land March 24, 1638, which he named Providence Plantations, including Providence County; corresponding with the present, without Cumberland, Pawtucket, and East Providence; but with Kent County:—and his companion, William Harris, prevailed on him to execute, October 8, 1638, a deed to a corporate body of twelve men, of what lay on the Pawtuxet River, for allotment. The only government among the original six was by mutual consent of the masters of families: but in 1640 was organized a board of five disposers or selectmen, by whom the individualism implied in the doctrine of "soul liberty" was to be carried as far as possible into the domain of politics,—there being no magistrates for giving orders, and no constables for executing orders. In March or April, 1641, Samuel Gorton, of London, an extremist believer in freedom of conscience, but also in civil liberty under English common law, government without which he considered tyranny, arrived at Providence; having been cited in Boston for contempt, and removing to Plymouth in 1637, clashed with the magistrates there, and in December, 1638, was cited there for contempt; and passing to Portsmouth, was, for defiance of authority, banished to the mainland; where securing Randall Holden and John Greene as adherents, his party brought

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Providence nearly to a revolution. Williams retired to the Pawtuxet settlement, where his supporters, William Arnold and his son, Benedict, in 1642, offered submission in the name of Pawtuxet, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay, which rid them of Gorton.

Portsmouth, the second colony in the present Rhode Island, was settled for similar reasons as obtained in the case of Providence. In the controversy of the Antinomian party with the Massachusetts ministers, William Coddington and John Clarke, suspected of Antinomianism, sought more freedom of action by removing, and with their friends set forth in March, 1638, to meet Williams at Providence. By his aid they obtained, on March 24, 1638, a deed from Canonicus and Miantonomi of the Island of Aquidneck (later called Rhode Island), and began Portsmouth. But at first they did little else than to reenact the system of government from which they had recently escaped; choosing Coddington as magistrate, and three elders as assistants. Soon Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, leader of the Antinomians (or those opposed to the old moral law of the Old Testament), with her family came to Portsmouth, as did Samuel Gorton also. This alarmed Coddington and Clarke, who with William Dyer, Thomas Hazard, and Henry Bull, abandoned Portsmouth, and established a new settlement—Newport, in 1639, with judge and assistants as before:—Portsmouth and Newport, by a compromise between the radicals and the conservatives united forces, and Gorton had to leave, when they elected a governor, deputy governor, and four assistants, all annually chosen by the two towns; two treasurers, a secretary, two constables, and a general sergeant, 1641; declaring a democracy controlled by the body of freemen, or the major part of them; no one to be accounted delinquent for doctrine who kept the civil peace; under common law magisterial courts constituted of quarter sessions and jury: in politics, conjunctive and centripetal—a collectivism; but thoroughly individualized as to religion. Meanwhile Williams had been learning a similar lesson of compromise, beginning in May, 1637, when his companion, Joshua Verin, stood out against his order that wives, children and servants should have liberty to go to all religious meetings, though never so often, or though private, upon the week-days; or be withheld from the liberty of voting. Pressed by the warlike hostility of the Gorton party, he was obliged to seek help of the Arnolds, though William Arnold had plainly told him it was against the liberty of conscience of Verin, who held it duty to give due attention to one's bounden service at necessary labor at home; a truth obvious to the ordinary mind, and bound to win in the

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end in a democracy; though for the moment, Williams, as proprietor, had power to enforce his point, and Verin left. Williams, after this, holding to his general principle of complete religious toleration, received persons under pressure in Massachusetts as heterodox, among them Anabaptists, by one of whom Williams was rebaptized; but maintained his connection with that church only three or four months, becoming what was known as a "Seeker," and independent, in 1639 or 1640.

The Gortonists, finding themselves excluded from the three existing towns, removed, in January, 1643, to Shawomet, which Gorton obtained from Miantonomi and two local sachems, Pomham and Saconomoco, and began a fourth settlement. Benedict Arnold took the two local sachems to Boston, Massachusetts, being apprehensive at the time of Indian hostility, on account of the recent Pequot War, and these sachems being aware of the suspicion of the whites, professed to have been compelled by Miantonomi, their overlord, to sign the deed to Gorton; Miantonomi having already increased their suspicion by hostile movements against the Mohegans, allies of the whites. In view of this, the New England Confederacy was formed, May 19, 1643, composed of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; otherwise known as the United Colonies. Newport, becoming a place of commerce, desired a royal patent, and Mr. Williams, having moderated his views as to royal charters, went to England, 1643, and met Sir Henry Vane, whom he had known in Boston in 1635,—now in the Council of the Long Parliament, and having come to know Oliver Cromwell and the Parliamentary Board of the Colonies, whose head was Robert, Earl of Warwick, Williams applied for a patent of incorporation for Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport; and it was issued March 14, 1644, empowering the inhabitants to "govern themselves by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all or the greater part of them they shall find most serviceable—the laws to be conformable to the laws of England so far as the nature and constitution of the place would admit." The legislative power was vested in the freeholders through a committee of six from each town, called the General Court; measures to become law upon adoption by the major part of the Colony, which in the patent was styled "The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America;" the presiding officer and four assistants to have executive functions: the other officers were a treasurer, sergeant, general, recorder, attorney-general, and solicitor-general. The

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president and assistants also constituted a Court of Trials, and accepted verdicts by jury.

As Shawomet was not included in the Providence patent, Gorton obtained an independent patent from the Earl of Warwick, and in gratitude for the favor, named his settlement Warwick.

No more new towns were organized for twenty-five years. These four represented the fundamental characteristic principles and shades of difference which obtained in the future State. First, taking into consideration the practically universal or world-sentiment of his times, Williams was clearly too far in advance of it, to expect any considerable group of followers to dare to avow his proposition "that civil magistrates should not be empowered to punish offenses purely against God, but only offenses against man;" since up to that time doctrinal theology, instead of being differentiated from practical religion, was universally considered the principal part of religion. Instance, that Act, much lauded by Catholic writers as an example of Catholic toleration in Maryland, 1649, though the Catholic Church as a church body had nothing to do with it; it being one of sixteen proposed acts sent in by Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to be acted upon by the Governor, Council and Assembly of Maryland, and passed April 20, 1649, under the title "An Act Concerning Religion," by Governor William Stone, Protestant; John Price, Robert Vaughan, and Thomas Hatton, Protestant members of the Council or Upper House of the Assembly, and Thomas Greene, John Pile, and Robert Clarke, Roman Catholic members. The Lower House of the Assembly, not all of whose members are known, had a Protestant majority in 1650; yet all executing and obeying the will and order of Lord Baltimore, Proprietor of Maryland, to whom the Act is primarily due.

Article I. "That whatsoever pson or psones within this Province and the Islands thereto belonging shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is, curse him, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to bee the Sonne of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity, the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said three Psones of the Trinity, or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachful Speeches, words, or language concerning the said Holy Trinity, or any of the said three psones thereof, shalbe punished with death and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary and his heires."

The defining of the toleration is in a further article, namely: "Be it therefore by the Lord Proprietary, with the advice and consent of this Assembly, ordeyned & enacted, That noe person or persones whatsoever

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within this province professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any waies troubled, molested or discountenanced for and in respect of his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, nor compelled to the belief & exercise of any other religion." The penalty for molesting such a person was twenty shillings sterling in money or value. ("Archives of Maryland," Vol. I, pp. 244-46.)

Massachusetts Colony, sometimes ignorantly represented as the most intolerant of the colonies, confines itself in its Body of Liberties, or 100 fundamental laws, passed in December, 1641, to "direct, express, presumptuous or high-handed blasphemy of the name of God the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost" as deserving of the death penalty; and reduces the more than thirty capital crimes of contemporary laws of England to ten: in which it was followed by Plymouth and Connecticut Colonies; New Haven Colony having at that time no body of statutes, being guided only by the rules of equity and scripture. Roger Williams, like his British or Welsh fellow-countrymen, Pelagius, Oliver Williams, *alias* Cromwell, and Lloyd George, had little regard for established precedent, as compared with freedom in theological thinking: in which, however, he did not include the self-delusions of certain early Quakers; as for example, Thomas Newhouse, who in presence of the worshipers in Old South Church, Boston, smashed a glass bottle, saying, "Thus the Lord will break you in pieces;" or Lydia Wardel, who walked the aisles of Newbury meetinghouse, nude; as Deborah Wilson, in like condition walked the streets of Salem; for a testimony. He wrote and published, in 1676, against the founder of Quakerism, "George Fox Digged Out of His Burrows."

In judging the government of the Bay Colony, it needs to be taken into account that Boston was the port of entry for all New England, and for the innovators or "cranks" from an England seething, in 1630-55, with new and radical ideas and governmental revolutions; and Massachusetts, as the largest and strongest colony, and the bulwark of orderly government in New England, had to guard against disorder, and stand for authority; as Williams himself declared, in 1681, "the duty of every man to strengthen the bond of authority." Williams and Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, notwithstanding their differences of theological opinion, were lifelong personal friends, being in different spheres, Williams as an idealist, whose power was in the realm of heart and spirit: Winthrop in that of civil government. The Independents, who settled Massachusetts, were followers of Calvin, who retained the Catholic doc-

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trine of the right of the civil magistrate to prosecute and punish for theological errors; but they had greatly reduced and restricted the power and effect of the principle by making each congregation self-governing: a practice universalized in New England, because of its suitability to isolated settlements. The Providence settlement was weak on its governmental side.

The second problem, transferred from Massachusetts to Rhode Island, arose with the appearance of a group of Antinomians, who assumed, from certain expressions in Paul's letter to the Romans, that Christians are free from the moral law as written in the Old Testament, as being justified by faith alone, under a covenant of grace and not of works. Many of the Massachusetts ministers, strong believers in that moral law as just and necessary to rightness of conduct in a world containing bad as well as good people, opposed the preaching of Antinomianism; and the more, that some of the magistrates, considering it only a theological theory of Rev. John Wheelwright and other intelligent and otherwise well-conducted persons, disliked to take severe measures against them.

William Coddington, born at Boston in Lincolnshire, in 1601, was appointed by the crown one of the magistrates for Massachusetts, and arrived at Salem June 12, 1630. He was several times rechosen magistrate, but in 1637, from sympathy with Sir Henry Vane and the Antinomians, lost his position, having defended Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at her trial. Though chosen deputy for Boston to the General Court, he found so much criticism, that by the advice of Vane and Williams, he went to the Island of Aquidneck (later called Rhode Island) and bought from the Indians a tract of land, in 1638, and began a settlement at Pocasset (later named Portsmouth): eighteen men signing an agreement forming themselves into a body politic, to be "guided by the absolute laws of the Lord Jesus Christ, the king of kings"; Coddington being elected chief magistrate (and later with three assistants), but alarmed by the coming of Gorton and the Hutchinsons, they transferred their government to Newport: a democracy with religious liberty: in effect much like the government of Plymouth Colony: but not, like Plymouth, a member of the confederacy, the United Colonies of New England. This independence was an advantage to Rhode Island Colony in 1656, when several wild missionaries of the new sect called Quakers arrived at Boston; John Endicott being governor—a man nearly as intense and radical in his views, as they in theirs. Mary Prince, one of the Quakers from England, reproached the ministers at Boston as "hirelings, Baals, and the seed of the serpent"; he with the magistrates of Massachusetts, on September 2,

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1656, sent a letter to Plymouth recommending general rules against the coming of Quakers, ranters, etc., into the United Colonies; and, if come, to be secured and removed: and some of them outraging decency, an act was passed to prohibit their coming, followed by one in Plymouth Colony: and in 1658 an Act of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, that "all such Quakers formerly convicted and punished as such, shall (if they return again) be imprisoned and forthwith banished or expelled out of said jurisdiction," adding a threat which had never hitherto failed to prevent the return of disturbers, for a further return, "on penalty of death"; Massachusetts alone carrying this threat into effect. A request sent to Rhode Island at this time, to prohibit the entrance of Quakers, brought the reply from Benedict Arnold, at that time president of the Colony, that though he was not favorable to them and their behavior, he thought, as they were bent on making themselves martyrs, if he gave them no opportunity by punishment, they would become disgusted, and their zeal would evaporate in mere words; his judgment being confirmed by the results of that policy, adopted by other New England Colonies about 1661. (Palfrey, "History of New England," Vol. II.)

On the other hand, the lack of influence of the other colonies on Rhode Island had serious adverse results. That there is an almost universal mental and moral inertia of mankind in the mass, is proved by its extremely slow mental and moral advance. The idea that liberty is merely freedom from compulsion from without, is superficial. The truer and larger freedom is of spirit impelling and expanding from within, to a larger and growing life and intelligence. It is of greater importance that the mind and conscience be enlightened, than that they be free from external compulsion.

Massachusetts, with all her slow and cautious English conservatism, laid sure and solid foundations, and learned by her mistakes, "muddling through" until she became the intellectual and moral leader of the northern colonies. In 1635, this new colony called Philemon Purmor to be schoolmaster, at Boston; the beginning of the Latin school. The General Court, in 1636, voted £400 toward a school or college at Newtown; on May 2, 1638, renamed Cambridge; this college, after John Harvard bequeathed to it his library and half of his property, was called Harvard College: Charlestown founded a school, 1636, to be kept twelve months; Salem, Dorchester, Ipswich and Roxbury soon followed. In 1642, the first school law for the colony; and, in 1647, a new law requiring the towns to furnish a school or schools—the real foundation of all our school laws: every town of fifty families to appoint a schoolmaster to teach

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reading and writing; his wages to be paid by the parents or the town, as the majority may order. Connecticut and Plymouth followed, and New Haven had private schools. Newport attempted a town school, 1640. Providence, in 1663, voted 106 acres as school land, but the first mention of a schoolhouse is in 1752. In 1767 there were three schoolhouses for small children, and one for youth, the voters to pay the expense from the treasury. John Howland was the real founder of schools in Rhode Island, in 1789, by organizing the Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Association; but only Providence and Newport approved. The first general educational law was in February, 1800: but only Providence carried it into effect, and it was repealed, except for the city of Providence, in 1803; and for twenty-five years after the repeal, there was no State school system in Rhode Island, even on paper; and, in 1821, no schools outside of Providence, except a few in Newport. In 1828, the first school bill was enacted into law (a proposed one in 1820 never being reported out of committee). This is the foundation on which the State free school system was eventually built. ("Cyclopedia of Education," Vol. IV, p. 148; Vol. V, p. 179.)

Whether the cause be inertia or lack of education, the returns of births, marriages, and deaths in colonial Rhode Island are fragmentary. Newport, as a port, had the advantage of Providence, and also in the practical ability and business experience of its founders, and from the first for a long period grew faster than the northern settlements. In 1640, Aquidneck had about 200 settlers; Providence, 100.

The fifth town was an offshoot from Newport, where a private company was formed which bought, in January, 1660, from Sosoia, a sachem of the Niantic Indians, the Misquamicut tract, which in May, 1669, had settlers sufficient to be incorporated as the town of Westerly, named from its location; its territory measuring ten by twenty miles.

July 8, 1663, Charles II does "give and grant unto the said Governour and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America" a charter, with the clause "That our royall will and pleasure is, that noe person within the sayd colonye, at any tyme hereafter shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, and doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our sayd colony, but that all and every person and persons may from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter freelye and fullye enjoye his and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this libertie to lycentious-

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nesse and profanenesse, nor to the civill injurye or outward disturbance of others." ("Records R. I.," Vol. II.)

6. May 4, 1664, Block Island was admitted a part of the Colony of Rhode Island, and on November 6, 1672, incorporated as the town of New Shoreham. (Haversham, 1686-89.)

7. Kingstown, made a town October 28, 1674, was during 1686-89, called Rochester, then resumed its original name. Part of "King's Province," or "Narragansett country."

8. East Greenwich, in the "Narragansett country," was incorporated October 31, 1677. (Dedford, 1686-89.)

9. Conanicut Island was incorporated November 4, 1678, as Jamestown, named from James II, the reigning King.

10. South Kingstown, set off from Kingstown February 26, 1723, and the remainder, regarded the old town, called North Kingstown. In 1708, the whole colony had 7,181 population. In 1730, 17,935, by census. The recorder then first called Secretary of State. Providence had grown in importance; in 1731, a Colony House was completed here.

11. Gloucester, one of the first towns set off from the Providence tract, was incorporated February 20, 1731.

12. Scituate, incorporated from Providence February 20, 1731.

13. Smithfield, incorporated from Providence February 20, 1731. February 20, 1738-39, a Colony House at Newport ordered to be built.

14. Charlestown, from Westerly, incorporated August 22, 1738.

15. West Greenwich, set off from East Greenwich April 6, 1741.

16. Coventry, set off from Warwick August 21, 1741.

17. Exeter, set off from North Kingstown March 8, 1742-43.

18. Middletown, set off from Newport June 16, 1743. A royal decree dated May 28, 1746, made an important transfer of territory from Massachusetts, brought in from Plymouth Colony with its union with Massachusetts, 1692; by which five towns were added to Rhode Island.

19. Bristol, incorporated by Plymouth Colony, October 28, 1681; taken into Rhode Island January 27, 1746-47.

20. Warren, taken from Swansea, Massachusetts, and incorporated as Barrington, November 18, 1717; with additions from Swansea and Rehoboth, Massachusetts, at the transfer, 1746, taken into Rhode Island January 27, 1746-47, and named Warren, in honor of Sir Peter Warren, admiral of the British Navy.

21. Little Compton, incorporated by Plymouth Colony, in 1682; taken into Rhode Island January 27, 1746-47; and annexed to Newport County, February 17, 1746-47.

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22. Tiverton, incorporated by Massachusetts, 1694; taken into Rhode Island January 27, 1746-47; annexed to Newport County, February 17, 1746-47.

23. Attleboro' Gore, part of Attleborough, Massachusetts, incorporated October 19, 1694; incorporated January 27, 1746-47, as Cumberland, Rhode Island.

24. Richmond, set off from Charlestown August 18, 1747.

25. Cranston, set off from Providence June 14, 1754; incorporated as a city March 10, 1910.

26. Hopkinton, set off from Westerly March 19, 1757.

27. Johnston, set off from Providence March 6, 1759; named from Augustus Johnston, attorney-general of Rhode Island at the time.

28. North Providence, from Providence June 13, 1765.

29. Barrington, set off from Warren June 16, 1770.

30. Foster, from Scituate August 24, 1781.

31. Burrillville, from Glocester October 29, 1806. Named from Hon. James Burrill, United States Senator from Rhode Island, 1817-20. Fall River, taken from Tiverton October 6, 1856, was ceded to Massachusetts in settlement of the boundary March 1, 1862.

32. Pawtucket, set off from Seekonk, Massachusetts, February 29, 1828; was ceded to Rhode Island March 1, 1862. City, 1885.

33. East Providence, from Seekonk, Massachusetts; ceded March 1, 1862.

34. Woonsocket, from Cumberland January 31, 1867. City, June 13, 1888.

35. Lincoln, from Smithfield March 8, 1871. Named from Abraham Lincoln.

36. North Smithfield, renamed March 24, 1871, from Slater; set off from Smithfield March 8, 1871.

37. Central Falls, incorporated as a city taken from Lincoln February 21, 1895.

38. Narragansett, a district March 22, 1888; set off from South Kingstown, as a town, March 28, 1901.

39. West Warwick, from Warwick March 14, 1913.

Counties: Providence and Newport, June 22, 1703; Washington, June 16, 1729; Bristol, February 17, 1747; Kent, June 11, 1750.

Besides the "Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence," consult especially Richman, I. B., "History of Rhode Island" and "Rhode Island, Its Making and Meaning."

Chapin and Allied Families

By EDW. D. CLEMENTS, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



F the Chapin family, Orange Chapin in the Chapin Genealogy, says :

Samuel Chapin is believed to be the progenitor of all who bear the name in this country. Respecting the history of the family previous to landing here, or the precise time of their arrival, nothing definite is known. The family is probably of Welsh origin, founded on obscure traditions recollected by Calvin Chapin as current in Chicopee, and the prevalence of some Welsh phrases and terms among the people of that place. On a map of England, in the possession of Calvin Chapin, there is in Derbyshire the name Chapin frith (frith meaning a rough, mountainous region of country). This, on another map, is written Chapelin or Chapalin, and he thinks perhaps they may have been so termed from Chapel, and this name modified into Chapin.

I. Deacon Samuel Chapin, the progenitor of this illustrious family, son of John and Phillipe (Easton) Chapin, was baptized in Paignton, England, October 8, 1598, and died in Springfield, Massachusetts, November 11, 1675. He occupied a very important place in the life of Springfield, to which city he came in 1642. He served as magistrate, selectman, and was closely identified with public enterprises and also with the carrying forward of the church.

Deacon Samuel Chapin married, at Paignton, Devonshire, England, February 9, 1623, Cicely Penny, baptized at Paignton, February 21, 1601, died at Springfield, Massachusetts, February 8, 1682-83, daughter of Henry and Jane Penny. Children: 1. David, baptized January 4, 1624, died in August, 1672; married, August 29, 1654, Lydia Crump. 2. Henry, died August 15, 1718; married, December 15, 1664, Bethia Cooley. 3. Catherine, born before April 6, 1630, died February 4, 1712; married (first), November 26, 1646, Nathaniel Bliss; married (second), July 31, 1655, Thomas Gilbert. 4. Sarah, born before April 6, 1630, died August 5, 1684; married, April 14, 1647, Rowland Thomas. 5. Josiah, born in 1634, died September 10, 1726; married (first), November 30, 1658, Mary King; married (second), September 20, 1676, Mrs. Lydia (Brown) Pratt; married (third), June 22, 1713, Mehitable Metcalf. 6. Japhet, of

CHAPIN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

whom further. 7. Hannah, baptized December 2, 1644, died May 21, 1719; married, September 27, 1666, Deacon John Hitchcock.

(G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, pp. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6. Orange Chapin: "The Chapin Genealogy," p. 2.)

II. Deacon Japhet Chapin, son of Deacon Samuel and Cicely (Penny) Chapin, was baptized in Roxbury, Massachusetts, October 15, 1642, and died at Springfield, Massachusetts, February 20, 1712. He was a deacon in the church in Springfield, and was engaged in the battle with the Indians at Turners Falls, Massachusetts, in 1676, in King Philip's War. Japhet Chapin married (first), July 22, 1664, Abilenah Cooley, born in 1642, died at Springfield, November 17, 1710, daughter of Samuel Cooley, of Milford, Connecticut. He married (second), May 31, 1711, Dorothy Root, of Enfield, Connecticut. Children of first marriage: 1. Samuel, born July 4, 1665, died October 19, 1729; married, December 24, 1690, Hannah Sheldon. 2. Sarah, born March 15, 1668, died November 23, 1747; married, March 24, 1689-90, Nathaniel Munn. 3. Thomas, born May 20, 1671, died August 27, 1755; married, February 15, 1694, Sarah Wright. 4. John, born May 14, 1674, died June 1, 1759; married, February 12, 1701-02, Sarah Bridgman. 5. Ebenezer, of whom further. 6. Hannah, born June 21, 1679, died July 7, 1679. 7. Hannah, born July 18, 1680, died September 30, 1765; married (first), December 3, 1703, John Sheldon; married (second), November 26, 1719, Captain Timothy Childs. 8. David, born November 16, 1682, died July 17, 1772; married (first), November 21, 1705, Sarah Stebbins; married (second), intentions published May 8, 1730, Mrs. Minderell (Allen) Holton. 9. Jonathan, born February 20, 1685, died March 1, 1686. 10. Jonathan, born September 23, 1688, died February 23, 1761; married, April 20, 1710, Elizabeth Burt.

(G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, pp. 3, 9-13. Orange Chapin: "The Chapin Genealogy," p. 3.)

III. Ebenezer Chapin, son of Japhet and Abilenah (Cooley) Chapin, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, June 26, 1676-77, and died at Enfield, Connecticut, December 13, 1772, being buried in the Enfield Cemetery. He married (first), December 1, 1702, Ruth Janes. (Janes III.) Ebenezer Chapin married (second), October 12, 1738, Abigail (Strong) Church, born November 23, 1690, daughter of Samuel and Esther (Clapp) Strong. Children of first marriage: 1. Rachel, born

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August 27, 1703, died March 8, 1777. 2. Ebenezer, Jr., born September 23, 1705, died March 31, 1751; married, November 22, 1733, Elizabeth Pease. 3. Noah, born October 25, 1707, died August 23, 1787; married, November 8, 1733, Mary Wright. 4. Seth, born February 28, 1709, died February 22, 1807; married (first), November 22, 1739, Elizabeth Bliss; married (second), April 25, 1752, Margaret Pease. 5. Catherine, born January 4, 1711, died about 1786; married, February 5, 1746-47, as second wife, Nathaniel Ellsworth. 6. Moses, of whom further. 7. Aaron, born September 28, 1714, died April 19, 1808; married, January 16, 1744-45, Sybel Markham. 8. Elias, born October 22, 1716, died September 6, 1791; married (first), intentions published May 10, 1747, Sarah Pratt; married (second), August 27, 1778, Mrs. Submit (Dickinson) Davis. 9. Reuben, born September 13, 1718, died June 1, 1793; married (first), November 5, 1746, Rebecca Kibbe; married (second) Sarah. 10. Charles, born December 26, 1720-21, died January 21, 1813; married Anna Camp. 11. David, born August 18, 1722, died September 15, 1762; married, October 5, 1749, Martha Allen. 12. Elisha, born April 18, 1725, died in 1726. 13. Phineas, born June 30, 1726, will probated April 6, 1756; unmarried.

(G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, pp. 11, 41-45. Orange Chapin: "The Chapin Genealogy," p. 9.)

IV. Moses Chapin, son of Ebenezer and Ruth (Janes) Chapin, was born August 24, 1712, and died November 3, 1793. He married (first), intentions being published May 14, 1748, Jerusha Rockwell, of East Windsor, Connecticut, born in 1720, and died May 19, 1749. He married (second), at Enfield, Connecticut, December 5, 1751, Elizabeth Dwight. (Dwight V.) Children, except first, of the second marriage: 1. Jerusha, born May 9, 1749, died July 22, 1829; married, October 28, 1773, Judge Jesse Cady. 2. Anna, born September 15, 1752, died May 6, 1827; unmarried. 3. Ruth, born March 25, 1754, died February 3, 1838; married, January 24, 1776, Deacon Jonathan Porter. 4. Colonel Phineas, born December 15, 1755; married, January 21, 1785, Mary Lane. 5. Daniel, born January 3, 1758, died September 14, 1831; married (first), January 1, 1789, Joanna Arms; married (second) Ruth Lane. 6. Frederick, born May 12, 1760, died June 12, 1802; married, about 1788, Lucretia Morton. 7. Moses Augustus, of whom further. 8. Jason, born August 7, 1764, died December 18, 1800; married, about 1792, Rachel Holman. 9. Elizabeth, born November 16, 1766, died June 13, 1851;

CHAPIN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

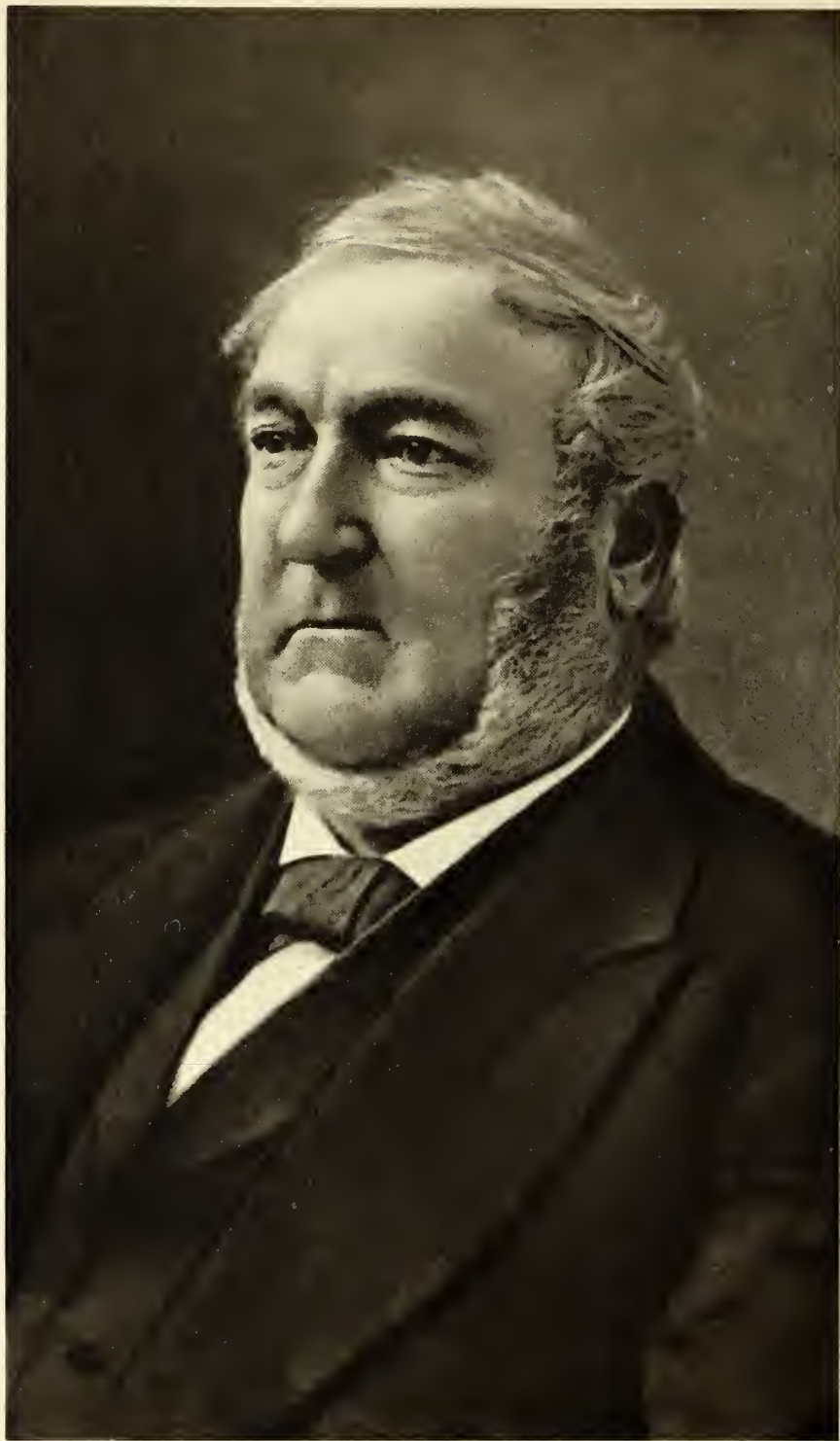
married, February 2, 1795, John B. Alfred. 10. Samuel Dwight, born December 29, 1768, died October 26, 1801; married, September 11, 1800, Achsah Morgan. 11. Abiah, born June 5, 1771, died, unmarried, in May, 1842.

(G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, pp. 43, 162-65. Orange Chapin: "The Chapin Genealogy," p. 20.)

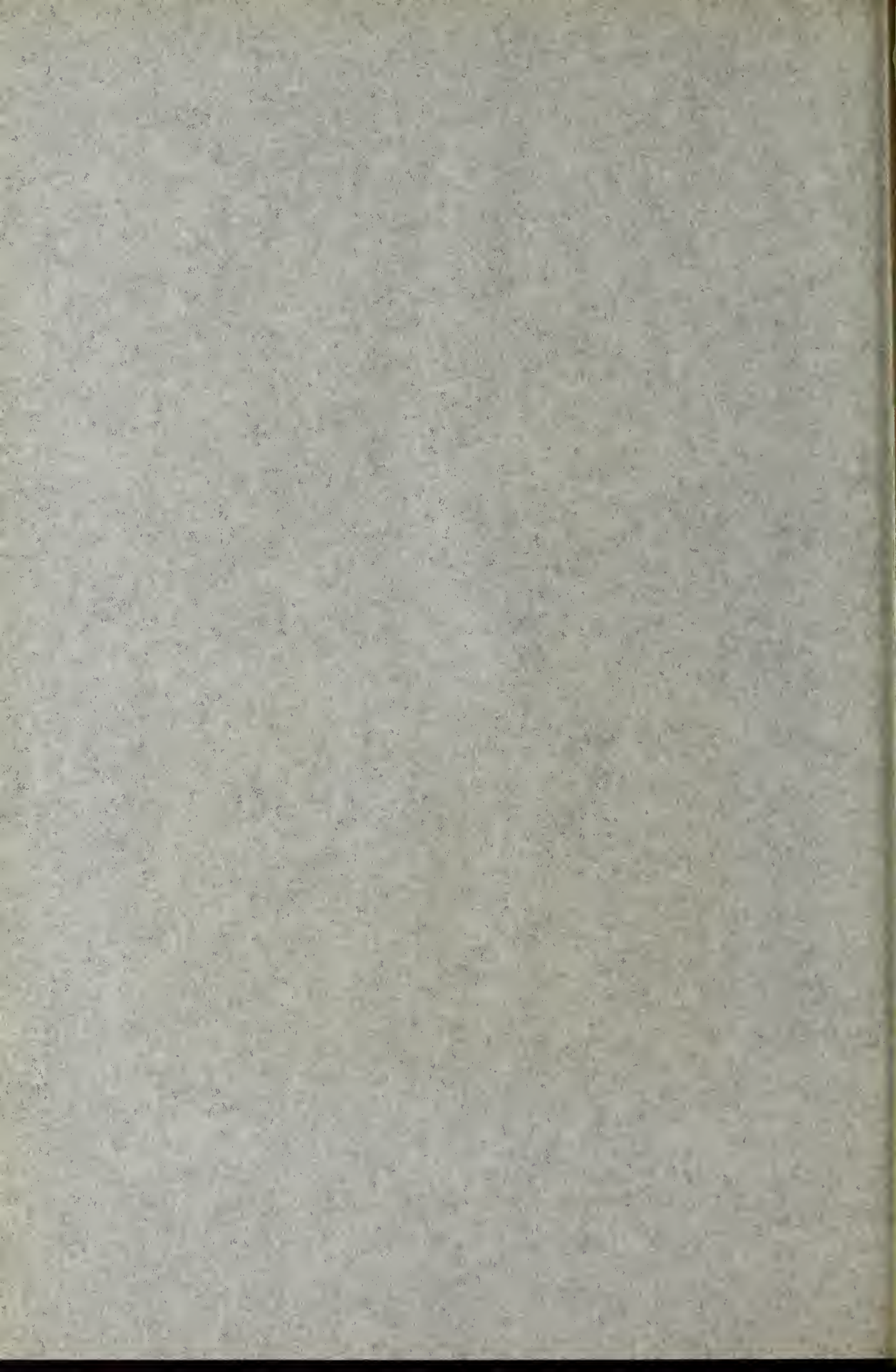
V. Moses Augustus Chapin, son of Moses and Elizabeth (Dwight) Chapin, was born at Somers, Connecticut, November 8, 1762, and died March 11, 1841, being buried in West Springfield Cemetery. He was a farmer. Moses Augustus Chapin married, about 1787, Lucina Graves. (Graves VI.) Children: 1. Mary (Polly), born September 10, 1788, died September 13, 1863; married, June 6, 1812, Avery Herrick. 2. Judge Moses, born May 2, 1791, died October 8, 1865; married (first), September 8, 1818, Esther Maria Ward; married (second), October 31, 1826, Mrs. Lucy Terry (Barton) Kibbe. 3. Elizabeth (Betsey), born December 27, 1792, died April 4, 1794. 4. Rev. Augustine (Augustus) Lyman, born January 16, 1795, died November 7, 1878; married, May 12, 1831, Abby Hayes. 5. Deacon Alpha, born October 3, 1796, died June 21, 1868; married, November 24, 1831, Clarissa Chapin. 6. Seth Dwight, born April 11, 1800, died February 11, 1833; unmarried. 7. Elizabeth, born March 23, 1802, died August 8, 1875; married, September 12, 1824, Henry M. Ward. 8. Dr. Alonzo, born February 24, 1805, died December 25, 1876; married, October 26, 1831, Mary Ann Tenny. 9. Lucina, born March 8, 1806, died January 15, 1880. 10. Louis, of whom further.

(G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, pp. 165, 423-25. Orange Chapin: "The Chapin Genealogy," p. 46.)

VI. Louis Chapin, one of Rochester's pioneer business men, very well known and highly respected, son of Moses Augustus and Lucina (Graves) Chapin, was born November 3, 1809, and died in Rochester, August 1, 1894. He was educated in the Springfield, Westfield, and Hadley, Massachusetts, academies, which he attended for a few terms. In the spring of 1827 he came to Rochester, and for four years was employed as forwarding clerk for the first six-day line of boats on the Erie Canal. His brother, Seth D. Chapin, was a member of the firm, and his eldest brother, Judge Moses Chapin, was a prominent jurist of this section. Subsequently, Louis Chapin learned the milling business, becoming engaged



Louis Chapin





Rachel Lawrence (Shepard) Chapin

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with Beach and Kempshell in their milling enterprises in Rochester, Albion, New York, and Akron, Ohio. In 1854 he was in business for himself, purchasing the City Mill on Aqueduct Street of General E. S. Beach. In this latter endeavor, which he conducted until 1866, at which time he disposed of it, he was very successful, and his name was prominently connected with the flouring industry until his retirement from business about twenty years prior to his death.

Along with his numerous business affiliations, Mr. Chapin was identified with the Monroe County Savings Bank, serving as trustee for forty years, and vice-president for twenty-two years. He was also a director of the old Rochester Gas Company, and a very interested and active member of the Rochester Historical Society. Mr. Chapin, early in life, became connected with the Brick Presbyterian Church, of which he was treasurer for over fifty years, and deacon for a number of years, serving until his death. He was keenly interested in the church, and his wise counsel and sound advice were always sought on all matters pertaining to its financial and business activities. Mr. Chapin was a man greatly admired and esteemed by all his associates, his wide circle of friends and acquaintances, and by the numerous individuals with whom he came in contact in his business, social and religious ties.

Louis Chapin married (first), January 28, 1836, Mary H. Smith, born August 13, 1813, died December 13, 1837, daughter of Dr. James W. and Elizabeth Smith, of Rochester, New York. He married (second), September 1, 1840, Rachel Lawrence Shepard, of Rochester, New York, born November 29, 1818, died August 21, 1908, daughter of Erastus and Eliza M. Shepard, the former of whom was one of the first owners of the "Rochester Democrat." Children of the second marriage: 1. Edward Dwight, born December 14, 1842; married (first), May 29, 1866, Francis Mary Hitchcock, died November 2, 1921; married (second) Isabelle Howell Santee, June 30, 1923. 2. Louis Shepard, born April 11, 1846, died May 20, 1926; married, September 14, 1870, Mary Dawson Updike, who died November 24, 1924. 3. Mary Smith, born July 3, 1848, died in infancy. 4. William Wisner, of whom further. 5. Alice Elizabeth, born August 15, 1853; married, October 5, 1876, Hon. Henry C. Brewster, who died January 29, 1928.

(G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol I, pp. 425, 889-90. Orange Chapin: "The Chapin Genealogy," p. 98. Family data.)

VII. William Wisner Chapin, son of Louis and Rachel Lawrence (Shepard) Chapin, was born in Rochester, New York, March 13, 1851,

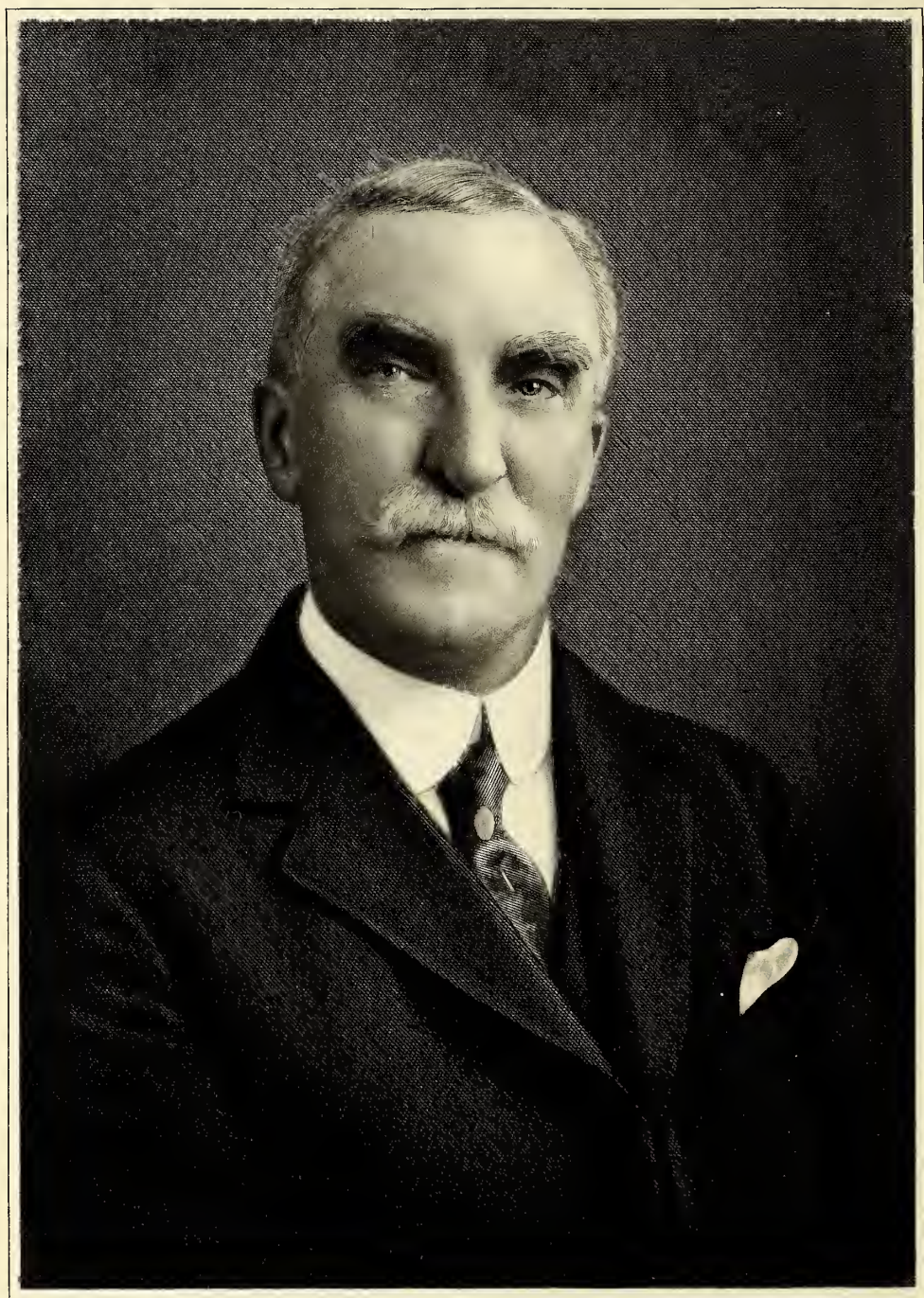
CHAPIN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

in the family home, which stood at 95 North Fitzhugh Street (then known as number 8), on the site of which the Rochester Telephone Corporation's office building now stands, and died at his home, 110 South Fitzhugh Street, May 5, 1928.

His education was under the direction of private instructors, his schooling terminating when he was sixteen years old. He had had some business association with his father in the milling business during this period, and upon leaving school he went to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he spent a year in a department store. He then returned to Rochester and, in 1870, obtained a position as discount clerk in the old Bank of Monroe at 21 Exchange Street, which building was later occupied by the Genesee Valley Trust Company, until 1930. His service with this institution was concluded in 1872 when, on January 11, he entered the employ of the Monroe County Savings Bank in the capacity of assistant bookkeeper. In December, 1876, he was promoted to bookkeeper and mortgage clerk; in July, 1881, to receiving teller; and in 1883 he was made paying teller, which position he resigned in January of 1910, rounding out a period of forty years in the banking business.

This, however, did not measure the scope of his activities, for in the early 'eighties he took up photography, perhaps influenced by his acquaintance as a young man with Mr. George Eastman, for whom he had enduring admiration and confidence, manifesting this by investments that he made from time to time in the Eastman Kodak Company, which holdings he never sold, although the stock, having a par value of \$100, depreciated to \$13 per share. This has since attained a market valuation of twenty times this low. He became very proficient with the camera and the processing of photography in its various ramifications at that time, later taking several prizes in photographic contests. He even turned his camera to its own financial support by photographing attractive horticultural specimens. These photographs he colored by hand and supplied them to nurserymen for display purposes in advertising the products, not only of the "Flower City," as Rochester was known, but to a considerable number of others of this industry outside of Rochester.

He was very fond of hunting and fishing, often accompanying his father on expeditions of this kind. He early acquired extraordinary skill in handling a shotgun, nearly always accompanied by some fine hunting dog in which he took great pride. In the early 'eighties, he made numerous hunting trips into the Dakotas and in Canada, setting up his camp far from human settlement. The love of the woods and streams was always



W. W. Chapin





Elizabeth Ligon Chapin

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with him and in 1903 led him to the establishment of a picturesque permanent camp in the north woods of Canada. The building of this began with the erection of a log house large enough to accommodate the family, now numbering seven. This was situated on the southeast shore overlooking Oxtongue Lake, surrounded by miles of forest with only wild life for its immediate neighbors. This camp developed from a single building to a colony of numerous houses where each member of the family and many friends could spend a portion of the summer, far removed from railroads or the influence of business or city life. He had explored much of this country by making camping trips in different directions, covering many miles of lakes and rivers. In his seventy-fifth year, we find him facing the rigors of a fishing trip in the north country, going beyond his permanent camp and following the trails into the distant lakes, where he camped and fished, and in the fall, after his return to Rochester, following a favorite dog, as had been his custom for many years, after pheasants. Another fall, in his seventy-seventh year, he joined with a group of friends much younger than he in a duck hunting exploit in Illinois, where the severity of the climatic conditions and the mode of travel would tax the physique of a much younger man.

He also had a keen interest in music and, being possessed of a rich baritone voice, he became connected with various church choirs of Rochester extending over a period of thirty years, during which time he was the soloist in the choirs of the Brighton Presbyterian Church, St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church, Berith Kodesh Temple, First Methodist Episcopal Church, Plymouth Congregational Church, Second Baptist Church, the Brick Presbyterian Church and the First Presbyterian Church.

The instinctive love of music drew him to a business connection with the Columbia Phonograph Company, whose early models of talking machines he helped to introduce in Rochester in 1894.

In 1909 Mr. Chapin made a world-encircling tour, going westwardly with Mrs. Chapin, visiting Japan, China, Manchuria, Russia, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Germany, France, Spain and England. The methodical man of business thus turned traveller, and with the same painstaking care with which he had recorded incidents of his business career, he set down facts and impressions of the various countries visited. These, together with the numberless photographs which he made that were later hand-colored by a Japanese artist, furnished the material for his many articles of travel published in the "National Geographic Magazine."

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These articles were the first to be illustrated with colored plates in this publication, and the pictures, reproduced in colored slides, made a collection of many hundreds which he used in his travel lectures.

Three years later, in 1912, a second world-encircling tour, this time eastward bound, was undertaken, accompanied by Mrs. Chapin and a son, Harrison. This trip was fruitful of many beautiful pictures on the Nile, Ceylon, India, Java and Sumatra, China, Formosa, and finally the gorgeous Canadian mountain scenery encountered on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In 1915, with Mrs. Chapin, he visited Panama and Central America, adding more pictures to his extraordinary collection of colored slides, which now numbered in the thousands and included views covering not only his foreign travels, but many places of interest in the United States. In this year was renewed in him an early interest in butterflies, and a collection of hundreds of magnificent specimens of insect life was gathered by him from the tropics.

The appreciation of the beautiful, which he thus expressed, was also manifested by the installation in his home of a splendid Aeolian organ. This glorified the rendezvous of friends and neighbors, who, on certain nights of the week, would gather to enjoy with him the works of the great composers. These were not only enjoyed by the visitors who gathered there, but organ concerts were broadcast periodically over the radio:

An observer has described the organ as follows:

The Organ has eight distinct departments or organs, which are played from a console of three manuals and pedals. Every known orchestral color is possible through the medium of eighty-one speaking stops, thirty-five couplers, eleven percussion instruments, two sets of chimes, a harp, and a piano. This console also contains a mechanism for the playing of perforated rolls of music under the control and interpretation of the operator, while a second console situated near the first, and fifty feet from the main organ chamber, known as a "Duo Art," automatically performs from perforated rolls the works of some of the world's greatest organists as they themselves interpret them, through their own selection of stops and tone colors, even the very shades of tonal strength that characterized their playing in the making of the records on the rolls.

The main organ chamber contains five organs known as the Swell, Great, Choir, Solo, and Pedal. At the opposite end of the room and situated under the floor near the entrance, the Antiphonal organ gives voice through a grill; similarly placed below the floor but midway of the length of the room and adjacent to the fireplace is the Vibrato organ, while the





RESIDENCE OF MR. AND MRS. W. W. CHAPIN

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Echo organ is mounted in the third story, high above the music room, its distant tones coming down through a shaft that ends in a perforated dome above the entrance.

Five electric motors furnish the power necessary for the operation of the instrument, two of which aggregating thirteen H. P. are direct, connected to two centrifugal blowers which provide air pressure sufficient in volume to give voice to the 6328 pipes whose speaking lengths range from five-eighths of an inch to thirty-two feet. Two hundred forty-nine miles of wire form the electrical circuits from the consoles to the solenoids, that lifting the valves, release air into the pipes. Low voltage power for this is supplied by a small generator. Smaller motors drive the mechanisms of the Duo Art, piano, and percussion instruments.

The instrument occupies 13,342 cubic feet of space and weighs sixteen and one-half tons. The Music Room measures thirty-four by fifty-four feet, with a fifteen-foot ceiling.

However, the technical and mechanical description of so rare an instrument, no matter how awe-inspiring and arresting as proof of the wonders of twentieth century inventive acumen, gives but an inadequate picturization of the marvel of its beauty and the magnificence of its vibrating harmony. The setting for the instrument in the charming music room of the Chapin ancestral home is unsurpassed. In the words of an appreciative critic it is described as follows:

The great music room carried on the Greek detail of the Colonial purity of line that lends such repose and historical significance to the drawing-rooms at the other side of the house. It is painted white and in its exquisite ornamentation there is music for the eye to meet, as it were, the music for the ear which the organ pours forth.

On the floor is a huge rug of harmonious color. The chairs in which one rests luxuriously are of many periods and patterns, and have been collected with taste and discretion in various parts of the country by their owners. At the long windows hang portieres of a wonderful crimson brocade and on the walls are fastened, at attractive intervals, electric sconces copied from a fixture given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Mrs. Russell Sage, and possessing with surpassing fitness just the design to suit this Colonial Chamber. Two resplendent gilded mirrors, which once reflected the images of the guests of the old Eagle Tavern, in the days when Rochester was a village, and whose ornament and workmanship represent a lost art, illuminate the west wall of the room, at either side of the circular bay window; and here and there is a painting of exceptional interest, including a panorama replica of the Hall of Iliad in the Pitti Palace in Florence, 1909, by Santi Corsi; P. L. Frieske's "Spring," which was one of the prize-winning pictures at the Panama-

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Pacific Exposition; "Lifting Fog," by Jonas Lie, the sun breaking through the rising mist revealing several sailing vessels ready to leave the harbor at Rockport, Mass., 1924; "Rio Fontega," a Venetian scene, by F. Hopkinson Smith; a view of the harbor of a quaint little town on the Cornish coast with a group of fishing boats from which the catch is being unloaded, by Hayley Lever; and a portrait of Louis Chapin, by Grove S. Gilbert, 1872; while high up over the doors are two small mirrors surmounted by an eagle, which formerly hung in the White House in Washington. Two marble statues, "Nydia," by Randolph Rogers, 1851, and "West Wind," by Thomas R. Gould, Florence, 1874, are among the other works of art in the music room.

Looking back over the years, he is seen as a rather diffident boy imbued with a determined purpose to achieve his measure of success, employing his time tirelessly in other occupations than the duties involved in his association in the bank. Friends he had, of course, but few confidants, keeping his own counsel so that his immediate family knew little or nothing of his business plans. One of the striking evidences of this is found in a series of inventories, the first of which bears the date of 1870, when he was but nineteen years of age, and which discloses an unusual net worth for a young man whose earnings were not augmented by financial help from another source.

This document of January 1, 1870, is an interesting bench mark from which the ascendancy of his career can be plotted through the subsequent inventories, dating from 1874 annually up to within a few years of his death, when the period of the inventory was shortened, showing similar documents drawn up on the first of every January and July.

His painstaking attention to detail with regard to the recording of his personal expenditures as a boy, pervaded his career, which a review of his records discloses. These records were unknown to any but himself and seem a thing apart from the jovial character, the walls of whose study were adorned with pictures and many interesting trophies gathered in his travels.

The diffident boy of 1870 had developed into a man of keen business foresight and a deep-seated, though seldom spoken, affection for his family, which he did, however, express frequently by benefactions which were always cloaked for a moment of surprise to the recipient. His delight in these moments seemed unbounded in spite of his restrained and quiet demeanor. An outstanding example of this occurred in 1921, when at the Christmas party a card was exposed bearing seven pegs, on each of which hung a key. A legend explained that each branch of the family,



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including a very much beloved sister-in-law, Mrs. Lyon, was to be the recipient of one of these which gave them access to, and use of, a beautiful summer home which he had just acquired, unbeknown to members of the family, at what is known as Rock Beach on Lake Ontario, a few miles distant from the city. He announced it as his purpose to maintain this for their continued use and pleasure, giving it jokingly the name of "Baldpate," suggested by the recollection of a stage show, "Seven Keys to Baldpate," which had been produced a few years previous. Here again his touch appears, for acquiring the use of added space, he beautified this by a garden of his own planning, bearing every season a wealth of beautiful flowers.

His enjoyment of the witticisms that punctuated his personal associations was very keen and his accumulation of quips and humorous bits gleaned from publications or other sources provided a rich fund of anecdote with which he was wont to regale his friends.

The winter and spring of 1929 found him, in his seventy-eighth year, a man of extraordinary vigor of mind and body. With enthusiasm unimpaired and engaged as always by a wide range of interests and activities, everything seemed to indicate continued years of friendly life and genuine usefulness. In the latter part of April, however, he was confined to his bed with pneumonia and, after only a week's illness, passed away on May 5.

His passing has left a void among those who knew him intimately, and in the community, as well. The memory of his kindness and profound affection for his family and friends lives on, and the inspiration of his upright, determined, purposeful life and undeviating allegiance to his ideals, continues as a shining light to all who come within his influence.

William Wisner Chapin married, September 7, 1876, Elizabeth (Lizzie) Gale Lyon. (Lyon VII.) Children: 1. Harrison Lyon, born July 5, 1878; was educated in the public and high schools of Rochester, after which he engaged in business in various localities, becoming, in 1928, head of the Precise Manufacturing Company, of Rochester; married, March 11, 1915, Alline Estes, of St. Louis. Children: i. Helen Carroll, born October 29, 1916. ii. Harrison Lyon, Jr., born July 31, 1918. iii. John Estes, born August 23, 1919. iv. Alline Elizabeth, born February 14, 1921. 2. A daughter, born in 1880, died in 1880. 3. Elizabeth Rachel, born February 14, 1882; was educated in the public and high schools of Rochester, and at Wells College, Aurora, New York; married, August 12, 1908, Ernest L. White, born January 29, 1880. Children: i. Elizabeth Chapin, born August 19, 1912. ii. Carolyn Gale,

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born January 3, 1914. iii. Ernestine Lacy, born May 20, 1922. 4. Fanny Gale, born January 10, 1884; married (first), November 29, 1909, James Vick; married (second), April 18, 1928, Harry L. Moses. Children of the first marriage: i. William Lyon, born October 13, 1913. ii. Mary Gale, born December 24, 1919. 5. Louis William, born January 8, 1886; was educated in the public and high schools of Rochester; is secretary and treasurer of the Vanilla Laboratories; is a member of the Oak Hill Country and the Rochester clubs; married, February 28, 1911, Edna Crouch, of Rochester. Children: i. William Crouch, born December 15, 1911. ii. Dorothy (twin), born March 3, 1915, living. iii. Edna Crouch (twin), born March 3, 1915, died in infancy. 6. Edmund Lyon (twin), born May 25, 1888; was educated in the public and high schools of Rochester; is a musician; married, November 12, 1913, Estella Blanche Mayer. Children: i. Barbara Elizabeth, born February 1, 1915. ii. Fanny Gale, born September 2, 1917. 7. Alice Ruth (twin), born May 25, 1888, died March 5, 1889. 8. Linda, born May 14, 1894, died August 2, 1895.

(G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, p. 889; Vol. II, pp. 495-96. Family data.)

(The Lyon Line)

Arms—Azure, on a fesse or, between three plates, each charged with a griffin's head erased sable a lion passant between two cinquefoils gules.

Crest—On a pink flowered gules leaved vert a lion's head erased paly quarterly ermine and ermines. (Burke: "General Armory.")

The surname Lyon is generally derived from the old personal name, Lyon, no doubt originally bestowed in recognition of the bearer's resemblance to the king of beasts in strength or courage. The name of Lyoyne (*alias* Leoyne) Dining is in the Testa de Neville, an early English document, and Jacob *fil.* Leonis occurs in the Hundred Rolls of Lincolnshire in the year 1273. Occasionally the name is derived from the city of Lyons, France, when an inhabitant of that city transferred his residence to England. Roger de Lyons is found in the Hundred Rolls of Wiltshire. There is a strong probability, based on circumstantial evidence, that the Lyon emigrants, of the Eastern shore at least, came from Essex or Middlesex, England. This illustrious family is of French descent, traced from the ancient house of de Leonne, in that kingdom, which derived its origin from the noble race of the "Leones" of Rowe.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." A. B. Lyon and G. W. A. Lyon, M. D.: "Lyon Memorial," Vol. I, p. 10. A. Welles: "American Family Antiquity," Vol. II, p. 92.)



Lyon

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I. Thomas Lyon, the immigrant ancestor of this family, was born in 1621, probably in England, although an attempt has been made to trace him to Glen Lyon in Perthshire, Scotland. It has also been said that he was the Thomas Lyon who served in Cromwell's army at the period of the English Revolution, but there is no proof of this statement. Probably he came from Suffolk, England, or near by, as he married the granddaughter of Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who was from County Suffolk. Our first record of him in America is a letter written to Governor Winthrop from Stamford, Connecticut, August 25, 1647. As Stamford was settled by people from Dorchester, Massachusetts, and vicinity, Thomas Lyon was probably in America some years previous to the writing of this letter. In 1652 he bought a house and lot in Stamford from William Potter; and on May 11, 1654, he bought from Thomas Shervington, a house and lot at Fairfield, Connecticut, which he sold, November 1, 1655, to Daniel Frost. On February 13, 1676, together with John Banks, Sr., of Fairfield, he bought about sixty acres of land in Greenwich, on Byram River, and previous to this the town had granted them three hundred acres. The town records of March 5, 1676, show that he and Thomas Brown were to choose a house to be fortified in Rye, just across Byram River, and Thomas Lyon appears in 1683 in a list of inhabitants of Rye, in what is now Port Chester. His will was made December 6, 1689, and proved September 7, 1690.

Thomas Lyon married (first), before 1647, Martha Johanna Winthrop, born in Groton Manor, County Suffolk, England, May 9, 1630, and died in Stamford, Connecticut, about 1653, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Fones) Winthrop. He married (second), about 1654, Mary Hoyt. (Hoyt II.) Children of the first marriage: 1. Child, died in infancy. 2. Mary (Marie), born in August, 1649, died before 1713; married John Willison. Children of the second marriage: 3. Abigail, born about 1654-55, died before 1713; married John Banks. 4. John, died in 1736. 5. Thomas, of whom further. 6. Samuel, died about 1713; unmarried. 7. Joseph, born in 1677, died February 21, 1761; married Sarah. 8. Elizabeth, died before November, 1713; married John Marshall. 9. Deborah, married a Cone. 10. Sarah, married a Merritt.

(A. B. Lyon and G. W. A. Lyon, M. D.: "Lyon Memorial," Vol. III, pp. 28, 39, 40, 42, 45. Rev. E. B. Huntington: "History of Stamford, Connecticut," p. 57. E. H. Schenck: "History of Fairfield, Fairfield County, Connecticut," p. 394. E. W. Roebeling: "The Journal of Rev. Silas Constant," p. 418.)

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II. Thomas Lyon, Jr., son of Thomas and Mary (Hoyt) Lyon, was born at Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1673, and died at Rye, then in Connecticut, in April or May, 1739. He built a house near Byram Bridge, which was still standing in 1907. He was a member of Governor Robert Hunter's Fusileers, mustered in New York and Westchester counties, February 24, 1711, for sixty-one days' service on the Canadian frontier. Thomas Lyon married Abigail Ogden, daughter of John Ogden, of Stamford, Connecticut: Children: 1. Abigail, married (first) William Anderson; married (second) Jeremiah Anderson; was of "Greenwich" in 1760. 2. Thomas, died in November or December, 1770; married (first) Phebe Vowles; married (second) Martha Travis. 3. Samuel, born October 14, 1701, died March 3, 1756; married (second) Hannah Miller. 4. Jonathan, of whom further. 5. Mary, born about 1707, died before 1742; married Israel Knapp. 6. David, died in 1772; married Martha Stedwell. 7. Joseph, died December 23, 1776; married (first) Mary Disbrow; married (second) Ann. 8. Jemima, married Charles Theall. 9. Deborah, born about 1715, died in 1802; married Jonathan Hobby. 10. Elizabeth, married John Fowler. 11. Gilbert, born July 20, 1719, died in 1816; married Jane Kniffen.

(A. B. Lyon and G. W. A. Lyon, M. D.: "Lyon Memorial," Vol. III, pp. 49, 50.)

III. Jonathan Lyon, son of Thomas and Abigail (Ogden) Lyon, was born in Greenwich, Connecticut, June 1, 1706, and died in North Castle, New York, in 1786. His will, dated April 2, 1783, was proved January 24, 1787. Jonathan Lyon married Elizabeth Mead. (Mead IV.) Children: 1. Jonathan, of whom further. 2. Elizabeth, born June 28, 1730, died before 1783. 3. Elnathan, born August 7, 1732, died in 1810; married Mary Ann Bush. 4. Israel, born December 20, 1734, died in Bedford, December 28, 1816; married Abigail Husted. 5. Phebe, born December 16, 1736, died January 2, 1817; married Roger Lyon. 6. David, born May 25, 1740; married Freeloove Forman. 7. Peter, born May 17, 1742-1743, died in 1824. 8. Naomi Thatcher, born January 31, 1747, died before 1783.

(A. B. Lyon and G. W. A. Lyon, M. D.: "Lyon Memorial," Vol. III, pp. 57, 58. Wills and Probates, No. 1, 1787-96, Office of Court of Appeals, Albany, New York.)

IV. Jonathan Lyon, Jr., son of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Mead) Lyon, was born in Greenwich, Connecticut, November 14, 1728, and died

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in Bedford, New York, his will being proved January 24, 1787. During the Revolution he owned a stone house at Bedford and a farm outside the town. The first winter Lafayette was in America, he was stationed in Westchester County. The paymaster had his quarters in Jonathan Lyon's stonehouse. After Lafayette and his troops moved away, a company of light horse, sent from New York, burned Jonathan Lyon's house and all it contained, as he was loyal to the colonists and a rebel to the crown. Jonathan Lyon married Anna Miller, daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth (Smith) Miller, of North Castle, New York. Children: 1. Samuel, born December 22, 1754, died February 24, 1828; married Maplet Miller. 2. James. 3. David. 4. Isaac, of whom further. 5. Elizabeth, married a Greene, died at age of eighty-one. 6. Phebe. 7. Parthena ("Thena" in will), married John Crawford. 8. Deborah.

(A. B. Lyon and G. W. A. Lyon, M. D.: "Lyon Memorial," Vol. III, pp. 73-74.)

V. Isaac Lyon, son of Jonathan and Anna (Miller) Lyon, was born in Bedford, Westchester County, New York, in 1772, and died at Rush, Monroe County, New York, September 19, 1857. He removed from Bedford to Ballston, Saratoga County, New York, before 1799, and thence to Rush in Monroe County. Isaac Lyon married, in Bedford, in 1791, Mercy Armstrong, born in Bedford, March 17, 1772, died May 7, 1836, who is buried in the Baptist Cemetery at Burnthills, Ballston. Children: 1. Edmund, born in Bedford, New York, November 3, 1792, died April 26, 1880; married (first) Mary Willard; married (second) Elizabeth M. Dunning. 2. Henry, born at Bedford, New York, July 27, 1794, died January 24, 1853; married (first) Annie Willard; married (second) Nancy. 3. Elizabeth (Betsey), born at Bedford, New York, August 10, 1796, died October 5, 1884; married Henry Monroe. 4. Harvey, born at Burnthills, Ballston, New York, January 3, 1799, died August 20, 1852; married Sarah Guernsey. 5. Perlina (Paulina), born January 26, 1801, died August 16, 1890; married (first) Alfred Curtis; married (second) Lewis Miller. 6. Isaac, born at Burnthills, February 5, 1803, died October 6 or 26, 1839. 7. Pamela (Parmelia), born at Burnthills, July 13, 1805, died November 29, 1883; married, in 1838, Samuel Tellmadge. 8. Alfred, born at Burnthills, October 20, 1807, died April 26, 1814. 9. Phebe, born at Burnthills, November 10, 1810, died August 31, 1892; married, in 1842, Thomas Eddy. 10. Nelson, born at Burnthills, August 13, 1813, died April 8, 1832. 11. Harrison Armstrong, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 100.)

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VI. Harrison Armstrong Lyon, son of Isaac and Mercy (Armstrong) Lyon, was born in Burnthills, Ballston, Saratoga County, New York, September 13, 1815, and died in Rochester, New York, October 17, 1900. He attended the district schools of his native town and at the age of twelve went to Rochester, where he joined his brother Edmund, a wool merchant, who was in business in the city. Early in life, Harrison Lyon learned the nursery business, and he later founded the firm of Lyon and Fiske, nurserymen, one of the pioneers in that business in Western New York. He was much interested in municipal affairs, having served the Brighton district as a member of the Board of Education; and when he was elected to represent this district in the State Assembly in 1859, the appointment was a fitting tribute to his high qualities of citizenship. He was prominent also in the affairs of the church, a member and elder of the Brighton Presbyterian congregation, a liberal contributor at all times, and an example of sturdy integrity and unassuming worth.

Harrison Armstrong Lyon married, September 23, 1851, Fanny Minerva Gale. (Gale VII.) Children. 1. Elizabeth (Lizzie) Gale, of whom further. 2. Edmund, born at Brighton, New York, June 4, 1855, died at Rochester, New York, April 24, 1920; married, June 2, 1896, Carolyn H. Talcott. 3. Daughter, died in infancy.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 147, 148. Family data.)

VII. Elizabeth Gale Lyon, daughter of Harrison Armstrong and Fanny Minerva (Gale) Lyon, was born July 19, 1852. She married, September 7, 1876, William Chapin. (Chapin VII.)

("Lyon Memorial," Vol. III, p. 203. G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, p. 889.)

(The Graves Line)

Arms—Gules, an eagle displayed or, ducally crowned argent.

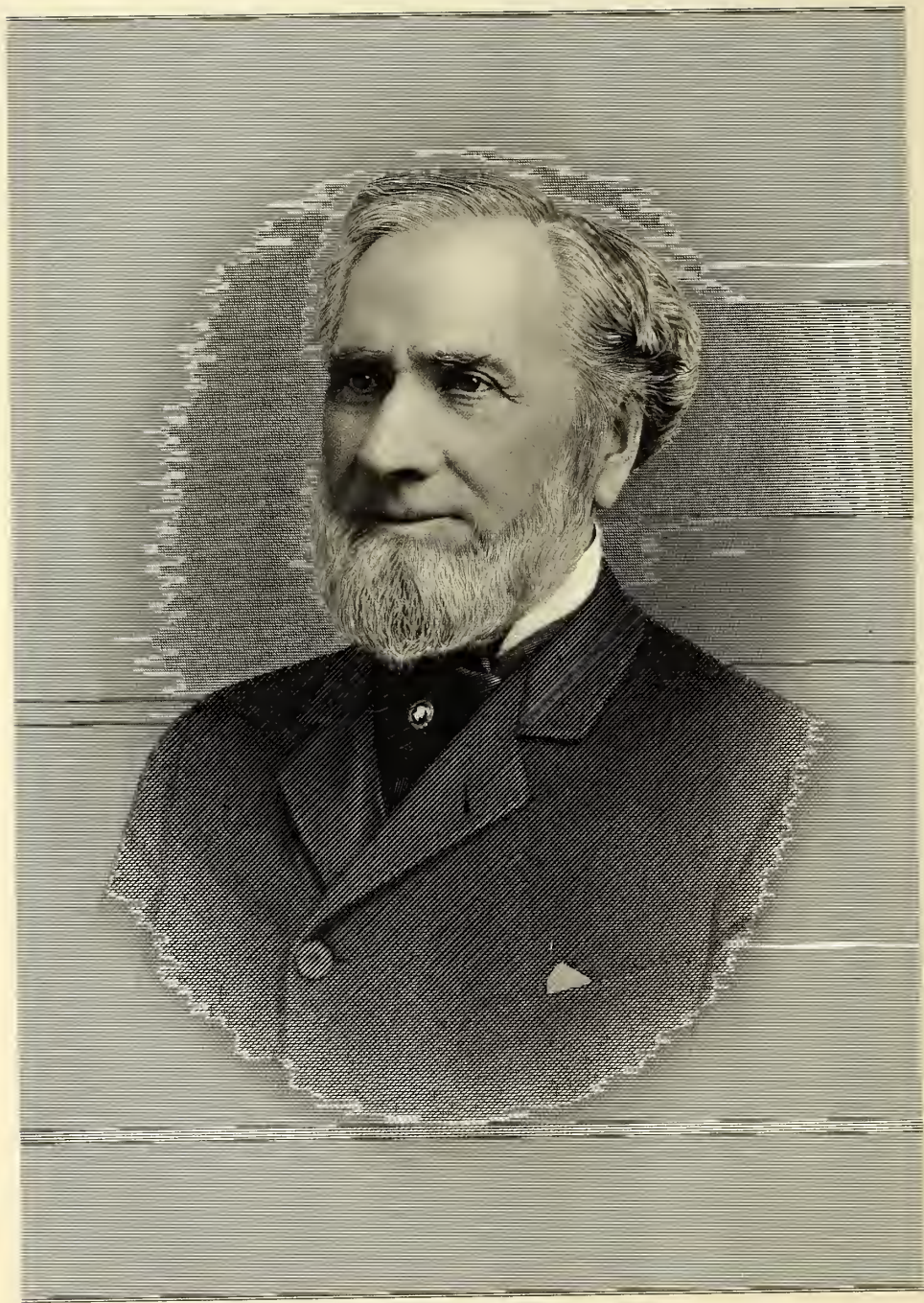
Crest—A demi-eagle displayed and erased or, enfiled round the body and below the wings by a ducal coronet argent.

(J. C. Graves: "Genealogy of the Graves Family in America," Vol. I, p. 7.)

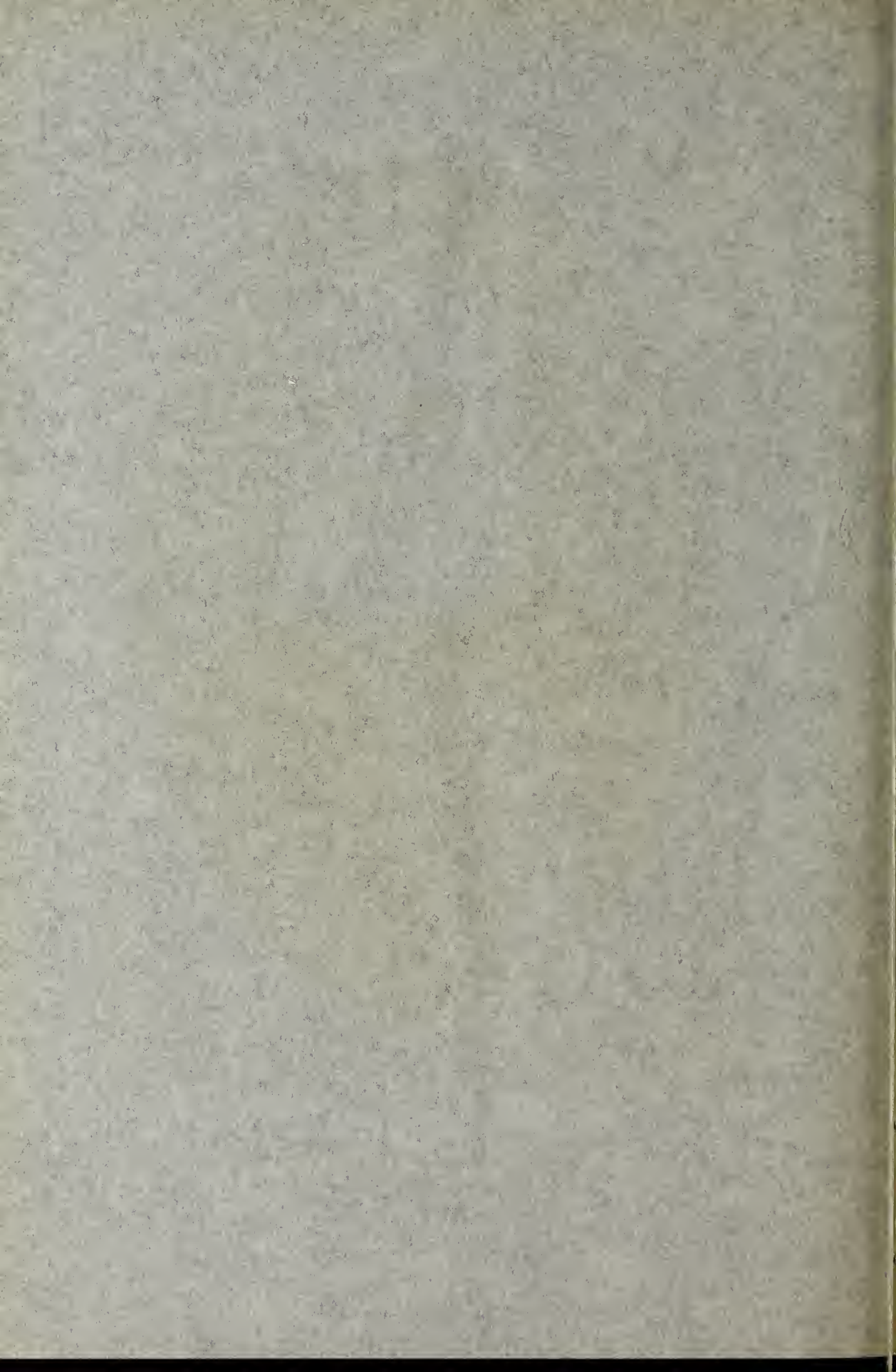
Of ancient lineage, the Graves family was with the Norman army and later became established in England in what are now the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby and York. In Norman days the family was known as De Grevis, De Greves, Greve, Grave, Greaves, Greeves, and Graves. The surname is local in origin from "the grave." Sometimes it derives from the office of "the graff."

The first recorded family seat was known as Greves or Greaves in the





Harrison A Lyon





Fanny Minerva (Gale) Lyon

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parish of Beeley, near Chatsworth, in the northern part of Derbyshire, and a few miles from the southerly boundary of York, where the family had residence in the reign of Henry III (1216-72).

John Greaves, a descendant, in the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1602), became a purchaser of "Beeley," a quaint old house with an enclosed court on the hill above Beeley and now known as "Hilltop," and it was occupied as a family seat until about 1684, when it was sold to John, Earl of Rutland.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." J. C. Graves: "Genealogy of the Graves Family in America," Vol. I, pp. 9, 10.)

I. *Thomas Graves*, first member of this family in America, was born in England before 1585, and came to New England before 1645, bringing his wife Sarah and five children. The children, born in England, were grown when they arrived here, the youngest being about sixteen years of age. The family is first recorded at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1645. Thomas, the father, owned three separate pieces of land, on one of which his house was built.

The family later removed to Hatfield, Massachusetts, as the result of church dissensions, and reached their new home about October, 1661, the journey of not over fifty miles occupying nearly ten days. Thomas Graves' death occurred only a little more than a year after the family arrived in the new home. He was not assigned any lands, but was counted in with Isaac, his eldest son, whose estate was thus increased to one hundred fifty pounds, while his brother John's was voted at one hundred pounds. After the death of Thomas Graves his son Isaac administered upon his estate in Massachusetts, while his son Nathaniel performed the same service on his estate in Connecticut.

Thomas Graves married, in England, Sarah. Children, born in England: 1. Isaac, of whom further. 2. John, died September 19, 1677; married (first) Mary Smith; married (second), probably July 20, 1671, Mary Wyatt. 3. Samuel. 4. Nathaniel, born about 1629, died September 28, 1682; married, January 16, 1655, Martha Betts. 5. Elizabeth.

(J. C. Graves: "Genealogy of the Graves Family in America," Vol. I, pp. 1-7, 11, 12-13. S. Judd and L. M. Boltwood: "History of Hadley, Massachusetts, with Family Genealogies," p. 501.)

II. *Isaac Graves*, son of Thomas and Sarah Graves, was born in England, probably as early as 1620, and died September 19, 1677, having been killed in an Indian attack on the Hatfield Settlement. He came to

CHAPIN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

New England with his father and settled in Hartford, Connecticut, before 1645. He was made freeman at the General Court in Boston, Massachusetts, May 16, 1669, was sergeant in the Colonial Militia and clerk of the Writs of Hatfield, to which place he removed in 1661. Isaac Graves was prominent in the affairs of his day, and was one of the representatives of that portion of Hadley (later Hatfield), who appeared before the General Court at Boston in favor of separate church and town rights for Hatfield.

Isaac Graves married Mary Church, who died June 9, 1695, daughter of Richard and Anna Church. Children: 1. Mary, born July 5, 1647; married, January 28, 1665, Eleazer Frary. 2. Isaac, born August 22, 1650, died before 1677; unmarried. 3. Rebecca, born July 3, 1652-53, died before 1677; unmarried. 4. Samuel, born October 1, 1655. 5. Sarah, married, April 27, 1677, Benjamin Barrett. 6. Elizabeth, born March 16, 1661; married, in 1683, Benjamin Hastings, who married (second) Mary Parsons. 7. John, of whom further. 8. Hannah (twin), born January 24, 1666; married William Sachett. 9. Jonathan (twin), born January 24, 1666. 10. Mehitabel, born October 1, 1671, died March 22, 1742; married (first), January 29, 1690, Richard Morton; married (second) William Worthington.

(J. C. Graves: "Genealogy of the Graves Family in America," Vol. I, pp. 8, 10, 11. S. Judd and L. M. Boltwood: "History of Hadley, Massachusetts, with Family Genealogies," p. 501.)

III. John Graves, son of Isaac and Mary (Church) Graves, was born in 1664 and died, probably, in 1746, as his son Elnathan was appointed administrator of his estate, November 12, 1746. He was a resident of Hatfield, Massachusetts. John Graves married, at Chelmsford, October 26, 1686, Sarah Banks, daughter of John Banks, of Chelmsford. Children: 1. Isaac, born July 10, 1688. 2. Benjamin, born August 12, 1689. 3. Sarah, born in 1691. 4. Jemima, born April 30, 1693; married (first), May 5, 1715, John Graves; married (second), March 17, 1720, Eleazer Allis. 5. Mary, born November 9, 1695; married (first), July 23, 1719, Jonathan Trary; married (second) Eliakim King. 6. Elnathan, of whom further. 7. Hannah, born June 4, 1701; married Eleazer King. 8. Eunice, born September 29, 1703. 9. Aaron, born February 2, 1707.

(J. C. Graves: "Genealogy of the Graves Family in America," Vol. I, p. 14. S. Judd and L. M. Boltwood: "History of Hadley, Massachusetts, with Family Genealogies," p. 501.)

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IV. Elnathan Graves, son of John and Sarah (Banks) Graves, was born in Hatfield, Massachusetts, August 20, 1699, and died February 17, 1785. He was a resident of Hatfield until his death. Early in the period of settlement in Williamsburg, Massachusetts, Elnathan Graves bought a large tract of land there and later on, three of his grandsons, Samuel, Perez, Jr., and Elnathan, 2d, sons of Captain Perez Graves, settled on it. Elnathan Graves married (first), March 2, 1727, Martha Dickinson, born December 25, 1701, and died January 9, 1756, daughter of Deacon Nathaniel Dickinson, of Hatfield. He married (second) Dorothy (Morton) Belding, daughter of Ebenezer Morton, of Hatfield, and widow of John Belding. She died May 9, 1800, aged eighty. Children of the first marriage: 1. Seth, of whom further. 2. Captain Perez, born in Hatfield, April 26, 1730, died December 17, 1809; married (first), May 16, 1754, Martha Gillett, who died October 28, 1793; married (second), February 19, 1795, Zermiah (Cole) White, widow of Lieutenant Elihu White, and daughter of Ebenezer Cole. 3. Silas, born in Hatfield, February 8, 1732. 4. Lucy, born in Hatfield, May 8, 1734, died September 22, 1815; married, December 28, 1758, Benjamin Wells. 5. Martha, born in Hatfield, February 26, 1739, died in December, 1804; married, December 28, 1758, John Nash.

(J. C. Graves: "Genealogy of the Graves Family in America," Vol. I, pp. 20, 21, 37. S. Judd and L. M. Boltwood: "History of Hadley, Massachusetts, with Family Genealogies," p. 502.)

V. Seth Graves, son of Elnathan and Martha (Dickinson) Graves, was born in Hatfield, Massachusetts, December 17, 1727, and died September 14, 1807. He married Mary Dickinson, born September 20, 1737, and died July 26, 1806, daughter of Colonel John and Mary (Coleman) Dickinson. Children: 1. Seth, Jr., born August 11, 1764, died November 8, 1777. 2. Mary, born July 20, 1765, died June 1, 1832; married, June 26, 1787, Silas Porter, of Hatfield. 3. Lucina, of whom further. 4. Lucretia, born June 3, 1768, died November 20, 1823; married, June 5, 1794, Lemuel Clark. 5. Sarah, born July 24, 1769, died February 2, 1789; unmarried. 6. Obadiah, born April 30, 1771. 7. John, born April 17, 1773. 8. Martha, born January 15, 1775, died September 16, 1775. 9. Phineas, born November 4, 1776.

(J. C. Graves: "Genealogy of the Graves Family in America," Vol. I, pp. 36, 37.)

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VI. *Lucina Graves*, daughter of Seth and Mary (Dickinson) Graves, was born December 3, 1766, and died December 6, 1851. She married Moses Augustus Chapin. (Chapin V.)

(G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, p. 165. Orange Chapin: "The Chapin Genealogy," p. 46.)

(The Dwight Line)

Arms—Ermine, a lion passant or, on a chief gules a crescent of the second in base a cross-crosslet or.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant or.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Dwight is a name that has caused much perplexity. Its baptismal form is "the son of Dionisia." Mr. Lower suggests a corruption of Thwaite. A much simpler origin would be that it is a corruption of the once common Dyot, the pet name of Dionisia. Variations of this name are Dwoit, Dweyght, and Dwyte. The Dwight family is of English origin, and, in the main, have been well to do and inclined to liberal culture and professional life. According to one of their number a notable characteristic is "that natural executive energy and administrativeness which may be readily and effectively applied to the demands of the battlefield, the urgencies of general business, the explorations of studious research, or the comprehensive duties of statesmanship and of official service to one's country." Chief among the American homes of the Dwights may be mentioned Dedham, Northampton, Belchertown, Springfield, and Boston, in Massachusetts; Suffield, and New Haven, in Connecticut and New York.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," p. 260. B. W. Dwight: "History of the Descendants of John Dwight," Vol. I, pp. 31-37.)

I. *John Dwight*, believed to be the common ancestor of the American Dwights, came in 1634-35 from Dedham, England, to the American colonies, where he died January 24, 1659-60 (old style), or February 3, 1660 (new style). He left a will dated June 16, 1658. He brought with him from England his wife, Hannah, his daughter, Hannah, and his sons, John and Timothy. The famous John Rogers, of Dedham, England, had been forbidden to preach before our first settlers came to this country. Many of his people emigrated to this country, and several to Dedham, Massachusetts. John Dwight and his son, Timothy, and John Rogers and John Page were of this number. John Dwight and his companions came first to Watertown, Massachusetts, but stayed only a short time. John Dwight

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was a proprietor there February, 1636-37. The Dedham records began September 1, 1635, on the day when the first town meeting was held, and John Dwight was one of the twelve persons assembled together at that time. He was admitted freeman May 2, 1638, and he signed the constitution or covenant of Dedham in 1636. According to a family tradition, John Dwight, when in England, was a wool-comber, or the son of a wool-comber. He brought with him, it is said, a valuable estate and was a wealthy farmer in Dedham and an eminently useful citizen and Christian in that town. In Winthrop's Journal it is stated that "John Dwight and others conveyed the first water-mill to Dedham in September, 1635." The Dedham town records mention his having been publicly useful and a great peace-maker. He was one of the founders of the church of Christ, which was gathered there in 1638 for the first time. He was the second man of wealth in Dedham, as shown by his being second on the assessment roll for taxes. He was selectman for sixteen years (1639-55).

John Dwight married (first), in England, Hannah, who died September 5, 1656. She was a woman of superior intelligence and character, both faithful and successful in the right training of her children. He married (second), January 20, 1657-58, Mrs. Elizabeth (Thaxter) Ripley, widow of William Ripley, and, previously of Thomas Thaxter. She died without issue, July 17, 1660. Children: 1. Hannah, born in England, in 1625, died November 4, 1714, aged eighty-nine; married Nathaniel Whiting. 2. Captain Timothy, of whom further. 3. John, born in England, in 1632, died March 24, 1638. 4. Mary, born in Dedham, Massachusetts, July 25, 1635; married Henry Phillips. 5. Sarah, born June 17, 1638, died January 24, 1664-65; married Nathaniel Reynolds.

(B. W. Dwight: "The History of John Dwight, of Dedham, Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 91-94, 96-97. C. H. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 148. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. X, pp. 263-64.)

II. Captain Timothy Dwight, son of John and Hannah Dwight, of Dedham, was born in England in 1629 (Savage says 1633), and died January 31, 1717-18. He married (first), November 11, 1651, Sarah Sibley, who died May 29, 1652, in childbirth. In the town records she is called Sarah Perman, and was probably a widow bearing that name at the time of her marriage. He married (second), May 3, 1653, Sarah Powell, who died June 27, 1664, the daughter of Michael Powell. Captain Timothy Dwight married (third), January 9, 1665, Anna Flint (Flynt), who was born September 11, 1643, and who died January 29,

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1685-86, the daughter of Rev. Henry Flint, of Braintree (now Quincy), Massachusetts, and Margery (Hoar) Flint. He married (fourth), January 7, 1687, Mrs. Mary Edwind, of Reading, Massachusetts. She died without issue, August 30, 1688. Captain Timothy Dwight married (fifth), July 31, 1690, Esther Fisher, who died January 30, 1691, the daughter of Hon. Daniel Fisher. He married (sixth), February 1, 1692, Bethiah Moss, who died February 6, 1717-18, without issue. The tradition is repeated and positive in different family lines that he and his sixth wife were buried together on the same day in the same family vault. Children of his second marriage: 1. Timothy, Jr., born November 26, 1654, died January 2, 1692; married Elizabeth. 2. Sarah, born April 2, 1657, died February 9, 1659-60. 3. John, born May 31, 1662: married, December 3, 1696, Elizabeth Harding. 4. Sarah, 2d, born June 25, 1664, died July 10, 1664. Children of the third marriage: 5. Josiah, born October 8, 1665, died soon after. 6. Nathaniel, of whom further. 7. Samuel, born December 2, 1668, died soon after. 8. Rev. Josiah, born February 8, 1670-71, died in 1748. 9. Seth, born July 9, 1673, died January 22, 1731. 10. Anna, born August 12, 1675, died October 15, 1675. 11. Captain Henry, born December 19, 1676, died March 26, 1732. 12. Michael, born January 10, 1679-80, died in 1761. 13. Daniel, born September 23, 1681, died soon after. 14. Jabez, born September 1, 1683, died June 15, 1685.

(B. W. Dwight: "The History of John Dwight, of Dedham, Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 100, 102, 105-06. J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, pp. 86-88.)

III. Justice Nathaniel Dwight, son of Captain Timothy and Anna (Flint) Dwight, was born November 20, 1666, and died at West Springfield, Massachusetts, November 7, 1711, and was buried there, his being the oldest grave in that burying ground. He removed from Dedham to Hatfield, Massachusetts, and in about 1695 to Northampton, where he lived the remainder of his life. Justice Dwight was a trader, farmer, justice of the peace and surveyor of land on a large scale. He was a very religious man. His real estate was appraised at £855, live stock at £42, goods in his store over his debts, £992.

Justice Nathaniel Dwight married, December 9, 1693, Mehitable Partridge, who was born August 26, 1675, and who died October 19, 1756, being buried at Northampton. She was the daughter of Colonel Samuel Partridge and Mehitable (Cross) Partridge, of Hatfield, Massachusetts.

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Children: 1. Colonel Timothy, born at Hatfield, October 19, 1694, died at Northampton, April 30, 1771. 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. Mehitable, born November 11, 1697, died December 22, 1697. 4. Rev. Daniel, born April 28, 1699, died March 28, 1748. 5. Seth, born March 3, 1702-03, died September 12, 1783. 6. Elihu (twin), born February 17, 1704, died, unmarried, at Philadelphia, June 8, 1727. 7. Abiah (twin), born February 17, 1704, died February 23, 1748; married Samuel Kent. 8. Mehitable, 2d, born November 2, 1705, died November 20, 1767; married Captain Abraham Burbank. 9. Jonathan, born March 14, 1707-08, died in Halifax, Nova Scotia. 10. Anna, born July 2, 1710; married Abel Cadwell. 11. Captain Nathaniel, born June 20, 1712, died March 30, 1784.

(B. W. Dwight: "The History of John Dwight, of Dedham, Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 109-10. J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 86.)

IV. "*Captain*" Samuel Dwight, son of Justice Nathaniel and Mehitable (Partridge) Dwight, was born June 28, 1696, and died at Enfield, Connecticut, October 3, 1763. Captain Dwight lived first at Suffield, Connecticut, where he is recorded as Samuel Dwight, gentleman. He removed soon to Middletown, Connecticut, where he was a resident between 1731 and 1738, or longer. He next moved to Somers, Connecticut, and then to Enfield. In his early years he was an ensign, but is commonly referred to as captain.

Captain Samuel Dwight married, June 18, 1719, Mary Lyman, who was born in 1696, and who died at Enfield, in January, 1776, the daughter of Lieutenant John, Jr., and Mindwell (Sheldon) Lyman, of Northampton. Children: 1. Mary, born March 2, 1721, died January 21, 1809; married Daniel Hall, Jr. 2. Seth, born May 24, 1723, died at Somers, November 7, 1777. 3. Sibyl, born October 8, 1725, died March 19, 1784; married Colonel Simeon Dwight, of Warren, Massachusetts. 4 Elizabeth, of whom further. 5. Elihu, born March 22, 1730, died December 19, 1810; married Eunice Horton. 6. Abiah, born at Middletown, April 29, 1732, died June 14, 1816; married Colonel Nathaniel Terry. 7. Daniel, born March 20, 1733-34, died April 27, 1734. 8. Daniel, M. D., born at Middletown, March 22, 1734-35, died in 1760. 9. Esther, born November 8, 1737, believed to have died early.

(B. W. Dwight: "The History of John Dwight, of Dedham, Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 271-72. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXV, p. 162.)

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V. Elizabeth Dwight, daughter of Captain Samuel and Mary (Lyman) Dwight, was born May 12, 1728, and died October 11, 1807. She married Moses Chapin. (Chapin IV.)

(B. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, p. 43. Orange Chapin: "The Chapin Genealogy," p. 20. B. W. Dwight: "The History of John Dwight, of Dedham, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 272.)

(The Janes Line)

Arms—Argent, a lion rampant azure between three escallops gules.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or a demi-lion azure, holding an escallop gules.

(F. Janes: "The Janes Family," p. 6.)

The Janes family is of Norman-French origin, the name being derived from the French "de Jeanne," sometimes spelled "Jeanes" in America. Guido de Janes, as general of the French confederation, accompanied Henry II as lawful heir to the English throne when he went over to assume the sovereignty in 1154. When the Norman baron was firmly established as English sovereign (the first of the Plantagenets), he conferred upon Guido de Janes the manor of Kirtland or Kirtling in Cambridgeshire as an appreciation of the latter's military service. A grandson of Guido, Geoffry de Janes (about 1200), was in the service of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, when he had obtained Jerusalem, and thereafter Geoffry and his son, Guido or Guy, made three pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Through marriage came the Cornwall lands of Botalock. The Kirtling estates are still in the family of Janes. It is believed, but not proven, that William Janes, American progenitor, was from this ancient line.

(F. Janes: "The Janes Family," pp. 27-29.)

I. William Janes, an immigrant ancestor, was born in County Essex, England, about 1610, and died at Northampton, Massachusetts, April 20, 1690. In 1637 he came to New England and settled at New Haven, Connecticut, 1639 to 1656, and at Northampton, in 1657, where he was recorder, schoolmaster, and teaching elder. In the New Haven Colony he received, as teacher, £10 per annum. His name is often found on record. He engaged to go to the Northfield First Settlement, and in 1673 preached there to the settlers under the shelter of the famous "Northfield Oak." He did not return to the Second Settlement. William Janes married (first), in England, Mary, who died April 4, 1662. He married (second), November 20, 1662, Mrs. Hannah (Bascom) Broughton, daughter of Thomas Bascom and widow of John Broughton. She died in March, 1681. Children of first marriage: 1. Joseph, born in 1636, died Febru-

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ary 26, 1694; unmarried. 2. Elisha, born in 1639, died at Springfield, Massachusetts, February 11, 1662. 3. Nathaniel, born in 1641, died at Springfield, January 22, 1663. 4. Abel, of whom further. 5. Abigail, born in 1647. 6. Ruth, born February 15, 1650, died November 2, 1672; married (first), July 3, 1667, John Searl; married (second) Nathaniel Alexander. 7. Jacob, born in 1652, died October 28, 1675. 8. William, born in 1654; married, in 1685, Sarah Clark. 9. Rebecca, born in 1656, died unmarried. 10. Jeremiah, born in 1658, died in 1675. 11. Ebenezer, born in 1659, died September 2, 1675; killed by Indians. 12. Jonathan, born in 1661, died September 2, 1675; killed by Indians. Children of second marriage: 13. Samuel, born October 9, 1663, died May 13, 1704, killed by Indians; married (first), February 23, 1680, Elizabeth Smead; he married (second), in 1692, Sarah Hinsdale, who was killed with him. 14. Hepsibah, born February 13, 1665. 15. Hannah, born October 5, 1669. 16. Benjamin, born September 30, 1672; married Hannah (perhaps Hinsdale.)

(Temple and Sheldon: "History of Northfield, Massachusetts," pp. 473-74. F. Janes: "The Janes Family," pp. 31-77, 78-79.)

II. Abel Janes, son of William and Mary Janes, was born, probably, at New Haven, Connecticut, about 1644 or 1646, and died at Lebanon, Connecticut, December 18, 1718. Abel Janes was a petitioner for Northfield, in 1671. He served as a soldier in the Falls fight, 1676. Then he was removed to Lebanon from Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1706. He and his brothers and their families suffered considerably under the many Indian attacks at the various Northfield settlements.

Abel Janes married, November 4, 1679, Mary Judd, who was born in 1655 and died April 24, 1735, the daughter of William Judd, of Farmington, Connecticut, Northampton, Massachusetts, and Lebanon, Connecticut. Children, born (probably) at Northampton: 1. Mary, born October 8, 1680; married (first), May 16, 1700, Benjamin King; married (second) Jonathan Graves. 2. Ruth, of whom further. 3. Elizabeth, born July 22, 1684. 4. Sarah, born in 1689; married, December 19, 1701, Waitstill Strong. 5. William, born in 1692; married, June 5, 1712, Abigail Loomis. 6. Elisha, married a Mindwell, who married (second) James Tisdale. 7. Esther, born in 1695; married Stephen Hunt. 8. Noah, born November 30, 1697, died unmarried. 9. Rachel, born March 26, 1700. 10. Bathsheba, born April 8, 1703.

(Temple and Sheldon: "History of Northfield, Massachusetts," p. 474. F. Janes: "The Janes Family," p. 83.)

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III. Ruth Janes, daughter of Abel and Mary (Judd) Janes, was born at Northampton, Massachusetts, June 5, 1682, and died at Enfield, Connecticut (probably), January 18, 1736-37. She married as his first wife, Ebenezer Chapin. (Chapin III.)

(G. W. Chapin: "The Chapin Book," Vol. I, p. ii. Temple and Sheldon: "History of Northfield, Massachusetts," p. 474.)

(The Gale Line)

Arms—Azure, a fesse argent between three saltires or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The English surname Gale originated to designate a resident near the *gaole*, a word brought in by the Normans, and taken from the old French *jaiole*, English jail. Johannes del Gayle and Willelmus Gayle are in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire in 1379. In the southwest of England it is sometimes Gall, probably meaning a Welshman.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Richard Gale, the founder of this family in America, first appears on the New England records in 1640 as the purchaser of a "homestall" of six of the nine acres of the town plot first granted to Elder Richard Browne. On December 2, 1661, he purchased two hundred and fifty acres from Richard Dummer, being the northeastern half of the Oldham farm in Watertown, Massachusetts, which until 1854 was the Gale home. His will, dated February 25, 1678-79, was proved April 1, 1679. He died March 22, 1678-79. Richard Gale married Mary. Children: 1. Sarah, born September 8, 1641; married Joseph Garfield. 2. Abraham, of whom further. 3. Mary, married, March 30, 1670, John Flagg. 4. John, married Elizabeth Spring. 5. Ephraim, born in May, 1673.

(George Gale: "The Gale Family Records" (1866), pp. 23, 25, 32. Henry Bond: "Genealogies and History of Watertown, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 229.)

II. Abraham Gale, son of Richard and Mary Gale, was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1643, and died there, September 15, 1718. He was admitted freeman, October 11, 1682, and was a selectman of Watertown in 1706 and 1718. Abraham Gale married, September 3, 1673, Sarah Fiske, who died May 14, 1728, aged seventy-two, daughter of Nathan Fiske, of Watertown. Children: 1. Abraham, of whom further. 2. Sarah, born February 15, 1675, died young. 3. Richard, born September 25, 1677; married Sarah Knight. 4. Hopestill, born and died in



Gale



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December, 1678. 5. Mary, born March 27, 1680, died young. 6. Abigail, born March 12, 1681-82, died November 21, 1696. 7. Mercy, born September 16, 1683; married, April 13, 1708, Samuel Sanderson. 8. Ebenezer, born April 30, 1686; married Elizabeth Green. 9. John, born April 23, 1688; married Lydia. 10. Mary, baptized in April, 1689; married Michael Pratt. 11. Sarah, born August 29, 1694; married a Pratt. 12. Joshua, born February 22, 1696-97, died September 15, 1719. 13. Jonas, baptized November 14, 1697, died March 17, 1718. 14. Elizabeth (twin), born July 9, 1699. 15. Lydia (twin), born July 9, 1699. 16. Abigail, married Edward Jackson.

(George Gale: "The Gale Family Records," pp. 33, 38. Bond: "Genealogies and History of Watertown, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 229.)

III. Abraham Gale, Jr., son of Abraham and Sarah (Fiske) Gale, was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1674, and died there after 1750. He was an extensive farmer on the old homestead, and was selectman in 1718. He sold the homestead to his son Samuel, March 10, 1726-1727. He married, December 6, 1699, Rachel Parkhurst. (Parkhurst IV). Children: 1. Abraham, born November 28, 1700; married Esther Cunningham. 2. Rachel, born December 14, 1702; married Gershom Bigelow. 3. Samuel, born January 31, 1704-05; married Rebecca. 4. Isaac, born January 15, 1708; married Judith Sawyer. 5. Eunice, born July 30, 1711; married Benjamin Allen. 6. Abigail, born August 15, 1714; married Samuel Phillips. 7. Daniel, baptized April 7, 1717, probably died young. 8. Josiah, of whom further.

(George Gale: "The Gale Family Records," p. 40. Bond: "Genealogies and History of Watertown, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 230.)

IV. Josiah Gale, son of Abraham, Jr., and Rachel (Parkhurst) Gale, was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, April 8, 1722, and died at Sutton, Massachusetts. He settled in Sutton about 1742, and had a large farm there. He took part in the campaign to Sheffield for the relief of Fort William Henry, in August, 1757, in the French and Indian War. Josiah Gale married Elizabeth. Children: 1. Elizabeth, baptized May 24, 1741-42. 2. Josiah, Jr., born March 20, 1744; married Elizabeth Rice. 3. Abraham, born July 29, 1745; married Abigail Rice. 4. Amos, born March 3, 1747-48; married, in 1771, Hannah Maynard. 5. Henry, of whom further. 6. Rachel, born June 24, 1754; married, March 30, 1775, Ebenezer Phillips. 7. Mercy, born December 2, 1756; married, in

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1777, Benjamin Carter. 8. Abigail, born February 8, 1757; married, December 10, 1778, Samuel Leland. 9. Paul, born September 19, 1762; married, March 27, 1783, Huldah Holman. 10. Lydia, born April 3, 1764; married, March 6, 1784, Jesse Pierce.

(George Gale: "The Gale Family Records," pp. 40, 52-53, 83-84.)

V. Henry Gale, son of Josiah and Elizabeth Gale, was born at Sutton, Massachusetts, March 22, 1752, and died at Brighton, Monroe County, New York, August 13, 1836. He settled in New Paris, afterwards called Ward, and now Auburn, Massachusetts, and served in the Revolutionary War. He served at the Lexington Alarm in April, 1775, under Captain John Crowl, and in the northern army, Captain Abel Mason's company, Colonel Job Cushing's regiment, August 16 to November 20, 1777. In 1778 he removed to Princeton, Massachusetts, where he had a good farm; he was captain of a company from Princeton aiding Shays' Rebellion, in 1786, but was pardoned by the Governor. About 1790 he went to Barre, Vermont, and removed from there to New York State some time before his death. Henry Gale married, January 16, 1772, Elizabeth Drury, of Worcester. Children: 1. Lucy, born in 1772, died young. 2. Ebenezer Brooks, born November 10, 1773. 3. Betty, born March 4, 1775, died October 3, 1777. 4. Thomas Drury, born December 3, 1778, died October 19, 1850. 5. Henry, Jr., born October 26, 1781, died July 31, 1829. 6. Sampson, born February 19, 1786, died July 23, 1836. 7. Justice W., of whom further. 8. Josiah, born July 5, 1793, died September 24, 1831. 9. Jonathan, born in January, 1795.

(George Gale: "The Gale Family Records," pp. 78, 83, 84. D. A. R. Lineage Book, Vol. LIII, p. 333. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors," Vol. VI, p. 232.)

VI. Justus W. Gale, son of Henry and Elizabeth (Drury) Gale, was born, probably, in Princeton, Massachusetts, February 20, 1788, and died in Brighton, Monroe County, New York, June 12, 1865. He built a store in 1823, began the nursery business in Brighton in 1837, and was town supervisor in 1853. Justus W. Gale married Philinda Root, of Pittsford, Monroe County, New York. They were the parents of: 1. Fanny Minerva, of whom further.

("Landmarks of Monroe County, New York," pp. 239-40. F. E. Blake: "History of Princeton, Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 109.)

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VII. *Fanny Minerva Gale*, daughter of Justus W. and Philinda (Root) Gale, was born in Brighton, Monroe County, New York, November 9, 1823. She married Harrison Armstrong Lyon. (Lyon VI.)

(A. B. Lyon and G. W. A. Lyon, M. D.: "Lyon Memorial," Vol. III, p. 147. Family data.)

(The Mead Line)

Arms—Sable, a chevron between three pelicans or vulned gules.

Crest—An eagle displayed or.

Motto—*Semper paratus.*

(S. P. Mead: "History and Genealogy of the Mead Family," p. 6.)

De Prato was a Norman name of which the English translation was Mead, Meade, Mede, Meads. The local usage was "at the mead" from residence thereby. Mede was the middle English for a meadow. The name was early used in England, shown by records of the names, William at Mede, 1278, Nicholas atte Mede of County Somerset, Henry del Myde of County Lancashire, and Willelmus del Mede of County Yorks, 1379. The Mead family was originally the ancient de Prato family of Normandy, where as early as 1180-95 the records show the names William, Robert, Matilda, Roger, and Reginald de Prato, and in 1198 Richard and Robert de Prato. In 1199, in County Essex, England, is found Roger de Prato, and in County Hertford, Walter de Prato, and in 1272 Stephen and Peter de Prato. In 1200, in Normandy, Hervey de Prato was King John's "faithful knight." In the reign of Henry VI the Meade family came from County Somerset into County Essex, where records show them in such offices as judges of the King's Bench, and as sergeant-at-law, in the sixteenth century. Possessed of various properties, some by intermarriage, the family was important in other counties as well, Sussex, Hertford, Norfolk, Leicester, etc. The American families of the name were probably related to one another, but of what immediate English ancestry there is no information. The brothers (probably) Gabriel, David, and William came from County Kent, to America. Of the name, Mead, men have been found in various lines promoting the country's growth; as George Gordon Meade, of the Civil War, and Richard Kidder Meade, aide to General Washington.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," p. 524. S. P. Mead: "The History and Genealogy of the Mead Family," p. 2. Appleton: "Cyclopedia of American Biography," pp. 278-83.)

I. *William Mead* was born in England about 1600. He died in Fairfield County, Connecticut (probably), about 1663. "William Mayd"

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received, on December 7, 1641, a home lot and five acres of land in Stamford, Connecticut. It is thought that he came from County Kent, England, as did Gabriel and David, the former on the ship "Elizabeth" from Lydd, Kent, in 1635. He was probably of Wethersfield before settling at Stamford, and possibly lived for a while at Hempstead, Long Island. William Mead married, about 1625, and his wife died in Stamford, Connecticut, September 19, 1657. Children: 1. Joseph, born in 1630. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Martha, married John Richardson.

(Ely and Hunt: "Family of Reverend Solomon Mead." S. P. Mead: "History and Genealogy of the Mead Family," p. 186.)

II. John Mead, son of William Mead, was born about 1634, and died in Fairfield County, Greenwich, Connecticut, February 5, 1699. John Mead and his brother Joseph left Stamford and lived for a time at Hempstead; later, John returned to Connecticut, October 26, 1660, having purchased land of Richard Crab. In 1670 he was proposed freeman of Greenwich, and was a member of the Assembly, 1679, 1680, and 1686. For his steady character and even temperament he was greatly respected. John Mead married Hannah Potter, daughter of William Potter. His wife had considerable property from her father. Children: 1. John, Jr., born about 1658, died May 12, 1693; married, in 1681, Ruth Hardey. 2. Joseph, born May 2, 1660, died in 1725; married Mary. 3. Hannah, born about 1661; married, July 12, 1677, John Scofield. 4. Ebenezer, born about 1663, died in 1728; married Sarah Knapp. 5. Jonathan (twin probably), born about 1665, died in 1727; married Martha. 6. David (twin probably), born about 1665, died in February, 1727; married, December 16, 1707, Abigail Leane. 7. Benjamin, born in May, 1667, died February 27, 1746; married, May 10, 1700, Sarah Waterbury. 8. Nathaniel, born about 1669, died in 1703; married Rachel, who married (second) James Ferris, Jr. 9. Samuel, of whom further. 10. Abigail. 11. Mary.

(S. P. Mead: "History and Genealogy of the Mead Family," pp. 15-16, 182-86, 220-22, 300, 368, 389.)

III. Samuel Mead, of Greenwich, son of John and Hannah (Potter) Mead, was born about 1673, and died in 1713. Samuel Mead married, in 1695, Hannah. Children: 1. Samuel, Jr., born May 3, 1696, died in 1718; married Ann. 2. Elnathan, born February 11, 1698; married Sarah. 3. Peter, born October 2, 1700; married, July 29, 1744, Hannah Mead. 4. Hannah, born November 29, 1702; married Jonathan Brown.

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5. Deborah, born July 10, 1704. 6. John, born February 11, 1706. 7. Elizabeth, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 418, 449, 455.)

IV. Elizabeth Mead, daughter of Samuel and Hannah Mead, was born at Greenwich, Connecticut, April 5, 1708-09, and died after 1783. Elizabeth Mead married Jonathan Lyon. (Lyon III.)

(A. B. Lyon and G. W. A. Lyon, M. D.: "Lyon Memorial," Vol. III, p. 57. S. P. Mead: "History and Genealogy of the Mead Family," pp. 418, 455.)

(The Hoyte (Hoyt) Line)

Arms—Argent, a chess rook gules. Helmet crowned.

Crest—A wolf, sejant proper, between a pair of wings conjoined, the dexter argent and the sinister gules. (Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Since the name Hoyt is not found in any writings on surnames, it is doubtless one of the class which has its origin in a personal trait or oddity. From hoit, meaning to leap or caper, according to Webster's "Unabridged Dictionary," we may imply that the first of the family surpassed and excelled in feats of leaping or were accustomed to quick movement. The family seems to be distinguished for strength and great stature. The name has been spelled variously, as Hoit, Hoyte, Hoyett, Hight, and Hayt.

The Hoyt family is of ancient English lineage, having been established there for several centuries. It seems that its members have not borne any titles of nobility, but have belonged to the middle classes. The Hoyts now found living in England and Ireland are believed to have originated in four counties, namely, Somerset, Leicester, Cornwall, and Warwick. Branches were also found very early in Kent, Devon, and perhaps Lincoln.

(D. W. Hoyt: "The Hoyt, Haight and Hight Families," pp. 9-10, 273-74, 282.)

I. Simon Hoyt, the progenitor of the name in this country, was born in Dorchester, England, January 20, 1590 (Stiles: "Ancient Windsor," Vol. II, p. 410, says 1595), and died in Stamford, Connecticut, in 1657. He came to America with Governor John Endicott, on the ship "Abigail," accompanied by his brother-in-law, Nicholas Stowers, and the Spragues, who were also of Upway, in Dorset, arriving at Salem, in September, 1628. He is first mentioned in the records of Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1629, having helped found Charlestown. He was one of the first settlers

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of Dorchester in 1630, and removed to Scituate in 1633. During his life he founded seven New England towns, and was imbued with deep religious fervor, serving as deacon in Thomas Hooker's Church at Windsor. He is typical of the hardy, courageous and pioneering spirit of the family.

Simon Hoyt married (first), at Parish Church, Upway, England, in 1612, Deborah Stowers, daughter of Walter Stowers. He married (second), at Scituate, Susanna Smith, who survived him. She was one of the first settlers of Windsor, removed to Fairfield about 1649, and died in Stamford, in 1657. Children of the first marriage: 1. John, born March 12, 1614. 2. Walter, born June 3, 1616, died in 1698. 3. Thomas, born September 20, 1618, died September 9, 1656. 4. Deborah, born August 9, 1620, died June 3, 1628. 5. Nicholas, born in November, 1622. 6. Ruth, born January 2, 1625, died May 9, 1627. Children of the second marriage: 7. Moses, born in 1637; married Elizabeth; resided in Eastchester, New York. 8. Joshua, born about 1640, died in 1690; married Mary Bell. 9. Samuel, born about 1642, died April 7, 1720. 10. Benjamin, born February 2, 1644, died January 26, 1735. 11. Mary, of whom further. 12. Daughter. 13. Miriam, married Samuel Firman.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 286, 292. "Lyon Memorial New York Families," Vol. III, pp. 279, 280. Stiles: "Ancient Windsor," Vol. II, p. 410. E. B. Roebbling: "Journal of the Rev. Silas Constant.")

II. *Mary Hoyt*, daughter of Simon and Susanna (Smith) Hoyt, married Thomas Lyon. (Lyon I.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Parkhurst Line)

Arms—Argent, a cross ermine between four bucks trippant proper on a chief gules three crescents or.

Crest—A demi-griffin, wings endorsed sable, holding in the dexter paw a cutlass argent hilt and pommel or.

Motto—The cross our stay.

(G. H. Parkhurst: "John Parkhurst, His Ancestors and Descendants," p. 7.)

Parkhurst is a name of Norman and French derivation, "parc" (French for "park") and "hurst" (Anglo-Saxon for "wood"). This family dates to the coming of the Conqueror into England, where the name appears in Domesday Book, 1086, mentioning "Parkhurst Forest" in the Isle of Wight. This was the earliest royal park of three thousand acres. In 1815 it was reserved by the crown as a nursery for navy timber. Near by is Parkhurst village. From this early home the family called Parkhurst migrated to Surrey County, where the first authentic record

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of a George Parkhurst appears. His son was (Bishop) John Parkhurst, born in 1511, at Guilford. The custom of naming a son John is common to most George Parkhurst families, both in England and America. It is believed, though not proven, that the line under search is connected with the Parkhursts of Guilford, County of Surrey, England. We find the English Parkhursts serving as mayors, and (Bishop) John Parkhurst was "Bachelor of Divinitie" at Oxford in 1529. He figured under royal displeasure during Queen Mary's reign, and was obliged to live in Zurich, Switzerland. Returning to England during Queen Elizabeth's reign he was appointed Bishop of Norwich in 1560, which office he held until he died. He was a Latin scholar and at the Queen's command translated the "Apocrypha." Another famous divine was Rev. John Parkhurst, of Catesby, Northants. The mantle, apparently, fell on the American line, as Rev. Charles Parkhurst, of old Madison Square Church, was of this ancestry probably.

(G. H. Parkhurst: "John Parkhurst, His Ancestors and Descendants," p. 7.)

I. George Parkhurst, the first definitely known ancestor of this line, was born in England. It is not known when George Parkhurst came to America, but he brought two children, at least, with him, George and Phebe. Shortly after his second marriage, George Parkhurst removed from Watertown to Boston, but in Watertown he was proprietor of a "homestall" of twelve acres, besides five other lots of land. In Boston, October 4, 1645, he engaged in land transactions, and also December 20, 1648, and March 5, 1648-49, so that on the whole several large parcels passed through his hands. Either George Parkhurst, Senior, or George Parkhurst, Junior, was admitted a freeman, May 10, 1643, the records concerning this not being very clear.

George Parkhurst married (first), in England, but the name of his wife has not been ascertained. He married (second), about 1645, Susannah Simpson, widow of John Simpson. Children (probably mostly born in England, of first marriage): 1. George, Jr., of whom further. 2. Benjamin. 3. Joseph, married, at Concord, Massachusetts, June 26, 1656, Mary Read, of Chelmsford, Massachusetts. 4. Phebe, married, in 1640, Thomas Arnold. 5. Deborah, married John Smith. 6. Elizabeth, married (first) Emanuel Hilliard; she married (second) Joseph Merry. 7. Mary, married Rev. Thomas Carter.

(G. H. Parkhurst: "John Parkhurst, His Ancestors and Descendants," pp. 10-11. H. Bond: "Genealogies and History of Watertown, Massachusetts," pp. 388-89.)

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II. *George Parkhurst, Jr.*, son of George Parkhurst and his first wife, was born in England, in 1618, and died March 16, 1698-99, at the age of eighty-one. He settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, where the old Parkhurst farm was, on the east side of Beaver Brook. George Parkhurst, Jr., married (first), December 16, 1643, Sarah Browne, daughter of Abraham and Lydia Browne. He married (second), September 24, 1650, Mary "Pheza" (probably Veazey), who died March 9, 1680-1681. Children of first marriage: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Sarah, born September 14, 1649, probably died young.

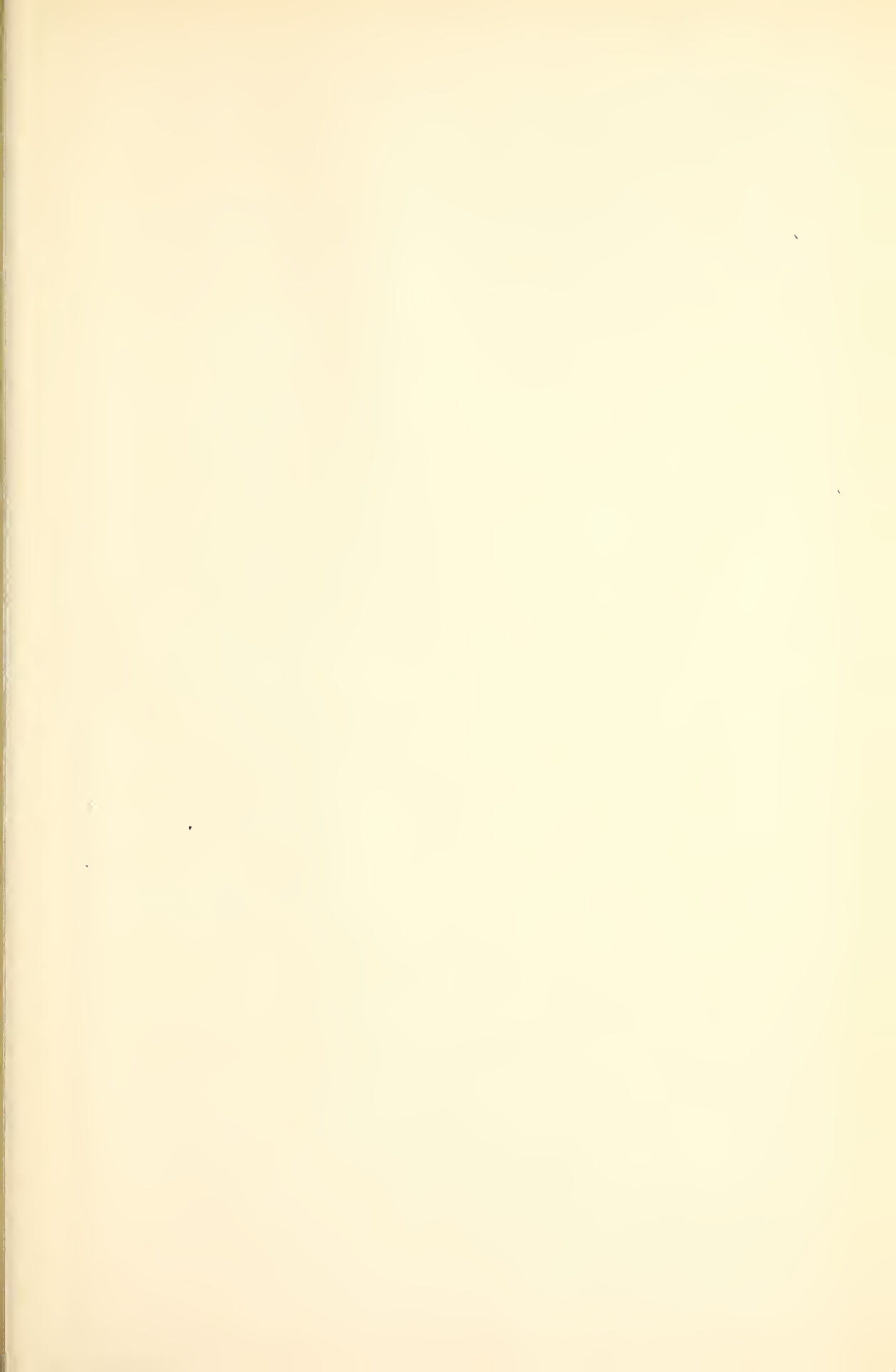
(H. Bond: "Genealogies and History of Watertown, Massachusetts," p. 389.)

III. *John Parkhurst*, son of George Parkhurst, Jr., and Sarah (Browne) Parkhurst, was born at Watertown, Massachusetts, June 10, 1644, and died there September 12, 1725. He was admitted freeman April 18, 1690. John Parkhurst married, about 1670, Abigail Garfield, who was born June 29, 1646, and died October 18, 1726, the daughter of Samuel and Susanna Garfield. Children: 1. John, Jr., born February 26, 1671-72; a deacon; married Abigail Morse, and settled in Weston, Massachusetts. 2. Abigail, born September 10, 1674. 3. Sarah, born November 26, 1676; married, October 16, 1700, Edward Sherman. 4. Rachel, of whom further. 5. Elizabeth, born September 18, 1681; married, December 31, 1701, Joseph Ball. 6. Mary, born December 23, 1683; married, May 1, 1707, Edward Sanderson. 7. George, born January 3, 1685-86, died March 17, 1734-35; married, April 19, 1726, Mrs. Tabitha (Whitney) Fulham. She married (third) Samuel Hunt. 8. Samuel, born April 11, 1688; married, May 17, 1716, Sarah Shattuck. 9. Hannah, born April 17, 1690; married, January 3, 1716-17, John Newton, of Marlboro, New Hampshire.

(H. Bond: "Genealogies and History of Watertown, Massachusetts," pp. 389-90. G. H. Parkhurst: "John Parkhurst, His Ancestors and Descendants," pp. 11-12.)

IV. *Rachel Parkhurst*, daughter of John and Abigail (Garfield) Parkhurst, was born at Watertown, December 30, 1678, and died there January 30, 1767, aged ninety. Rachel Parkhurst married Abraham Gale, Jr. (Gale III.)

(H. Bond: "Genealogies and History of Watertown, Massachusetts," pp. 230, 389.)









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